17392

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

ANCIENT GERMANS;

Including that of the

CIMBRI, SUEVI, ALEMANNI, FRANKS,
SAXONS, GOTHS, VANDALS,

And other

Ancient Northern Nations,

Who overthrew the ROMAN EMPIRE and eſtabliſh'd that of GERMANY, and moſt of the Kingdoms in EUROPE.

Written Originally in HIGH GERMAN;

And illuſtrated with Notes and Quotations, from ancient Authors, Accounts of Monuments, Inſcriptions, Medals, Coins, and other Antiquities,

By Doctor JOHN JACOB MASCOU,
Aulick Counſellor to the King of *Poland*, Aſſeſſor of the Court of Juſtice, and Senator of the City of *Leipzick*, in *Saxony*.

Now Tranſlated into ENGLISH,

By THOMAS LEDIARD, Eſq;
Late Secretary to his MAJESTY's Envoy Extraordinary in *Lower Germany*.

VOL. II.

To the Extinction of the MEROVINGIAN, and Beginning of the CAROLINGIAN LINE.

LONDON and *WESTMINSTER*:
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By JOHN JACOB MASCOU,

Author of the History of the Antient Germans, Counsellor of Justice, and Senator of the City of Leipzick, in Saxony.

Now Translated into ENGLISH,

By THOMAS LEDIARD, Esq;

Late Secretary to his Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary in Tuscany.

To the Reign of CHARLEMAGNE.



TO THE

NOBLE and Right HONOURABLE,

Sir Robert Walpole,

First Lord Commissioner of the TREASURY; Chancellor and Under-Treasurer of the EXCHEQUER; One of HIS MAJESTY'S most Honourable PRIVY COUNCIL, and KNIGHT-COMPANION of the MOST NOBLE ORDER of the GARTER.

RIGHT HONOURABLE SIR,

I FLATTER myself with the assured Hopes, that the Contents of the following Sheets will alone be sufficient to recommend them to Your PROTECTION. *The History of our* GREAT ANCESTORS, (the *Ancient Germans*) is, SIR, a Subject not hitherto, I believe, professedly attempted in the *English* Tongue: And

as

as our own *Laws*, and Ancient *Laudable Cuſtoms*, nay even our *Excellent Conſtitution* itſelf, are, in a great Meaſure, form'd on the Model of theirs, to whom can this *Epitome* of their *Original* be, with ſo great Propriety, addreſs'd, as to the NOBLE PERSON, who, by His *High Stations*, is ſo greatly concern'd for their Preſervation, and has them ſo much and ſo conſtantly at Heart.

BUT, SIR, the View I have chiefly had in this Tranſlation furniſhes me with a farther Plea for Your favourable Acceptance of it; as it is intended, by Way of Introduction, to be the Fore-runner of a much larger Work; for which I have collected Materials, from the principal Archives and Libraries, in *Germany*, in above Twenty Years Travels in thoſe Parts; I mean *A Chronological Hiſtory of the* EMPERORS, KINGS, *and* PRINCES *of the* MOST ILLUSTRIOUS HOUSE *of* BRUNSWICK, *in all its Branches*; from the Time of *Charlemaign*, (the Period at which the *Hiſtory of the Ancient Germans* ends) to the preſent Time; chiefly upon the Plan of the ſame Hiſtory begun by the famous Mr. *Leibnitz*, and continued by the learned Meſſ. *Hahn*, *Eccardy*, and *Gruber*, in *Hannover*, by Order of the late King, and now depoſited in the Library there, but never publiſhed.

YOUR immovable Attachment, SIR, to this ILLUSTRIOUS HOUSE, even in the worſt and moſt perilous of Times,

DEDICATION.

Times, when impending Ruin almoſt immediately threatned us, will, I am convinced, render an Attempt of this Kind, in the *Engliſh* Tongue, acceptable to You; and the following Sheets being introductory thereunto, may thence, I humbly preſume, confidently lay Claim to Your PATRONAGE.

I SHALL not dare, SIR, to break in any farther upon Your precious Time, (always devoted to the Honour of Your SOVEREIGN, and the *Good* of Your COUNTRY,) to offer but at a Sketch of Your *Aimable Character*: It is too tranſcendant for my weak Capacity to attempt, with any Proſpect of Succeſs; and will undoubtedly hereafter be the *Glorious Task* of ſome more Maſterly *Genius*, when groveling Envy and foul Detraction will no longer dare to rear their Heads, and the Impotent Rage of Party and Faction will have given Way to the irreſiſtable Force of All-prevailing Truth. *Then will the* BEAUTIFUL IMAGE *be diſplayed in its True and Native Light; and it will then be recorded, to the Immortal Honour of* GREAT-BRITAIN, *that* SHE, *in this Age, produced ſo* GREAT, *ſo* FINISH'D *a* STATESMAN; *a* MINISTER *ſo* DESERVING *of the* CONFIDENCE *and* ROYAL FAVOUR *of two of the* WISEST *and* MOST DISCERNING MONARCHS, *that ever graced the* ENGLISH THRONE; *and a Subject, who by his* SALUTARY COUNCILS, *and* PRUDENT ADMINISTRATION, *of the ſeveral* HIGH

OFFICES

DEDICATION.

OFFICES *he was deservedly vested with, in two Reigns, and during so long a Series of Years, as has not many Parallels in our History, was justly stil'd the* DARLING OF THE NATION.

I beg Leave, with all possible Submission, to subscribe myself,

RIGHT HONOURABLE SIR,

Your most Devoted,

and most Obedient

Humble Servant,

Smith's Square, Westminster, May 29. 1738.

Thomas Lediard.

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THE Author's Preface, TO THE SECOND VOLUME.

IN the first ten Books, I collected the most Ancient Histories of the *German* Nations, to the Beginning of the Monarchy of the *Franks*. This Volume contains a Continuation of near three hundred Years, to the Extinction of the Race of the *Merovingian* Kings, amidst the extraordinary Revolutions of many Kingdoms and People. I have indeed prefix'd the Contents to each Book; however, it may be of Use, to recapitulate the principal Circumstances; that we may take a View of them at once. *Clovis*, as Founder of the Monarchy of the *Franks*, opens the

Scene, with bloody Campaigns and successful Treaties, and secures to himself the Fruits of both, by his Conversion. His Sons extend them, among other Means, by a Conquest of the *Burgundians* and *Tharingians*. No less worthy our Notice, is the Kingdom founded almost about the same Time in *Italy*, by *Theoderic*, King of the *Ostro-Goths*, who, as long as he lived, was a Match, as well for the Emperors, as the Kings of the *Franks*. We left the *Vandals*, at the Conclusion of the first Volume, in *Africa*. We here continue their History, under the Successors of *Geiseric*, 'till *Justinian* visits them with a War, and *Belisarius* leads *Gelimer*, their last King, in Triumph at *Constantinople*. This Victory encourages the Emperor to attack the *Ostro-Goths*, in *Italy*. *Belisarius* is, at first, so successful in this War, that King *Vitiges* surrenders at *Ravenna*: But the *Goths* revive their Courage, and *Totilas*, in the latter Campaigns, almost robs *Belisarius* of the Honour he had gain'd in the former. *Narses*, at length, reduces *Italy* again to their Allegiance to the Emperor, and puts a total End to the Kingdom of the *Ostro-Goths*.

1

THIS *Gothick* War, which lasted nineteen [illegible] at the same Time, several other Nations into [illegible] Kings of the *Franks*, and particularly *Theodebert*, King of *Austrasia*, try, in vain, their Fortune, on the other Side of the *Alps*; as do likewise the two Dukes of the *Alemanni*, *Buccelinus* and *Leutharis*. In *Illyricum*, the foreign Nations cut out so much Work for *Justinian*, as almost obliges him to abandon the *Italian* War. He admits the *Longobards*

bands into *Pannonia*, as it were to defend it; notwithstanding which the *Gepidæ* and *Heruli* ravage, almost without Controul; and yet more the *Sclavi*, who, in Process of Time, almost peopled these Countries with their Colonies.

AFTER *Justinian*'s Death, the Constitution of the *Roman* Empire, in the *West*, which he had, in some Measure, restor'd, again declines. The *Longobards* enter *Italy*, in the Year 568, under the Conduct of their King *Alboin*, after they had, with the Assistance of the *Avari*, overthrown the Kingdom of the *Gepidæ*. The *Franks*, under the Successors of *Clotarius* I, are involved in a Civil War, which is inflam'd by the Hatred between the two Queens, *Brunehild* and *Fredegund*, 'till, in the Year 613, the Kingdom is again united, in the Person of *Clotarius* II. The Dominion of the *Wisi-Goths*, in *Spain*, gains a very different Aspect, after their King, *Leovigild*, had vanquish'd the *Suevi*. His Son, *Reccaredus*, embraces the *Catholick* Faith, and thereby cements a stricter Union between the Minds of the *Goths* and the Natives of the Country. The Conversion of the *Anglo-Saxons* furnishes us with an Opportunity to take Notice of the State of the *Saxon* Kingdoms, and, at the same Time, of their Religion in *Britain*. What the *Franks* then contributed to their Conversion, the *Anglo-Saxons* afterwards richly requited, by a like Endeavour with the *German* Nations in *Germania*.

THE ſeventh Century produces new Enemies to the *Roman* Empire, in the *Saracens*. While the Emperor has his Hands full with them in *Aſia*, the *Longobards* find the leſs Difficulty in extending their Kingdom in *Italy*; eſpecially after King *Grimoald* had embraced the *Catholick* Faith, and the Nation began to conform to certain Laws, which, at Length, were likewiſe approved by the *Italians*. The *Franks* recover themſelves under *Clotarius* II, and his Succeſſors, from their former Civil Broils. *Dagobert* makes War with thoſe Nations of the *Sclavi*, who border on his Kingdom in *Germania*: But, at Length, the Youth and Weakneſs of the ſucceeding Kings pave the Way for the Power of the *Majores Domus*. *Pipin* of *Herſtall* raiſes this Power to its higheſt Pitch, and leaves it to his Family almoſt hereditary. In the Midſt of the Wars, which were the Conſequences of this, Hiſtory meets with an agreable Turn in the Introduction of the *Chriſtian* Religion, into ſeveral *German* Countries. In particular, St. *Willibrod* propagates it among the *Friſians*; St. *Gallus* among the *Swabians*, and St. *Emmeranus* and *Rupertus*, among the *Bavarians*. The Manner in which theſe Converſions are effected gives us no leſs Opportunity to new Enquiries, than the Conſequences of them.

AT the Beginning of the eighth Century, the *Wiſi-Goths* ſuffer a ſignal Overthrow, from the *Saracens*, in *Spain*. In the Hiſtory of the *Franks*, the *Majores Domus* have now a greater Share than the Kings; tho' the Actions of *Charles Martell* are ſo glorious, that the Nation is no Sufferer by it. We find him in the Field, ſometimes againſt the Dukes of *Aquitain*,

Aquitain, and ſometimes, on the other Side, againſt the *Friſii*. At other Times, we ſee him turn his Arms to the Heart of *Germania*, againſt the Dukes of *Swabia* and *Bavaria*, or againſt the *Saxon* Nations, who, by that Means, become, by Degrees, better known in Hiſtory. To his Victories over the *Saracens*, the *Weſtern* Part of *Chriſtendom* owes it Safety, and the Kingdom of the *Franks*, in particular, is indebted for *Septimania*, the only Province which the *Wiſi-Goths* had retain'd in *Gaul*. His Sons, for a Time, ſupport the Kingdom with equal Valour, and likewiſe follow his Example in promoting the religious Endeavours of St. *Boniface*. *Pipin*, at Length, obliges King *Childeric* to retire into a Cloiſter, and himſelf mounts the Throne. With this Revolution, I conclude, for the preſent, my Hiſtory; this being the Foundation of a new Period in the Hiſtory of the *Germans*: For, about the very ſame Time, Matters begin to ripen, in *Italy* alſo, for that great Revolution, which, at Length, comes to a full Maturity under *Charlemaign*.

As for the Method which I have obſerv'd, in this Volume, I may refer to what I have ſaid, on the ſame Occaſion, with Regard to the firſt. The Hiſtory of the *Franks* is now, as it were, the Foundation, on which the Hiſtory of the other *German* Nations riſes. That Hiſtory itſelf, without this Help, would be obſcure and imperfect: But this Connexion gives it a certain Grandeur and Diverſity, which could hardly be expected of theſe Times. As my Deſign is chiefly aim'd at *Germania*, I go no farther, in that Part of the Hiſtory

ſtory of the *Franks*, which particularly regards *Gaul*, than a Connexion requires. I have thereby the greater Latitude for my Remarks on thoſe Circumſtances, which more eſpecially reſpect *Germania*, and its Inhabitants, or likewiſe ſome of their Neighbours, whoſe Hiſtory requires an Illuſtration from that of the *Germans*. The Revolutions of the Empire continue yet to have a great Influence over the Affairs of the *German* Nations. I muſt likewiſe, ſometimes, take Notice of the Controverſies of the Church, when they are the Motives to Political Diſputes, or, at leaſt, ſerve as a Pretence for them. This was but too often the Caſe, as the Examples, from the Differences about *Arianiſm*, to the Quarrel which aroſe, concerning the Adoration of Images, more than ſufficiently ſhew. The Accounts we have of the Manners and Cuſtoms of the *Germans*, are, by Degrees, more to be depended on, after we can take them from their own Laws, and from the Teſtimonies of ſuch Writers as were cotemporary with them. The latter have indeed recorded little more of them than their Wars: But it is even worthy our Labour, to view them likewiſe in this Light; and to obſerve how, under the various Succeſs of their Arms, they encreaſe in Power, as it were, even by their Overthrows *. However, beſides this, *Tacitus* and other ancient Writers, in their Times, extol their Integrity as much as their Valour; two Qualities which together make a good National Character. That with theſe, they were not in want of good Maxims, is evident from their very Actions, and principally

* Per damna, per cædes, ab ipſo
Ducit opes, animumque, ferro.

from

from the Duration of the Monarchy of the *Franks*, which, next to the *Roman*, was the moſt powerful in the *Weſt*.

WITH Regard to the Stile of Hiſtory, we diſcover in general, a great Difference in Taſte, between the ancient and more modern Times. The Ancients look'd upon Hiſtory, almoſt as a Work of Eloquence, as *Cicero*, in particular, expreſſes himſelf, on this Occaſion *: The *Moderns* require a greater Certainty. Miracles, which were of Service to an ancient Hiſtorian, and an Elegance in the intermix'd Diſcourſes, do not ſo much affect them, as they are deſirous to know every Circumſtance, with great Accuracy, and to meaſure almoſt every Degree of Truth and Probability. This is, in itſelf, a happy Difference; but, in Times, ſo obſcure as are here treated of, it makes the Narrative ſo much the more difficult. The ſcatter'd Circumſtances muſt, in Order to bring them into ſome certain Form, be connected with infinite Pains. We muſt often be contented, if we can but come at the Order of Time, on which the Certainty of the Hiſtory reſts. It is, therefore, the more neceſſary, to be exact, in quoting the Paſſages from whence we take this Aſſiſtance, or even to ſubjoin them.

AMONG theſe obſcure Circumſtances, there are many which require a more narrow Enquiry into, than the Courſe of Hiſtory will allow of. Many Nations are not ſufficiently known; many Cuſtoms differ too widely from our own; and many Occurrences are not related by Hiſtorians in the ſame Manner. For the Illuſtration of ſuch Matters, I have ra-

* I. de leg. 1.

ther

ther chosen to add some separate *Annotations*, at the End of this Work, in which several minute Circumstances are related and enquired into, that would not have been so proper, in the Body of the History, and yet give some Light to it.

ACCORDING to the *Plan*, which I at first laid down, for illustrating the History of the *Germans*, there, therefore, yet remains a third Period, containing the History of the Emperors and Kings of the *Carolingian* Race, till the Time it became extinct in *Germany*, in the Person of *Lewis*, the Son of *Arnulph*. In this Period, the History of *Charlemaign* deserves our principal Notice; and, in particular, his reducing the Kingdom of the *Longobards*, and the *Roman* Empire, under the Dominion of the *Franks*. From the ensuing Partitions, made by several Kings, arise different States; and, at Length, the History branches out in like Manner, as the Monarchy of the *Franks* itself does. Then it is, that *Germania* becomes a separate Empire, which under *Otto*, the *Great*, again obtains the Imperial Dignity, and the Crown of *Italy*, and thence is call'd the *Roman German Empire*. But, as this Volume has already swell'd beyond the Bulk of the former, the HISTORY *of the* GERMANS, *under the* CAROLINGIAN RACE, will be the Subject of a separate Volume.

THE

THE

Tranſlator's Preface.

AS I gave the Reader, in my Preface to to the firſt Volume of this Tranſlation, a pretty particular Account of what he was to expect in the Second; and the the Author, in the preceeding Preface, has briefly re-capitulated the Subſtance of it, there is little left for me to add; unleſs what his Modeſty compelled him to paſs over in Silence: I mean, that he has treated his Subject with ſo much Brevity, and, at the ſame Time, Perſpicuity; has brought the Subſtance of ſo many, and withal ſo important Matters, within ſo narrow a Compaſs, and has

diſpoſed them in ſo orderly a Method, and with ſo great Judgment, as muſt even infinitely ſurpaſs our Expectations.

WHEN I publiſhed the firſt Volume, I had not then received the large *Annotations*, which the Author has added to the Second, as it were by Way of Appendix to, or rather Illuſtration of, both; and conſequently could give no Account of them there. The Author, in his Preface to this Volume, has given a very juſt Reaſon for his introducing the Materials, of which they conſiſt, in the Manner he has done; and, as to the Value of them, and the curious Remarks he has interſperſed with them, they ſpeak more than enough for themſelves, and do not want any *Encomium*, from ſo inſufficient a Pen as mine.

As to what the Author ſays, with Regard to a Continuation of this Work, I refer to what I have obſerved in my Preface to the firſt Volume: The Publication of it ſeems very precarious, in Point of Time: Neither he nor I can foreſee what may intervene with Regard to either or both of us: Theſe two Volumes, (carried down to the Period, which our Author has judiciouſly choſen, to put a Stop to his Work, for this Time at leaſt,) make a COMPLEAT HISTORY *of the* ANCIENT GERMANS, *and thoſe* NORTHERN NATIONS, *who are, by him, comprehended under that Denomination, from the* CIMBRIAN WAR *to the Extinction of the* MEROVIN-

GIAN

GIAN LINE *of the* KINGS OF THE FRANKS: I therefore hold the Subſcribers, who have favoured me with their Encouragement hitherto (for which I take this Opportunity of returning my hearty Acknowledgments) under no farther Obligation. However, as I agree with our Author, that the *Life and Actions of that Great Prince*, CHARLEMAIGN, for which I have been many Years collecting Materials, in *Germany*, is the moſt memorable Part of the Hiſtory immediately ſubſequent to this Period, I may probably attempt that, the next enſuing Seaſon, either by itſelf, or as a Part of a larger Work, of which the Publick will ſoon be more particularly apprized.

N. B. After the following Sheets were printed off, I found the Author had thought fit to make a few Alterations in a Couple of Pages of the XI. Book, of which I think it my Duty to inform the Reader. Theſe Alterations are contain'd in Page 58 and 59 of the Tranſlation, which are to be read as follows:

Page 58. at the Concluſion of § XXXVIII. add; *But this Tradition has no Manner of Grounds, as is evident from* Agnellus, *an ancient Writer of* Ravenna. See the XIV. *Annotation.*

Ib. § XXXIX. *n.* 1. *ad fin.* del. *As for the Name of* Oſtrogoth, *it is a Queſtion whether that was rightly written by* Jornandes.

Ib. *n.* 2. after the Words, *profuit iſta conjunctio*, del. Jornandes *ſeems not to have been well inform'd of the Names of* Clovis's *Sons.*

Ib. *n.* 3. Read: *Some more modern* Spaniſh *Writers ſay he had likewiſe a* Spaniſh *Wife: But with as little Foundation, as when they relate his Journy to* Spain.

P. 59. After the Words: *for the Diverſions of the Amphitheater*, read: *The Emperor*, Juſtin, *who was his Partner in the* Conſulat, *that Year, had adopted him for his Son*; as Theoderic *himſelf had, in like Manner, been honour'd by* Zeno.

Ib. after the Words: *had been murder'd by his Father:* del. *I have met with a Medal of* Theoderic, *where, in Honour to him, his two Grandſons are repreſented, in Imitation of a Medal of* Auguſtus, *on which we find* Cajus *and* Lucius, *his Daughter's Children.*

Ib. *n.* 7. read: *See the Words of* Athalaric *below*, § XLIV. n. 4.

Ib. *n.* 8. before § XLIV. *n.* 1. put: *See the Teſtimony of* Jornandes; and add: Athalaric *himſelf writes.*

AN



AN INDEX

Of the Principal, Ancient and Modern AUTHORS, *conſulted in the Compiling the ſecond Part of this Work, according to the Editions made Uſe of.*

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THE

THE HISTORY OF THE *ANCIENT GERMANS.*

BOOK XI.

To the YEAR DXXXIV.

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§. I. THE Foundation of the Monarchy of the *Franks* begins a freſh Period in the Hiſtory of the *Germans*; in which we ſhall find thoſe Nations, that remain'd in *Germany*, united under the *Franconian* Scepter. This, with the principal Tranſactions of thoſe *German* Nations, who ſettled in foreign Countries, 'till they may be properly ſaid to be wholly ſecluded from the *German* Hiſtory, will be the chief Subjects of the following Sheets. We meet here with as great a Number and Variety of Occurrences, as in the former Period; and ſo far they have a Preference, as the Regulations and Eſtabliſhments of this Period, were of longer Duration, and in Part ſubſiſt to this Day. If, in the former Volume, we ſaw the Subverſion of the *Roman* Empire in the *Weſt*, by Means of the *Germans*, we here find it again reſtored by their Poſterity,

Clovis, Founder of the Monarchy of the *Franks*.

In the preceeding Books, we gave an Account of the Origin of the *Franks*, the Progreſs they made, and the ſure Footing they gain'd in *Germania Secunda*, and in *Belgica*, after the Times of *Valentinian* III (1). All which evidently confutes the Opinion of F. *Daniel*, who pretends to aſſert, that the *Rhine* continued, 'till *Clovis*'s Time, the Boundary of the Dominion of the *Franks*, and that this Prince did not lead his Nation over the *Rhine*, 'till he had formed the Reſolution of eſtabliſhing his Power in *Gaul* (2). *Clovis* is to be regarded as Founder of the Monarchy of the *Franks*, not only becauſe he erected a laſting Kingdom, of far greater Extent, than that Tract of Land, which his Predeceſſors probably poſſeſs'd; but likewiſe becauſe he united the other Nations of the *Franks* under his Dominion. The Beginning of his Reign is placed in the Year 482. Five Years after this, and in the twentieth of his Age, he form'd the Deſign of attacking the Reſidue of the *Romans*, in *Gaul*, who were then commanded by *Syagrius* (3), a Son of the General *Ægidius*. He march'd thro' the *Arduennian* Foreſt, directly to *Soiſſons*, where *Syagrius* then was. An Engagement ſoon enſued, at a ſmall Diſtance from that City. *Syagrius* was overcome, and fled for Refuge to *Alaric*, King of the *Wiſi-Goths*; but was ſurrender'd to *Clovis*, and, by his Order, privately put to Death (4). *Clovis* had, in the mean Time, reduced to his Dominion, *Soiſſons*, *Rheims*, and the other Cities in *Belgica*, which, till then, appertain'd to the *Roman* Empire. The ancient Inhabitants of the Country, who could expect no Relief from the *Romans*, begun, by Degrees, voluntarily to ſubmit to the *Franks*: And thus ended the Sovereignty of the *Romans* in *Gaul*, which *Julius Cæſar* had, above five hundred Years before, with much Blood-ſhed, acquir'd. Thus Heaven preſcribes Limits to Nations and Kingdoms! *Cæſar*, at that Time, repell'd thoſe *Germans*, who were deſirous of fixing their Habitation in *Gaul*: Now the *Germans*, in their Turn, triumph over the *Romans*.

§ I. (1) *Conf. Lib.* 10. § 39.

(2) *V. Preface Hiſtorique, Art.* 1.

(3) *Whether this be the ſame* Syagrius, *whom* Sidonius Apollinaris *ſpeaks in Praiſe of*, Lib. 5. ep. 5. *is uncertain.*

(4) Gregorius Turonensis, *Lib. 2. cap.* 27. Mortuo Childerico regnavit Clodoveus filius ejus pro eo: anno autem quinto regni ejus Syagrius, Romanorum Rex, Egidii filius, ad civitatem Sueſſiones, quam ſupra memoratus Egidius retinuerat, ſedem habebat. Super quem Clodoveus, cum Rachario, parente ſuo, qui & ipſe regnum tenebat, veniens, campum, ut pugnaret, præparari ſibi depoſcit. Sed nec iſte diſtulit, ac reſiſtere metuit. Itaque inter ſe utriſque pugnantibus, Syagrius eliſum cernens exercitum, terga vertit, & ad Alaricum, Regem, Toloſam curſu veloci perlabitur. Clodoveus vero, ad Alaricum mittit, ut eum redderet; alioquin noverit, ſibi bellum ob ejus detentionem inferri. At ille metuens, ne propter eum iram Francorum incurreret, (ut Gothorum pavere mos eſt) vinctum legatis tradidit. Quem Clodoveus receptum cuſtodiæ mancipari præcepit, regnoque ejus accepto, cum gladio clam feriri mandavit.

§ II.

The History of *Italy* resum'd. The Reign of *Odoacer*, &c.

§ II. BUT, as *Theoderick*, King of the *Oſtro-Goths*, will, in the Sequel, have a conſiderable Share in the Hiſtory of the *Franks*, and the other *German* Nations, we muſt here have an Eye, to the great Revolution which, about this Time, broke out in *Italy*. I have already taken Notice, that *Odoacer* ſo far gain'd his Point in *Italy*, that the *German* Troops, which conſiſted of *Scirri*, *Heruli*, and *Rugi*, proclaim'd him King (1), and that thereupon he made himſelf Maſter of *Italy* (2). He ſoon after came to an Agreement with the *Vandals* about *Sicily* (3), and gave up *Provence*, in *Gaul*, to *Euricus*, King of the *Wiſi-Goths* (4), in Order to ſecure his Friendſhip; hoping, that if theſe two Kings were his Allies, he would have the leſs to fear from the *Grecian* Emperor. He therefore bore as abſolute a Sway in *Italy*, as was before allow'd to the Emperors, and *Baronius* ſays, in Praiſe of him, that tho' he was an *Arian* himſelf, yet he never perſecuted the Profeſſors of the *Catholick* Faith (5). Hiſtory even informs us, that *Baſilius*, *Patricius* and *Præfectus Prætorio* (6), preſided, in his Name, at a Synod in *Rome*, and made that Regulation, by which no *Roman* Pope was to be elected without the King's previous Knowledge (7). He likewiſe carried on ſome Wars out of *Italy* (8): In particular with the *Rugi*, who then dwelt on this Side of the *Danube*, oppoſite to *Noricum*. In the Year 487, he gained a Victory over their Prince, *Feletheus*, who is likewiſe called *Fæva* or *Feba*,

§ II. (1) Lib. 10. § 33. *It appears from a Paſſage in* Ennodius, *where he upbraids* Odoacer *with his Birth, that his Promotion to the Royal Dignity was not ſo much owing to his Birth, as to Fortune*, Paneg. p. 298. Metuebat parentes exercitus, quem meminiſſe originis ſuæ admonebat honor alienus. Nam ire ad nutum ſuum legiones, & remeare pavore algidus imperabat. Suſpecta enim eſt obedientia, quæ famulatur indignis: & quotiens prælatos convenit conſcientia ſtirpis ultimæ, & illud metuunt, quod timentur.

Edica *was, according to* Hadrianus Valeſius's *Opinion, the Father of* Odoacer, *and is ſaid, by* Jornandes, cap. 54, *to have been* Primas Scirrorum.

(2) *Ibid.* § 37.

(3) *Ibid.*

(4) VALESIUS, *Lib.* 5. *p.* 234. *refert ad A.* 477.

(5) *See above*, Lib. 10. § 38.

(6) *This is, perhaps, the ſame* Cæcina, Vir Conſularis *whom* Sidonius Apollinaris *ſpeaks in Praiſe of*, Lib. 1. ep. 9.

(7) *In the* Acta Concilii Romani III. ſub Symmacho Papa, *we find an Ordinance mention'd, which was made by* Baſilius, Præfectus Prætorio, *after the Death of Pope* Simplicius, *concerning the Papal Election, and the Eſtates of the Clergy. The Beginning of it runs thus:* Cum in unum apud Beatum Petrum Apoſtolum reſediſſent, ſublimis & eminentiſſimus vir, Præfectus Prætorio, atque Patricius, agens etiam vices præcellentiſſimi Regis, Odoacris, Baſilius dixit: Quanquam ſtudii noſtri & religionis interſit, ut in Epiſcopatus electione concordia principaliter ſervetur Eccleſiæ, ne per occaſionem ſeditionis ſtatus civitatis vocetur in dubium: tamen admonitione beatiſſimi Viri, Papæ noſtri, Simplicii, quam ante oculos ſemper habere debemus, hoc vobis meminiſtis ſub obteſtatione fuiſſe mandatum, ut propter illum ſtrepitum, & venerabilis eccleſiæ detrimentum, cum de hac luce tranſire contigerit, non ſine noſtra conſultatione, cujuſlibet celebraretur electio. *Conf.* BARONIUS *ad A.* 483. *n.* 10. *ſeq.*

(8) CASSIODORUS *in Chronico*: PLACIDIO *Coſ.* (481) Odoacer in Dalmatis Odivam vincit & perimit.

and

and carried him, with *Giſa*, his Conſort, Captives to *Rome* (9). *Frederick*, their Son, made his eſcape by Flight, and taking upon him the Government of the Nation, infeſted *Noricum* to the utmoſt of his Power. *Odoacer* detach'd *Anaulphus*, or *Aonulphus* *, his Brother, againſt him, with an Army. *Frederick*, not daring to encounter him, fled into *Moëſia*, to *Theoderick*, the Prince of the *Oſtro-Goths*, whom he afterwards accompanied into *Italy*: And, after this Time, theſe *Rugi* do not appear to have formed a ſeparate Monarchy: But the *Longobards* took Poſſeſſion of the Country on the *Danube*, which the *Rugi* till then dwelt in. The Inhabitants of thoſe Cities, which lay on the *Danube*, in *Noricum*, and were continually expos'd to the Incurſions of foreign Nations, were, on this Occaſion, ſent to *Italy*, which was then deſtitute of Inhabitants, and where they might, at the ſame Time, ſtrengthen the Power of the *Heruli* (10).

Theoderick, Prince of the *Oſtro-Goths*, goes to *Italy*.

§ III. BUT as *Odoacer*'s Kingdom was eſtabliſhed by Violence, ſo it was ſoon oblig'd to give Way to a ſuperior Power. *Theoderick*, Prince of the *Oſtro-Goths*, in *Moëſia* (1), bent his Deſigns on *Italy*. I gave ſome Account of this Hero in the former Volume, and ſhall only repeat here, that he was the Son of *Theodemir*, the *Gothick* Prince (2), and, after having ſucceeded his Father in the Government, contributed greatly to the Reſtoration of the Empire to *Zeno*, by whom he was ſo highly eſteemed, that he created him *Patricius*, and *Magiſter Militiæ Præſentis*,

(9) CASSIODORUS, *(A.* 487.) BOETIO CONSULE. Odoacer, Febano, rege Rugorum, victo captoque, potitus eſt.

CHRONOGRAPHUS *a* CUSPINIANO *editus:* BOETIO unico CONSULE: Pugna facta eſt inter Odoacrum regem, & Febanum, regem Rugorum: & vicit Odoacer, & abduxit captivum Febanum Regem, ſub XVIII. cal. Dec.

* *He is likewiſe call'd* Anulph, *and, by* Iſidorus, Arnulphus.

(10) *Theſe Circumſtances are related* by Eugippius in vita S. Severini, *where he frequently mentions theſe* Rugi, *and the State of* Noricum, cap. 45. Fridericus, poſt Severini mortem veſtes ejus, & altaris Calices rapuit, hinc intra menſis ſpatium, a Friderico, fratris filio, interfectus. Quapropter Rex Odachar Rugis intulit bellum, quibus devictis, & Friderico fugato, patre quoque Fava capto, eum ad Italiam cum noxia conjuge ſupra memorata, videlicet Giſa, tranſmigravit. Poſt audiens idem Odachar Fridericum ad proprios revertiſſe, ſtatim fratrem ſuum cum multis exercitibus Aonulfum miſit, ante quem denuo fugiens Fridericus, ad Theodericum regem, qui tum apud Novam, civitatem provinciæ Miſiæ, morabatur, profectus eſt: AONULFUS vero præcepto fratris admonitus, univerſos juſſit ad Italiam migrare Romanos.

§ III. (1) Theoderick's *Death occaſion'd many Elegies and Heroick Poems: But the Accounts of his Life, taken from them, are very fabulous. When* Joh. Cochlæus, *for Inſtance, relates,* in vita Theoderici, *that* Theodemir, *his Father, was Lord of* Verona, *and that* Theoderick *from thence receiv'd the Name of* Dietrich *of* Bern: Item *that* Samſon, *Prince of* Salerno, *was his Grandfather, by his Mother's Side. This is, nevertheleſs, repeated by* J. Peringſchiold *in his Annotations,* p. 40, *and his whole Genealogy is founded thereon,* p. 271, 272. *From hence we may form ſome Notion of the other ancient Lives to which he appeals.*

(2) *See above,* Lib. 10. § 9. & 31.

and

and nominated him *Conſul*, for the Year 484, which Year is ſtill diſtinguiſh'd in the Annals by his Name (3). *Jornandes* even affirms, that he adopted him for his Son, and cauſed an Equeſtrian Statue to be erected in Honour of him before the Imperial Palace (4). Hiſtorians vary about the Motives, that induc'd *Theodorick* to form this great Reſolution. According to *Ennodius*, we might conclude, that he was incited by *Frederick*, Prince of the *Rugi* (5). Others pretend, that he was perſuaded to go to Italy by *Zeno* himſelf (6). Both Accounts may be eaſily reconcil'd. His warlike Diſpoſition, and Ambition of Greatneſs, might alone have incited him to this Undertaking *, which the Prince of the *Rugi*, and the whole Nation, no ſooner heard of, than they highly approv'd of it. The Emperor *Zeno* might, with Pleaſure, embrace an Opportunity of ridding himſelf of theſe enterpriſing Neighbours, who might prove as detrimental now, as they were ſerviceable before; which he had but lately experienc'd, when *Theoderick* made Incurſions, almoſt as far as *Conſtantinople* (7). He might likewiſe, by this Means, ſave thoſe conſiderable Sums, which the *Goths* had, 'till then, annually coſt him. To this we may add, that, in all Probability, *Zeno* had not formally acknowledg'd *Odoacer* to be King and *Patricius*, and rather ſuffer'd him to reign in *Italy*, than approv'd of it (8). Thus may his Deſign have met with Approbation on all Hands: But the Conditions agreed on, between the

(3) Ibid, 34, 36.

(4) Jornandes, *cap.* 57. Et poſt aliquod tempus ad ampliandum honorem ejus, in arma ſibi eum filium adoptavit, ſuiſque ſtipendiis triumphum in urbe donavit, factuſque eſt Conſul ordinarius, quod ſummum bonum, primumque in orbe Decus edicitur: nec tantum hoc, ſed etiam equeſtrem ſtatuam, ad famam tanti viri, ante Regiam Palatii collocavit,

(5) Ennodius *in Panegyrico Theoder. p.* 289.

(6) Procopius, Theophanes, *p.* 113. Autor. Histor. Miscellæ, *&c.*

* Jornandes, cap. 57. *introduces* Theoderick *as addreſſing* Zeno *thus:* Heſperia plaga, quæ dudum deceſſorum, prædeceſſorumque veſtrorum regimine gubernata eſt, & Urbs illa caput orbis & domina, quare nunc ſub Regis Turcilingorum, & Rugorum tyrannide fluctuat? Dirige cum gente mea, ſi præcipis, ut hic expenſarum pondere careas; & ibi ſi adjutus a Domino vicero, fama veſtræ pietatis irradiet. Expedit namque, ut ego, qui ſum ſervus veſter & filius, ſi vicero, vobis donantibus, Regnum illud poſſideam; haud ille, quem non noſtis, tyranni jugo Senatum veſtrum, partemque Reipublicæ captivitatis ſervitio premat. Ego enim ſi vicero, veſtro dono, veſtroque munere poſſidebo: ſi victus fuero, veſtra pietas nihil amittit; imo, ut diximus, lucratur expenſas. Quo audito, quamvis ægre ferret Imperator diſceſſum ejus, nolens tamen eum contriſtare, annuit quæ poſcebat, magniſque ditatum muneribus dimiſit a ſe, Senatum populumque ei commendans Romanum.

(7) Marcellinus *in Chronico ad A.* 487. (Boethio Cos.) Theodericus, Gothorum Rex, Zenonis Auguſti nunquam beneficiis ſatiatus, magna ſuorum manu uſque ad regiam Civitatem, & Melentiadam oppidum, infeſtus acceſſit, plurimiſque locis igne crematis, ad Novenſem Mœſiæ civitatem, unde advenerat, remeavit. Melentias *was, according to* Suidas, apud Pagium, ad A. 487. n. 2. *a Village,* 102 *Furlongs diſtant from* Conſtantinople.

(8) *We obſerved before,* Lib. 10. § 2. *that he did not at leaſt acknowledge him formally at firſt.*

Emperor

Emperor and the *Gothick* Prince, are much more obſcure: For the *Grecians* afterwards] pretended, that *Zeno* ſent him thither to re-incorporate *Italy* with the Empire (9), and the *Goths*, on the contrary, affirm'd, that *Zeno* left *Italy* to their King, as an independant Government (10). But of this we ſhall be better able to judge in the Sequel, when it will, at the ſame Time, appear, that the *Goths* obtain'd a legal Poſſeſſion of *Italy*. *Theoderick* broke up, in the Year 489, with his whole Nation; and a new World ſeem'd, as it were, to be marching to *Italy* (11). In his Way, he was forc'd to touch upon Part of the Dominions of the *Gepidæ*, who, after *Attila*'s Death, had fix'd their Habitations in *Dacia*, and extended themſelves even on the other Side the *Danube*, eſpecially in the Countries about *Sirmium* and *Singidunum* (12). *Trafſtila* or *Trapſtila*, King of the *Gepidæ*, endeavour'd to oppoſe his Paſſage, but was defeated in a bloody Battle, near the River *Ulca* (13).

§ IV.

(9) *This Paſſage of the anonymous Writer, publiſh'd by* Valeſius, *may ſerve to ſhew the Pretenſions of the* Greeks. Mittens (Zeno) Theodericum ad Italiam, pactuatus eſt, ut ſi victus fuiſſet Odoachar, pro merito laborum ſuorum, loco ejus, dum adveniret, tantum præregnaret. Ergo ſuperveniente Theoderico patritio de Civitate Nova, cum gente Gothica, miſſus ab Imperatore Zenone de partibus Orientis ad defendendam ſibi Italiam, &c,

(10) *For the Aſſertion of the* Goths, *let us view the following Paſſage out of* Procopius, de Bello Gothico, Lib. 1. cap. 1. p. 308. Sub idem tempus Gothi, qui imperatoris permiſſu Thraciam incolebant, in Romanos rebellavere, duce Theoderico, qui vir erat Patricius, & Byzantii Sellam Conſularem aſcenderat. At Zeno Aug: rationem optimam e re nata inire callens, Theoderico ſuaſit, ut Italiam peteret, &, cum Odoacro collata manu, ſibi Gothiſque imperium Occidentis pararet: cum eſſet convenientius, præſertim Senatori, tyrannum exigere, & Romanis atque Italis præeſſe omnibus, quam armis cum imperatore contendere, & in tantum venire diſcrimen. Eo delectatus conſilio, Theodericus, in Italiam proficiſcitur; Gothi ſe comites adjunxerunt, parvulis fœminiſque in plauſtra impoſitis cum ſupellectile, quantacunque deferri potuit. Ubi ventum eſt ad ſinum Ionium quoniam trajicere nequibant, defecti navibus, illum circumeundo, per Taulantiorum, aliorumque ejus accolarum oras progreſſi ſunt. Ipſis factæ obviam Odoacri copiæ, & multis fuſæ congreſſibus, cum ſuo principe Ravennæ ſe commiſerunt, aliiſque munitiſſimis locis: quæ Gothi cum obſediſſent, pleraque variis, prout cujuſque ſors tulit, cepere modis: Cæſenam autem Caſtellum, Ravenna ſtadiis CCC. diſſitum, nec non Ravennam ipſam, ubi erat Odoacer, in poteſtatem ſuam nec vi, nec deditione redigere valuerunt.

(11) *This Calculation is confirm'd in the following* §. Ennodius *ſays*, l. c. *of the great Multitude, that followed him*; Migrante Tecum ad Auſoniam mundo, nullus præter parentem iter arripuit. Sumta ſunt plauſtra vice tectorum, & in domos inſtabiles confluxerunt omnia ſervitura neceſſitati.

(12) *See above*, Lib. 10. § 7.

(13) Ennodius *extolls this Victory in the Panegyrick he ſpeaks in Honour of* Theoderick, p. 299. Ulca fluvius eſt tutela Gepidarum, quæ vice aggerum munit audaces, & in jugorum morem latus provinciæ quibuſdam muris complectitur, nullo ariete fruſtrandis. Ad hunc te callis tui rigor adduxit: ubi pro legatis & gratiæ poſtulatione, obſiſtendi animo gens diu invicta properavit. Cum pene cohortes tuas ante inimicos famis neceſſitas obſideret. Dic quæſo, clementiſſime domine, quid præter te ſpei erat reſiduum, in populo arenæ aut ſideribus comparando? Inſtantibus Gepidis, amne, peſtilentia, iter quod declinaſſet fugiens, contra nudatos vagina gladios tranſvolaſti. Nullius inſcii merſa cœno hæſere veſtigia. Nullius vitæ prodigus periculum ignarus incurrit.

And lower, p. 301.

Cæſa

§ IV. THE *Goths*, thereupon, paſs'd the *Julian Alps*, into *Italy* (1). *Odoacer* had drawn as many Auxiliaries together, as poſſibly he could (2), and met them on the River *Iſonzo* *; but was defeated, yet rallied his Troops near *Verona*. *Theoderick* there attack'd him, and, after a bloody Battle, carried the Day a ſecond Time (3); whereupon *Odoacer* fled to *Ravenna*. He defeats *Odoacer*, &c.

Cæſa eſt multitudo adverſaria, donec paucos eriperet nox vicina: dum ad vaga horrea copiis urbium referta veniretur: quæ non ſolum ſatis facerent neceſſitati, ſed ſublevarent inter deliciarum ſecunda faſtidium.

By the River Ulca, *mention'd by* Ennodius, *are meant the* Paludes Volceæ, or Volocæ; *which make a large Lake, ſeveral Miles in Length, betwixt the Cities* Stuhl-Weiſſenburg *and* Caniſcha. *It is, at preſent call'd* Lacus Balatton: *In the* German, Platten-See.

§ IV. (1) *The Year and Circumſtances of the Battle near the* Iſonzo *and* Verona, *appear from the following Teſtimonies of the Ancients:* MARIUS *in Chronico:* Probino & Euſebio Coſſ. (*A.* 489.) His Conſulibus ingreſſus eſt Theudoricus, rex Gothorum, in Italiam, ponte Iſontì.

CASSIODORUS *in Chron.* Probino & Euſebio Coſſ. His Coſſ. feliciſſimus atque fortiſſimus D. N. rex Theodericus intravit Italiam, cui Odoacer ad Iſontium pugnam parans, victus cum tota gente fugatus eſt. Eodem anno, repetito conflictu, Veronæ vincitur Odoacer.

CHRONOGRAPHUS *a* CUSPINIANO *editus ad eundem annum*; His Coſſ. ingreſſus eſt rex Theodericus in foſſato pontis Sontii V. Cal. Septembr. & fugit Odoacer rex de Foſſato, & abiit Veronam. Eo anno ingreſſus eſt Odoacer rex in Foſſatum, Herulis in Pineta exiſtentibus. Et occiſus eſt Libella magiſter millitum, & ceciderunt plurimi ab utraque parte, & clauſit ſe Ravennam Odoacer rex, VI. Idus Julias, & regreſſus eſt rex Theodericus in Ticino. XI. Cal. Septembr.

JORNANDES, cap. 57. *at once relates the whole* Italick *Expedition:* Indeque Venetorum fines ingreſſus ad pontem Sontium nuncupatum caſtra metatus eſt. Cumque ibi ad reficienda corpora hominum jumentorumque aliquanto tempore reſediſſet: Odoacer armatum contra eum direxit exercitum. Quem [illegible] ad Campos Veronenſes occurrens, magna ſtrage delevit, caſtriſque ſolutis, fines Italiæ cum potiori audacia intrat; tranſactoque Pado amne, ad Ravennam, regiam urbem Caſtra componit, tertio fere milliario ab urbe, loco qui appellatur Pineta. Quod cernens Odoacer, intus ſe in urbe communivit, indeque ſubreptive noctu frequenter cum ſuis egrediens, Gothorum exercitum inquietat; & hoc non ſemel, nec iterum; ſed frequenter, & pene molitur toto triennio. Sed fruſtra laborat, quia cuncta Italia dominum jam dicebat Theodericum, & illius ad votum res illi publica obſecundabat. Tantum ille ſolus cum paucis ſatellitibus, & Romanis qui aderant, & fame & bello quotidie intra Ravennam laborabat. Quod dum nihil proficeret, miſſa legatione, veniam, ſupplicat. Cui & primum concedens Theodericus poſt modum hac luce privavit. Tertioque, ut diximus, anno ingreſſus in Italiam, Zenoniſque imperatoris Conſulto, *privatim habito, (Al. privatum habitum,)* ſuæque gentis veſtitum reponens, inſigne Regii amictus, quaſi jam Gothorum Romanorumque regnator, adſumſit.

(2) *To this appertain theſe Words of* Ennodius, p. 301. Tibi cum rectore meo, Odoacer, occurro, qui univerſas contra eum nationes, quaſi orbis concuſſor, exciveras. Tot reges tecum ad bella convenerant, quot ſuſtinere generalitas milites vix valeret. Deprehenſum eſt varias eſſe mentes coacervatæ multitudinis, nec ſpem victoriæ venire de numero.

* *The* Iſonzo *ariſes in the* Carinthian Alps, *and diſcharges itſelf five Miles from* Aquileia, *into the Bay of* Trieſte.

(3) ENNODIUS *relates this ſecond Engagement at large*, p. 302. *I ſhall only quote the following Paſſage:* Jam raucum buccinæ concinebant, jam te ſui oblitus quærebat exercitus. Qui dum munimentis chalybis pectus includeres, dum ocreis armarere, dum lateri tuo vindex libertatis gladius aptaretur, ſanctam matrem, & venerabilem ſororem, quæ ad te diligentiæ cauſa convenerant, dum inter ſpem & metum fœminea ſollicitudo penderet, dum de eventu attonitæ vultus tui ſidere paſcerentur, talibus alloquiis confirmaſti. *He ſays moreover of* Odoacer's *Overthrow*, p. 304. Protinus adventum tuum indicavit hoſtibus populus occiſorum, executorem prodidit cædis enormitas. Sed nec illis remedia defuere conſueta. Continuo alas, quas tribuit formido, ſumpſerunt: curſu præpeti

Ravenna. But *Theoderick* went to *Milan*, where, at the Beginning of the enſuing Year, 490, many of *Odoacer*'s Adherents, and even *Tufa*, *Magiſter Militum*, ſubmitted to him (4). *Epiphanius*, Biſhop of *Pavia*, came likewiſe thither to him (5), probably to provide for the Safety of his Church. This Prelate had before been employ'd in the moſt important Concerns in *Italy*, and was, afterwards, highly ſerviceable even to the *Gothick* King. *Theoderick* detach'd a Body of Troops to beſiege *Odoacer* in *Ravenna*, and *Tufa* had ſo far gain'd his Confidence, that he was entruſted with the Command of them. But the King ſoon experienc'd, that one Piece of Treachery is always ſucceeded by another. *Tufa* deliver'd up all his Men to *Odoacer*, at *Faënza*, who ſent them chain'd and fetter'd to *Ravenna* (6). *Theoderick* was ſo confounded at this, that he lock'd himſelf up in *Pavia*, and drew his People together into the other tenable Places (7). In the mean Time, he obtain'd Succours from the *Wiſi-Goths* in *Gaul*, and thereupon took the Field again, the ſame Year. A bloody Engagement enſued, on the 11th of *Auguſt*, on the *Adda*, when *Theoderick*, a third Time, gain'd the Victory; and *Odoacer* once more fled for Refuge to *Ravenna* (8).

præpeti interitum metu mortis eligentes. Qui me veritati neſcit obſecutum, Atheſis undas videat tua vice opulentas extitiſſe cadaveribus: & dum tamefaceres gurgites de cruore, in parte alia ſiſtebatur impetus fluentorum. Itaque ne enſibus non ſufficeres, pro te & lympha militavit. Salve fluviorum ſplendidiſſime, qui ex majore parte ſordes Italiæ deluiſti, mundi fecem ſuſcipiens ſine diſpendio puritatis.

(4) Valesius's *anonymous Author, after having related the Battles on the* Iſonzo *and near* Verona, *goes on thus:* Et ambulavit Theodericus Mediolanum, & tradiderunt ſe ipſi maxima pars exercitus Odoacris, nec non & Tufa, Magiſter militum, quem ordinaverat Odoachar, cum optimatibus ſuis, Cal. Aprilis. Eo anno miſſus eſt Tufa Magiſter militum, a Theoderico contra Odoacrem Ravennam. Veniens Faventiam Tufa obſedit Odoacrem cum exercitu, cum quo directus fuerat. Et exiit Odoachar de Ravenna, & venit Faventiam, & Tufa tradidit Odoacri Comitem patricii Theoderici, & miſſi ſunt in ferro, & adducti Ravennam. *The Accounts of the other Hiſtorians, which agree with this, are a good Teſtimony of the Credibility of this Relation.*

(5) Ennodius *in Vit. Epiphan. p.* 390.

(6) Anonymus a Valesio editus. *See the Quotation,* not. 4.

(7) *This Circumſtance is related by* Ennodius, p. 390. Interea perduelles animos deditii exercitus mutationum incendit ambitio, quorum caput Tufa fuit, homo in perfugarum infamio notitia veteri pollutus: qui concepit mente, ut ſe deſperatis partibus cum ingenti multitudine redderet. Quod dum Theodericus rex principali ſollicitudine cognoviſſet, continuo omnem illam, quam totus Oriens vix ſuſtinuit, contraxit manum, atque ad Ticinenſis civitatis anguſtiam contulit.

(8) Anonymus Valesii *in the Year* 490. Fausto & Longino Coss. Odoachar rex exiit de Cremona, & ambulavit Mediolanum. Tunc venerunt Wiſigothæ in auxilium Theoderici, & facta eſt pugna ſuper Addam, & ceciderunt populi ab utraque parte: & occiſus eſt Pierius, Comes domeſticorum III. Idus Auguſtas, & fugit Odoachar Ravennam. Et mox ſubſequutus eſt eum patricius Theodericus, veniens in Pineta, & fixit foſſatum, & obſidens Odoacrem clauſum per triennium Ravennæ: & factus eſt uſque ad ſex ſolidos modius tritici. Et mittens legationem Theodericus, Feſtum, caput Senatus ad Zenonem imperatorem, & ab eodem ſperans veſtem ſe induere regiam. *The Battle on the* Adda *is likewiſe taken Notice of by* Cassiodorus in Chronico: Fauſto V. C. Jun. Coſ. (A. 490.) Ad Ducam (*L. Adduam*) fluvium Odoacrem D. N. Theodericus Rex tertio certamine ſuperavit, qui Ravennam fugiens obſidetur incluſus.

§. V.

§ V. *THEODERICK* block'd him up in that Place, and, as it was the only one remaining in the Enemy's Hands, thought himſelf ſecurely Maſter of all *Italy*. He then diſpatch'd *Feſtus*, at that Time, the moſt conſiderable Member of the Senat at *Rome*, to *Zeno*, the Emperor, that he might, likewiſe, ſecure to himſelf the Fruits of his Victory (1). *Odoacer* made a vigorous Sally, in the Year 491, but was repell'd (2); however the Siege laſted 'till the third Year. Nevertheleſs, this did not hinder *Theodorick* from tranſacting, in the mean Time, other Affairs. He made an Agreement with the *Vandals*, concerning *Sicily* (3), and prevented the Kings of the *Burgundians*, who had made an Irruption into *Italy*, from proſecuting their Deſign (4). A Want of Proviſions, which became daily more preſſing, in the City, at Length obliged the Beſieged to ſurrender. A Peace enſued thereupon, towards the Concluſion of *February*, *A.* 493, by the Mediation of the Biſhop of *Ravenna*, and the *Goths* were admitted into the City (5). The Conditions are not indeed tranſmitted to us (6); but from the Succeſs *Theoderick* had 'till then met with, we may conclude that they were moſt advantageous to him. However, an Accommodation between theſe two Princes could not ſubſiſt long; ſince *Odoacer* had the Loſſes, which he had ſuſtained, daily before his Eyes; and *Theoderick*, on the other Hand, thought himſelf not ſecure, whilſt he liv'd; and conſequently every Thing furniſh'd Grounds for Suſpicion. *Odoacer* was ſoon after murder'd at *Ravenna* (7).

Peace is concluded with *Opoacer*, &c.

Thelanes,

§ V. (1) ANONYMUS *a* VALESIO editus. *See* n. 7. ad §. 4.

(2) ANONYMUS VALESII *ad A.* 491. OLYBRIO, V. C. Coſ. Exiit Odoachar Rex de Ravenna nocte cum Erulis, egreſſus in Pineta, in foſſato Patricii Theoderici, & ceciderunt ab utraque parte exercitus. CASSIODORUS *in Chr. ad eund. An. Hoc Coſ.* Odoacer cum Erulis egreſſus Ravenna, nocturnis horis, ad pontem Candidium, a D. N. Rege Theoderico, memorabili certamine, ſuperatus.

(3) CASSIODORUS *Olybrio Jun. Coſ. (A.* 491.) Tum etiam Vandali pace ſuppliciter poſtulata, a Siciliæ depredatione ceſſarunt.

(4) VALESIUS *places this Irruption in the Year* 492. Tom. 1. p. 244.

(5) PROCOPIUS *de bello Gothico, L.* 1. *p.* 309. Jam annos tres Theodericus & Gothi Ravennam circumſederant fruſtra, cum hinc Gothos obſidionis tædium, inde Odoacri defenſores penuria cibariorum ad hanc perpulit pactionem, cujus conciliator fuit Antiſtes Ravennæ: ut in ea urbe Theodericus, atque Odoacer, ex æquo viverent. Aliquamdiu quidem manſere pacta: poſtea vero Theodericus detecta, ut perhibent, fraude, quam Odoacer ipſi ſtruebat, eum doloſe ad epulas invitatum occidit. CHRONOGRAPHUS *a Cuſpiniano editus ad Conſulatum Albini (A.* 493.) Hoc Coſ. quoque facta eſt pax inter Theodericum Regem, & Odoacrum III. Kal. Martias: & ingreſſus eſt Ravennam Rex, Theodericus, III. Nonas Martias, & occiſus eſt Odoacer Rex a Rege Theoderico, in Palatio cum commilitonibus ſuis.

(6) PROCOPIUS *ſays, that ſomething was left* Odoacer: *But we may conclude from* Ennodius's *Words, cited in the following Note, that he was, at leaſt, oblig'd to abdicate the Government of* Italy.

(7) PROCOPIUS's *Paſſage, relating to the Murder of* Odoacer, *was cited before.* CASSIODORUS *in Chronico*: Albino V. C. Coſ. D. N. Rex

Thelanes, his Son *, his Kindred, and principal Adherents, together with their Wives and Children, were all put to Death, on the ſame Day (8). Hiſtorians pretend, in *Theoderick*'s Defence, that *Odoacer* had form'd a Conſpiracy againſt him, which he was oblig'd to prevent (9). We find *Rugi* and *Heruli* in *Theoderick*'s Service, who were ſo united, that they compos'd a ſeparate Army: But it is Matter of Doubt, whether they were the ſame who had been in *Odoacer*'s Service.

The Conſtitution of the *Oſtro-Gothick* Kingdom in *Italy*.

† *A.* 491. the 9th of *April*.

§ VI. At this Period, ſome place the real Beginning of *Theoderick*'s Reign in *Italy* (1). *Zeno*, the Emperor, dying, in the mean Time †, *Theoderick* now aſſum'd the Purple, notwithſtanding *Anaſtaſius*, the new Emperor, would not, at firſt, conſent to it (2). He thereupon ſent *Epiphanius*, Biſhop of *Pavia*, and *Victor*, Biſhop of *Turin*, to *Gundobald* and *Godegiſilus*, Kings of the *Burgundians*, to eſtabliſh a Peace with them. At their late Irruption into *Italy*, they had carried away a great Number of Captives: Of theſe, he redeemed ſeveral Thouſands, and procur'd the Releaſe of 6000 of them, without any Ranſom. A Marriage was, on this Occaſion, concluded, between his Daughter, and *Sigiſmund*, the *Burgundian* Prince, the Son of *Gundobald* (3). He likewiſe maintain'd the Peace with the *Vandals*, and, as a Confirmation of this Alliance, gave his Siſter in Marriage to *Thraſimund*, their King; which prov'd ſo far advan-

Theodericus Ravennam ingreſſus, Odoacrem molientem ſibi inſidias, interemit. Ennodius *repreſents the Matter, as if* Odoacer, *and his Partizans, having reſolv'd upon a freſh Attempt, it was diſcover'd to* Theoderick, *who thereupon took ſuch Meaſures, that* Odoacer, *as well as all his Adherents, were, on one Day, put to Death.* Libuit eos rurſus tendenti inermem dextram Odoacri regna polliceri. Innotuit illico rebus in luce deprehenſis hoſtilium error animorum, Advocaſti providentiam actuum Tuorum comitem: & ne impunita eſſet libido diſcurrentium, ultionis vexilla concutiens, feciſti conſiliorum participem, in ſecretis populum jam probatum. Neminem adverſariorum agnoviſſe contigit, quod tecum pars mundi potior diſponebat. Mandata eſt per regiones diſjunctiſſimas nex votiva. Quia hæc præter ſupernam voluntatem præſtitit, ut unius ictu temporis effunderetur Romani nominis clades, longa temporum improbitate collecta. Hic quo me vertam neſcio. Gradum referam, qui ſuſcepi officium laudatoris; an arreptum præconiorum tuorum iter ingrediar? Conſumta res eſt proſpero fatalique bello. Succiſa eſt Odoacris præſumptio, poſtquam eam contigit de fallacia non juvari. Quid Herulorum agmina fuſa commemorem? qui ideo adverſus Te deducti ſunt, ut hic agnoſcerent, etiam in propriis ſedibus, quem timerent.

* Anon. Valesii.

(8) Odoacer *and* Anulphus *his Brother, are, in ſome ancient Genealogies, ſaid to have given Riſe to ſeveral illuſtrious Families in* Germany.

(9) Procopius, Cassiodorus, *and* Ennodius. *The Paſſages are quoted in the foregoing Notes*, 5 & 7.

§ VI. (1) *Some date the Years of his Reign, in* Italy, *from the Year* 489. *Others, and eſpecially* Baronius *and* Pagius, *from the Year* 493. Conf. Pagius ad A. 493. n. 1.

(2) Anonymus Valesii: At ubi cognita morte ejus, antequam legatio reverteretur, ut ingreſſus eſt Ravennam, & occidit Odoacrem, Gothi ſibi confirmaverunt Regem, non expectantes juſſionem novi Principis. *With this we muſt compare* Jornandes's *Relation, which may be ſeen above*, § 4.

(3) *This Ambaſſy is related at large by* Ennodius, in vita Epiphanii. conf. Pagius, ad A. 494. n. 10.

tageous

tageous to *Italy*, that it put a Stop to the Depredations of the *Vandals* on thoſe Coaſts (4). *Anaſtaſius* was likewiſe at laſt reconcil'd to him; and ſent back all the Appurtenances of the Palace of *Ravenna*, which *Odoacer* had caus'd to be brought to *Conſtantinople* (5). *Theoderick* went to *Rome* himſelf in the Year 500 (6); he there celebrated a Triumph; conven'd the Senat *ad palmam auream*; confirm'd the Immunities of the *Romans*, and gain'd the Affections of the Populace, by exhibiting pompous Spectacles, and by his great Liberality (7). He aſſum'd the Name of *Flavius* (8), and ſo regulated his Government, that nothing farther was wanting, but the Imperial Title. *Theoderick* muſt not be regarded as a Prince, who ow'd his Greatneſs merely to the Strength of his Arms (9): He went to *Italy* with the Knowledge and Conſent of the lawful Emperor, and took upon him the Government, not only with the Approbation of the Emperor, but with that of the Senat of *Rome*: He likewiſe rul'd

(4) *This is mention'd by* ENNODIUS, p. 311. Quid caſtigatas Vandalorum, ventis parentibus, eloquar deprædationes, quibus pro annua penſione ſatis eſt amicitia tua? Evagari ultra poſſibilitatem neſciunt. Duce ſapientia, affines eſſe meruerunt, quia obedire non abnuunt. *In the Sequel, we ſhall give a more exact Account of the Nuptials of the* Vandalick *King.*

(5) PAGIUS ad A. 500. n. 3. *infers from the Relation of* Theophanes, *that the Agreement with* Anaſtaſius, *was concluded*, A. 499. *In* Caſſiodori Varia. L. 1. ep. 1. *we meet with a Letter from* Theoderick *to* Anaſtaſius, *which treats of a Peace and Accommodation. But we cannot find any Footſteps, when it was written.*

(6) CASSIODORUS *in Chr.* PATRITIO & HYPATIO Coss. *(A.* 500.*)* Hoc anno D. N. Rex Theodericus Romam cuſtorum votis expetitus advenit, & SENATUM SUUM mira affabilitate tractans, Romanæ plebi donavit annonas, atque admirandis mœnibus deputata per annos ſingulos maxima pecuniæ quantitate ſubvenit. Sub cujus felici imperio plurimæ renovantur urbes, munitiſſima caſtella conduntur, conſurgunt admiranda palatia, magniſque ejus operibus antiqua miracula ſuperantur. Valeſius's *anonymous Author relates this ſtill more circumſtantially.* Poſt facta pace in urbe Eccleſiæ ambulavit Rex Theodericus Romam, & occurrit B. Petro devotiſſimus, ac ſi Catholicus. Cui Papa Symmachus, & cunctus Senatus, vel populus Romanus communi gaudio extra urbem occurrentes: deinde veniens, ingreſſus urbem venit ad Senatum, & ad Palmam populum adlocutus, ſe omnia, Deo juvante, quæ retro Principes Romani ordinaverat, inviolabiliter ſervaturum promittit. *There was a Palace in* Rome ad palmam auream, *of which ſee* Vita B. FULGENTII: In loco, qui Palma aurea dicitur, memorato Theodorico Rege concionem faciente. *King* Theoderick *calls it* Domus Palmata, ap. CASSIODORUM in Variis 4. ep. 30.

(7) VALESIUS's Anonymus *proceeds thus:* Per tricennalem triumphans ingreſſus Palatium, exhibens Romanis ludos Circenſium: donavitque populo Romano, & pauperibus, annonas ſingulis annis, centum viginti millia modios, & ad reſtaurationem Palatii, ſeu recuperationem mœniorum civitatis, ſingulis annis libras ducentas de arca Vinaria dari præcepit. Valeſius *and* Pagius *agree in this, that inſtead of* tricennalem, *we muſt read* decennalem, *and that* Theoderick *then celebrated his* Decennalia *at* Rome, *with the greateſt Magnificence, as was uſual with the Emperors.* Conf. PAGIUS ad A. 500. n. 2. *We muſt only obſerve, that if he celebrated his* Decennalia *in this Year, the Beginning of his Reign muſt not be plac'd in the Year* 493.

(8) *Vid. duas litteras Theoderici ad Synodum Romanum miſſas, ap.* BARONIUM *ad A.* 502. *n.* 2. *ſeq.*

(9) *Several modern Writers acknowledge, that the* Goths *were the lawful Maſters of* Italy. *See, among the Reſt,* BERNARDUS SACCHIUS, Ticinenſis, de Italicarum rerum varietate & elegantia, L. 8. p. 161. ſeq.

in

in ſuch Manner, that *Rome* could not, long before or after, boaſt of ſuch happy Days, as under his Government. He was, with Regard to his Perſon, of a noble Aſpect (10), and poſſeſs'd all the Qualifications requiſite to aggrandize a Prince, and render his Adminiſtration acceptable. He was both valiant and fortunate in the Field; and yet, after his Throne was once eſtabliſh'd, never took up Arms; but in Caſe of Neceſſity; and always out of *Italy*. We ſhall find, in the Sequel, how, by a proper Regulation of his Dominions, he choſe the ſafeſt Method of becoming powerful. This Regulation, and the prudent Alliances connected with it, caus'd the *Grecian* Court, on one Side, and all the *German* Princes, on the other, to be greatly influenc'd by his Steps. We cannot, next to the Mention of this great Prince, juſtly omit that of the Senator, *M. Aurelius Caſſiodorus*, his Prime-Miniſter (11). The Letters are extant, which he diſpatch'd in that King's Name. The Stile of them is affected and obſcure, but we may diſcover in them, Principles throughout the whole, which do Honour to the Maſter as well as the Servant.

Clovis's Expedition againſt the *Thuringians*.

§ VII. *CLOVIS* had, in the mean Time, partly ſecur'd and partly extended his Dominions in *Gaul*: *Soiſſons* is ſaid to have been the Capital of them. Hiſtorians mention an Expedition of his, about the Year 491, againſt the *Thuringians*. They then border'd, in *Germania*, on the Dominions of the *Franks*, and the latter being gone to *Gaul*, they ſeem now to have endeavour'd taking Advantage of their Abſence. *Gregory* ſays, that *Clovis* then ſubjected them to the Dominion of the *Franks* (1); but in this he perhaps goes too far. We find, at leaſt, that *Thuringia* remain'd a powerful Kingdom, 'till the Time, when *Clovis*'s Sons conquer'd it. In the Year 493, he married *Clotildis*, a Daughter of *Chilperic*,

(10) Theoderick's *graceful Aſpect is taken Notice of by* ENNODIUS in Panegyr. p. 316. Sed nec formæ tuæ decus inter poſtrema numerandum eſt, quando regii vultus purpura oſtrum dignitatis irradiat. Exhibete Seres indumenta, pretioſo murice quæ fucatis, & non uno aheno bibentia nobilitatem tegmina prorogate: diſcoloribus gemmis ſertum texatur, & quem vehementior vipera cuſtodit, lapis adveniat. Quæcunque ornamenta mundo obſequente tranſmiſſa fuerint, decorata venerandi genio corporis plus lucebunt. Statura eſt, quæ reſignet prolixitate regnantem. Nix genarum habet concordiam cum rubore, vernant lumina ſerenitate continua. Dignæ manus, quæ exitia rebellibus tribuant, bonorum voto ſubjectis. Nullus intempeſtive poſitum jactet: quia quod agunt in aliis dominis diademata, hoc in rege meo operata eſt Deo fabricante natura. Illos faciunt tot divitiarum adjumenta conſpicuos: Sed hunc edidit ſimplex, & inde mutabilis figura meliorem. Quid cultu laborant, qui capiant peregrinam obtinere pulcritudinem? Italiæ rector in amicitiam colligit duo diverſiſſima: ut ſit in ira ſine comparatione fulmineus, in lætitia ſine nube formoſus.

(11) *His Life is prefix'd to his Works, and* F. de Sainte-Marthe *has given it us, in a ſeparate Treatiſe.*

§ VII. (1) GREGORIUS TURONENSIS, *L. 2. c. 27.* Decimo regni ſui anno Thoringis bellum intulit, eoſdemque ſuis ditionibus ſubjugavit. *In geſtis regum Francorum, c. 10. we only read:* devicto populo totaque terra vaſtata, ipſos Thoringos tributarios Francorum fecit.

King

King of the *Burgundians* (2). It may here ſuffice, that we barely take Notice of the Fact, for the other Circumſtances are interſpers'd with ſo many Fictions (3), that it would be impoſſible to ſelect the Truth from them. He extended the Dominion of the *Franks*, the ſame Year, as far as the *Seyne* (4); and, the next, as far as the *Loire* (5). Theſe Provinces were now, after the Downfal of the *Roman* Empire, deſtitute of all Protection, and the *Franks* therefore met with little Reſiſtance. The Kings of the *Wiſi-Goths*, and of the *Burgundians*, were yet quiet, and perhaps little thought, that theſe Neighbours would ſoon ſubvert even their Monarchies.

He gains a Victory over the *Alemanni*.

§ VIII. BUT he ſoon after gain'd a yet more glorious Victory over the *Alemanni* (1). This Nation dwelt originally on the Right of the *Rhine*, betwixt the *Danube* and the *Mayn*, where we frequently found them, in the Tranſactions of the foregoing Volume: But they had likewiſe extended their Dominion on the other Side of the *Mayn*, and had gain'd a ſure Footing in *Germania Prima*, and *in Sequanis* (2). They were involv'd in a War with one Part of the *Franks*, govern'd by *Sigebert*, who reſided at *Cologn*. *Clovis* went to the Aſſiſtance of theſe *Franks* †, and defeated (3) † *A.* 496?

(2) *Conf.* COINTE *ad h. a. n.* 3.

(3) P. DANIEL, *P.* 1. *p.* 10.

(4) *Autor de geſtis Francorum, c.* 14. In illis diebus dilatavit Clodoveus amplificans regnum ſuum uſque Sequanam. SIGEBERTUS *refert ad A. Clodovei* XII. *Conf* COINTE *ad A.* 493. n. 111.

(5) *Conf* COINTE *ad A.* 494. *n.* 2.

§ VIII. (1) *The laſt Mention I made of the* Alemanni *was in the former Volume,* L. 9. § 12. *and* Lib. 10. § 10.

(2) *The Borders of the* Alemanni *are deſcrib'd by the Geographer of* Ravenna, L. 4. § 26. *That Paſſage is illuſtrated by* HERTIUS in Notitia Populorum Veteris Germaniæ, p. 111. *We find among others, the Cities of* Worms, Spire, Straſburg, Baſel, Conſtance, Brigantia. &c.

(3) *We may here add the Relation of* GREGORIUS TURONENSIS, Lib. 2. c. 30. Regina vero non ceſſabat prædicare, ut Deum verum cognoſceret, & idola negligeret. Sed nullo modo ad hæc credenda poterat commoveri, donec tandem aliquando bellum contra Alemannos commoveretur, in quo compulſus eſt confiteri neceſſitate, quod prius voluntate negaverat. Factum eſt autem ut confligente utroque exercitu, vehementer cæderentur: atque exercitus Chlodovei valde ad internecionem ruere cœpit. Quod ille videns, elevatis ad Cœlum oculis, compunctus corde, commotus in lacrymis, ait: Jeſu Chriſte, quem Chrothildis prædicat eſſe filium Dei vivi, qui dare auxilium laborantibus, victoriamque in Te ſperantibus tribuere diceris, tuæ opis gloriam devotus deflagito: ut ſi mihi victoriam ſuper hos hoſtes indulſeris, & expertus fuero illam virtutem, quam de te populus, tuo nomini dicatus, probaſſe ſe prædicat, credam tibi, & in nomine tuo bapticer. Invocavi enim Deos meos, ſed ut experior, elongati ſunt ab auxilio meo: unde credo eos eſſe nullius poteſtatis præditos, qui ſibi obedientibus non ſuccurrunt. Te nunc invoco, & tibi credere deſidero, tantum, ut eruar ab adverſariis meis. Cumque hæc diceret, Alemanni terga vertentes in fugam labi cœperunt. Cumque Regem ſuum cernerent interemtum, Chlodovei ſe ditionibus ſubdunt, dicentes: Ne amplius, quæſumus, pereat populus: jam tui ſumus. At ille prohibito bello, coarctatoque populo, cum pace regreſſus, narravit Reginæ, qualiter per invocationem nominis Chriſti victoriam meruit obtinere. Actum Anno 15 regni ſui. *The* Geſta Francorum *agrees with this in the principal Circumſtances.*

the

the *Alemanni*, in a bloody Battle, near *Zülpick*, in the preſent Duchy of *Juliers* (4). The King (5) was ſlain on the Spot, and this Overthrow ſo weaken'd the whole Nation, that they were no longer able to withſtand the *Franks*. *Clovis* purſu'd his Victory, and aim'd at ſubjecting the whole Country to his Dominion: But one Part of the *Alemanni* implor'd the Protection of *Theoderick*, King of the *Oſtro-Goths*, who aſſign'd them a Tract of Land in *Rætia* (6). He likewiſe wrote a Letter to *Clovis*, and beg'd he would not treat theſe conquer'd People too ſeverely, and, in particular, that he would ſpare thoſe, who had put themſelves under his Protection (7). How far his Interceſſion prevail'd is uncertain; but we find, that the whole Nation, excepting theſe who ſhelter'd themſelves under the *Goths*, was reduc'd to a Subjection to the *Franks*. The *Franks* peopl'd one Part of *Alemannia*, with their Colonies; whence the preſent *Franconia*, a fine Province of the *German* Empire, and the City of *Frankfurt*, where the *Franks* paſs'd the *Mayn*, receiv'd their Names. The Arms of the *Franks* gain'd therefore no ſmall Renown, by ſubduing at once a People, who had been able to withſtand the *Romans* ſo long. That Body of *Alemanni*, who took Refuge among the *Goths*, was afterwards given by *Vitiges*, the *Gothick* King, to *Theodebert*, King of *Auſtraſia*, *Clovis*'s Grandſon. The Treatment, which the vanquiſh'd *Alemanni* met with from the *Franks*, contributed perhaps chiefly to their conſtant Subjection: And in this, we have a great Inſtance of *Clovis*'s Capacity, as well to ſecure his Dominions, by proper Meaſures, as to extend them by his Arms. We find that the *Alemanni* were, after this, govern'd by their own Dukes, under the Sovereignty of the Kings of the *Franks*; and tho' they conform'd to the *Franks*, in many Reſpects, with Regard to their Policy, yet they retain'd their Cuſtoms and civil Laws, which Liberty even reach'd to their Religion, inſomuch, that they remain'd

(4) Hertius *imagines, that inſtead of* Tolbiacenſe Oppidum, *we muſt read* Tulliacenſe *or* Tullenſe. *This Doubt has likewiſe been raiſed by others. But if we take theſe Things, as related by* Valeſius, *ſuch Conjectures are unneceſſary.*

(5) *King* Theoderick *ſays, in his Letter to* Clovis, *in* Cassiodorus *Variar.* Lib. 2. ep. 41. Sufficiat illum regem cum gentis ſuæ ſuperbia cecidiſſe. Sufficiat innumerabilem nationem partim ferro, partim ſervitio ſubjugatam. In Vita S. Severini, c. 19. *we meet with a King of the* Alemanni, *named* Gibuldus. *In the* Acta S. Lupi, *he is called* Gebavultus. *But it is uncertain whether this be the ſame who was conquer'd by* Clovis.

(6) Ennodius *takes Notice of this Reception of the* Alemanni, *in Panegyrico*, p. 311. Quid quod a te Alemanniæ generalitas inter Italiæ terminos, ſine detrimento Romanæ poſſeſſionis, incluſa eſt? cui evenit habere regem, poſtquam meruit perdidiſſe: cui feliciter ceſſit fugiſſe patriam ſuam, nam ſic adepta eſt ſoli noſtri opulentiam. *The Words* inter Italiæ terminos *may very well be interpreted of* Rætia, *which was at that Time, comprehended under the Name of* Italy.

(7) *See above*, not. 7.

Heathens,

Heathens, after the *Franks* had embrac'd the *Chriſtian* Faith (8): But all this will appear more evidently in the Sequel.

IX. THIS Victory over the *Alemanni* leads us to the Converſion of the *Franks*. We muſt not hope to find every ſecret Circumſtance of this important Change tranſmitted to us in Hiſtory. *Clovis* was frequently inſtigated by *Clotildis*, his Queen, to embrace the *Chriſtian* Faith. He had likewiſe had frequent Opportunities, in *Gaul*, to converſe with Chriſtians; and when they repreſented to him the Truth and Excellency of their Religion, he undoubtedly conſider'd, that his Converſion would prove, at the ſame Time, a Means of ſubduing all *Gaul*, with the greater Eaſe. In the War of the *Alemanni*, we find, according to the Relation of *Gregory*, of *Tours*, the Circumſtances whereby Heaven had decreed to reveal the Goſpel to the *Franks*, which by them was to be ſpread into ſo many other Countries. When *Clovis*, in the Battle near *Zülpick*, was reduced to great Streights, he call'd upon the Name of *Jeſus Chriſt*, and vow'd, that if He would grant him that Victory, he would inſtantly embrace his Faith (1). Now after he had defeated the Enemy, the Queen exhorted *Remigius*, Biſhop of *Rheims*, who had before ſome Share in the King's Favour (2), to lay hold on this Opportunity of carrying on the Work of his Converſion with the more Zeal (3). *Clovis* doubted at

Clovis embraces the *Chriſtian* Faith.

(8) AGATHIAS, *p.* 18. *A.* Sunt etiam his patria quædam inſtituta: in reipublicæ vero adminiſtratione Francorum politiam ſequuntur. Tantum in iis quæ ad Deum pertinent ſententia variant. Arbores enim quaſdam colunt, & fluminum lapſus, & colles, & ſaltus. Atque his, tanquam juſta facientes, equos aliaque, quam plurima reſectis capitibus immolant. Porro conſuetudo, quam cum Francis habent, ipſis conducit, in melius transferens, & quodam modo pertrahens cordatiores: & brevi, uti ſpero, tempore hoc ipſum apud omnes evincet.

§ IX. (1) *I here follow* Gregory: *The Words themſelves are in the foregoing* §. n. 3.

(2) *By the* Teſtamentum B. Remigii *it appears, that this King, when yet a* Pagan, *gave him ſeveral Eſtates.*

(3) GREGORIUS TURONENSIS, *Lib.* 2. *cap.* 31. Tunc regina acceſſiri clam ſanctum Remigium, Remenſis urbis epiſcopum jubet, deprecans, ut Regi verbum ſalutis inſinuaret. Quem ſacerdos accerſitum, ſecretius cœpit inſtigare, ut Deum verum, factorem cœli & terræ crederet, idola negligeret, quæ neque ſibi, neque aliis, prodeſſe poſſunt. At ille ait: Libenter Te, ſanctiſſime pater, audiam. Sed reſtat unum, quod populus, qui me ſequitur, non patitur relinquere Deos ſuos. Sed vado, & loquor eis juxta verbum tuum. Conveniens autem cum ſuis, priuſquam ille loqueretur, præcurrente potentia Dei, omnis populus pariter acclamavit: Mortales Deos abigimus, pie Rex, & Deum, quem Remigius prædicat, immortalem ſequi parati ſumus. Nunciantur hæc antiſtiti, qui gaudio magno repletus, juſſit lavacrum præparari. Velis depictis adumbrantur plateæ, eccleſiæ curtinis albentibus adornantur, baptiſterium componitur, balſamum diffunditur, micant fragrantes odore cerei, totumque templum baptiſterii divino reſpargitur odore. Talemque ibi gratiam adſtantibus Deus tribuit ut æſtimarent ſe Paradiſi odoribus conlocari. Rex ergo prior propoſcit ſe a pontifice baptizari. Procedit novus Conſtantinus ad lavacrum, deleturus lepræ veteris morbum, ſordenteſque maculas geſtorum antiquorum recenti latice deleturus. Cui ingreſſo ad baptiſmum Sanctus Dei ſic infit ore facundo: Mitis depone Sicamber colla, adora quod incendiſti, incende, quod adoraſti. *And lower:* Igitur Rex omnipotentem Deum in Trinitate confeſſus, baptizatus eſt in nomine patris, & filii, & ſpiritus ſancti, delibutuſque ſacro Chriſmate, cum ſignaculo crucis Chriſti. De exercitu vero ejus baptizati ſunt amplius tria millia. Baptizata eſt & ſoror ejus ALBOFLEDIS, quæ non

at firſt *, whether his Subjects would be pleas'd with ſuch a Change He ſpoke to the Nation himſelf, and the King's Example, which has always a great Influence over the People, prov'd now the more efficacious, as it had Truth and Conviction on its Side. At the Feſtival of the
† 496. Nativity of our Saviour (4), of this ſame Year †, he was baptiz'd by the Hands of *Remigius*, at *Rheims*. *Audofledis*, his Siſter, was, at the ſame Time, baptized with him. *Lanthildis*, his other Siſter, who was before of the *Arian* Perſuaſion, now profeſs'd the *Catholick* Faith, and was confirmed. Several Thouſands of the Nation were immediately baptiz'd †, and their Example was ſoon followed by the Reſt. But here we are only to underſtand thoſe *Franks*, who were originally Subjects to *Clovis*: For many continu'd *Pagans*, and were not converted 'till a conſiderable Time after, in the Countries about the *Scheld*, *Maes*, and *Rhine*, where other *Franconian* Princes then ruled, of whom I ſhall Make mention below (5). The Circumſtances of this great Ceremony, are ſufficiently ſet forth by the Compilers of the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory (6). *Hincmarus*, Archbiſhop of *Rheims*, relates, in the Life of *S. Remigius*, that when *Remigius* was about to baptize the King, a white Dove brought to him, in a ſmall Flask, the Oil requir'd for the Ceremony. But neither *Avitus*, Biſhop of *Vienna*, who lived at that Time, nor *Gregorius Turonenſis* or *Fredegarius*, who were both prior to *Hincmarus*, take any Notice of this notable Miracle. The Learned have therefore plac'd this Relation among thoſe, which *Hincmarus* interſpers'd, to the Honour of his Predeceſſor and his Church, without either producing a Proof, or even regarding their Probability (7). In publick Ceremonies, however, as

non poſt multum tempus migravit ad Dominum. Pro qua cum Rex contriſtaretur, ſanctus Remigius conſolatoriam miſit epiſtolam, quæ hoc modo ſumſit exordium: Angit me, & ſatis me angit veſtræ cauſa triſtitiæ, quod bonæ memoriæ germana veſtra tranſiit Albofledis. Sed de hac re conſolari poſſumus, quia talis de hoc mundo migravit, ut ſuſpici magis debeat quam lugeri. Converſa eſt enim & alia ſoror ejus LANTHILDIS nomine, quæ in hæreſin Arianorum dilapſa fuerat, quæ confeſſa æqualem filium patri, & Spiritui Sancto, chriſmata eſt.

* Alcuinus in vita Vedasti *relates, that, on his Return, he took* S. Vedaſt *with him from* Tull *to* Rheims, *in Order to be inſtructed by him, in the Chriſtian Religion.* Conf. Cointe ad A. 496. n. 7.

(4) *That he was baptized at* Chriſtmas, *appears from* Avitus's *Letter, as we find it farther illuſtrated by* F. le Cointe, ad A. 496. n. 8. Conf. Pagius ad A. 499. n. 9 & 10.

† Gregory *ſays* 3000. Fredegarius 6000. Conf. Cointe, l. c. n. 68. ſeqq.

(5) Cointe, *l. c.*

(6) F. le Cointe *has made the moſt diligent Enquiries into the Circumſtances of* Clovis's *Baptiſm; and proves, among other Things, that it was celebrated at the Font, belonging to the Cathedral Church of* Notre Dame, *which, as we ſtill find at ſeveral very ancient Churches, ſtood without the Church, according to the Cuſtom of thoſe Times, when Baptiſm was perform'd by dipping. Thoſe who were then baptiz'd, were dipp'd in the Water, and* Clovis *himſelf was dipp'd thrice, as* Hincmarus *relates,* in vita Remigii. *The Cuſtom of anointing, as it was then uſed in Baptiſm, is likewiſe illuſtrated by* F. le Cointe; *but he deſerves very little Credit, when,* n. 67. *he relates from* Flodoardus, Lib. 2. c. 19. *that* Clovis *was anointed King.*

(7) Conf. Joh. Jacob. Chifletius in Tr. de Ampulla Remenſi: *And the* Abbé de Vertot's Diſſertation au ſuiet de la ſainte ampoulle, &c.

more

more Regard is generally had to the Devotion of the Populace, than to the Enquiries of the Learned, this Veſſel is ſtill preſerv'd, with great Veneration, at *Rheims*; and even the *Criſma*, which is us'd when the Kings are anointed, is taken out of it. We may eaſily imagine how greatly the *Chriſtians* rejoyc'd on this Day, which produc'd, in a Manner, a ſecond *Conſtantine*. *Anaſtaſius*, the *Roman* Pope, ſent him a congratulatory Letter on his Converſion (8), as did likewiſe *Avitus*, Biſhop of *Vienna* (9), (a See appertaining to the Kingdom of the *Burgundians*) who was, at that Time, highly eſteem'd by the *Catholick* Biſhops in *Gaul*. And we may perceive, by this Letter, what Advantages the *Catholicks*, in other Countries, hop'd for from this Converſion, which, in Reality, prov'd highly beneficial to the *Catholick* Church; for *Clovis* was the only *Orthodox* Prince in the *Weſt* (10), the other *Chriſtian* Kings being all Profeſſors of *Arianiſm*: And, in the *Eaſt*, the Emperor *Anaſtaſius* himſelf fell into the Errors of *Eutychius*. *Gaul* was, in Proceſs of Time, clear'd from the Infection of *Arianiſm* by the *Franks*, and by their Means ſo many other *German* Nations embrac'd the true Faith. But *Clovis* gain'd, on the other Hand, likewiſe this Advantage thereby, that the People of thoſe Countries, which were already ſubject to him, became entirely devoted to his Service, and the Subjects of the *Wiſi-Gothick* and *Burgundian* Kings bore a great Affection to the *Franks*; which prov'd greatly advantageous to him and his Sons, in their Wars with theſe Princes. The Sequel of Hiſtory even ſhews this to have been the moſt ſecure Means of uniting the ancient Inhabitants of his Country with the *Franks*, and of forming a Monarchy out of both; which happy Circumſtance was wanting, in the *Gothick* and *Burgundian* Kingdoms. The Wars which *Clovis* ſoon after wag'd with both theſe Nations, oblige me to reſume their Hiſtory.

§ X. THE *Burgundian* Kingdom then comprehended that Part of *Gaul*, where we now find the Duchy and County of *Burgundy*; the City and Diſtrict of *Lyons*; the Territory of *Dauphiny*, and a Part of *Provence*: and beſides all this, *Savoy*, and on this Side of Mount *Jura*, a Part of *Swiſſerland*, and the Country of *Valais*. Which will appear more plainly in the Sequel, when, in the Reign of *Sigiſmund*, I ſhall treat of the Convention of the *Burgundian* Biſhops, at *Yenne* †. *Gundeucus* had left four Sons (1), *Chilperic*, *Godomar*, *Gundobald*, and *Godegiſil*. The two former did not reign long. *Gregory* of *Tours* relates (2), The Hiſtory of the Kingdom of the *Burgundians*, &c.

† *Epaona.*

(8) *In Spicilegio* LUCÆ D'ACHERY, *Tom.* 5.
(9) *Epiſt.* AVITI 41.
(10) *Id fuſius probat* COINTE *ad A.* 496. *n.* 98. *ſeqq.*

§ X. (1) *The Hiſtory of the* Burgundian *Monarchy, to the Reign of* Gundeucus, *may be ſeen, Book* 10. § 12 *and* 22.
(2) GREGORIUS, L. 2. cap. 28. *The Words themſelves are cited,* L. 10. § 22. *n.* 6.

that *Gundobald* made away with them, and, in particular, caus'd *Chilperic* to be beheaded, and his Wife to be caſt into the Water, with a Stone tied about her Neck. But if with this, we compare the Account, given of the Death of theſe two *Burgundian* Princes, by *Avitus*, Biſhop of *Vienna*, who was co-temporary, it will plainly appear, that *Gregory* was too much prejudic'd by the Hatred he bore to the *Burgundian* Nation (3). *Chilperic*'s (4) Memory is preſerv'd, on Account of the Marriage which enſued betwixt *Clotildis*, his Daughter, and *Clovis*, whereby ſhe became the Mother of all the ſucceeding Kings of the *Franks*. *Gundobald* and *Godegiſil*, the two other Brothers, agreed on a Partition, the former kept his Court at *Lyons*, and the other at *Geneva* (5). *Gregory* repreſents *Gundobald* in a very odious Light, and the Writers of the *Franconian* Hiſtory, as it were, copy from him, without any farther Enquiry, in Order, previouſly to juſtify *Clovis*'s Sons, they having, at the Inſtigations of *Clotildis*, their Mother, made War againſt *Burgundy*, and wholly extirpated *Gundobald*'s Houſe. But, in the Hiſtories of this Time, we diſcover many Things, which ſerve to explode theſe Calumnies. He was greatly eſteemed in the *Roman* Empire, under *Olybrius*, who dignified him, *A.* 472, with the Title of *Patricius*. And when *Glycerius* ſeiz'd the Imperial Throne, after his Death, his chief Dependance was on this *Burgundian* Prince; all which has been related in the former Volume (6). He is not only repreſented in Hiſtory, as a warlike Prince; but *Ennodius* and *Avitus* ſpeak in Praiſe of his Eloquence (7), and that in the *Latin* Tongue, which was then ſtill in common Uſe, in the Provinces. *Heraclius*, a *Roman* Senator, and a great Orator in *Gaul*, extolls likewiſe his quick Penetration, and happy Inventions (8). He was long a zealous Profeſſor

(3) *He ſays* (Ep. 5. ad Gundobaldum Regem) *in the Letter, wherein he condoles the King on the Death of his Daughter:* Nihil hic caſuale præſumo, nihil aſperum: ordinavit hunc potius occulta diſpenſatio, quam inflixit angorem. Flebatis quondam pietate ineffabili funera Germanorum, ſequebatur fletum publicum univerſalis afflictio; & occulta divinitatis intuitu, inſtrumenta mœſtitiæ parabantur ad gaudium. Minuebat regni felicitas numerum regalium perſonarum, & hoc ſolum ſervabatur mundo, quod ſufficiebat imperio. Illic repoſitum eſt quicquid proſperum fuit Catholicæ veritati. Et neſciebamus illud tunc frangi tantummodo, quod deinceps neſciret inflecti. *He at laſt concludes:* Quicquid tunc flevimus nunc amamus.

(4) *In the former Volume*, L. 10. § 22. n. 4. *I quoted a Paſſage from* Sidonius Apollinaris, *concerning one* Chilperic. F. Sirmond *applies it to this* Chilperic, *and I ſee no Cauſe, why* Valeſius, L. 3. p. 139. *and* Pagius ad A. 472. n. 6. *differ from him.*

(5) *This appears in particular from* Ennodii vita S. Epiphanii, *where he relates this Prelate's Embaſſy to both Kings.*

(6) *L.* 10. § 22, 23.

(7) Ennodius *in Vita Epiphanii, p.* 405. Tunc Rex probatiſſimus, ut erat fando locuples, & eloquentiæ dives opibus, & facundus aſſertor, verbis taliter verba repoſuit: Avitus *ſays the ſame of him in ſeveral Paſſages, as* Ep. 28.

(8) In Ep. ad Avitum *(inter Ep. Aviti, n.* 48.) Quamquam præcellentiſſimus Princeps, cum ſit ad inveniendum igneus, profluus ad dicendum, ita ſenſus ſcrutatus humanos, ut ſemper conventibus mitiſſimo pareat auditu.

of

of *Arianiſm* (9): But, in the mean Time, he never perſecuted the *Catholicks*; the Biſhops aſſembled without Interruption (10); the Churches retain'd their Eſtates (11), and he generally attended, whenever the two Parties diſputed on any dubious Point of Faith. He had himſelf a continual verbal or epiſtolar Correſpondence with *Avitus*, Biſhop of *Vienne*, on religious Matters, as thoſe Letters which are yet extant demonſtrate (12). *Gundobald* acted a conſiderable Part, at the great Revolution, which, in his Time, happen'd in *Italy* and *Gaul*. He enter'd into an Alliance with *Theoderick*, King of the *Oſtro-Goths*, and *Sigiſmund*, his Son, married that Prince's Daughter, who was Siſter to the Conſort of *Alaric*, King of the *Wiſi-Goths*. He ſeems likewiſe to have proceeded cautiouſly with the *Franks* (13). *Clovis* had married his Brother's Daughter: But this Affinity was of no Service to him, for we find, that, in the Year 500, a bloody War broke out between the two Nations. The Accounts we have of it vary; I ſhall, therefore, only tranſcribe the principal Circumſtances, from the moſt ancient *Franconian* Writers (14). *Godegiſil* enter'd into a ſecret Treaty with the *Franks*, and promis'd to pay an annual Tribute, if the King would aſſiſt him to expel *Gundobald*, his Brother (15). This Prince was yet ignorant of his Brother's Negotiation with the *Franks*, when *Clovis* was preparing to attack him. He therefore deſir'd his Aid, againſt an Enemy whom they

(9) *In the former Volume, Book* 8. § 38. *I treated of the Converſion of the* Burgundians, *and obſerv'd, in particular, that they at firſt profeſſed the* Catholick *Faith.* F. PAGI ad A. 424. n. 7. *imagines that* Gundeucus *was a* Catholick *ſtill, and* Gundobald *was the firſt who turn'd* Arian.

(10) *A Convention of this Kind will be mention'd in the Sequel.* Avitus *takes Notice of another Council at* Lyons.

(11) *Thus ſays* Avitus *to him*, Ep. 39. Quicquid habet eccleſiola mea, imo omnes Eccleſiæ noſtræ, veſtrum eſt, de ſubſtantia, quam vel ſervaſtis hactenus, vel donaſtis

(12) *Beſides the Letters in* Avitus's *Works, we meet with another of the ſame Import, from* Avitus *to* Gundobald, *in* Baluzii Miſcellan. T. 1. p. 355.

(13) *In the abovemention'd Letter, where* Avitus *congratulates* Clovis *on his Converſion, is a very remarkable Paſſage.* (Ep. 41.) In apice rerum omnium gubernacula continente non minus eminet ſanctitas, quam poteſtas. Ex qua utique factum eſt, ut dirigi ad vos ſervi veſtri Laurentii filium, PRINCIPALI ORACULO JUBERETIS. Quod apud Dominum meum, ſuæ quidem gentis Regem, ſed MILITEM VESTRUM, obtinuiſſe me ſuggero. F. Daniel *imagines*, p. 20, *that he made himſelf a Vaſſal to* Clovis *immediately after his Baptiſm: But I cannot find what Motive could induce the King of the* Burgundians *to this, and leave the Reader to judge, whether the Words* Miles veſter, *may not be regarded as only a Compliment. The two next Letters at leaſt plainly intimate, that this Son of* Laurentius *ow'd his Freedom to* Clovis's *Interceſſion, rather than to his Command: And the Word* Miles *is met with in the ſame Senſe*, Ep. 42,

(14) Conf GREGORIUS *and* MARIUS AVENTICENSIS. *It is related differently, by the Author of the* Hiſtoria Francorum, *who liv'd not long after* Gregory; *by* Hincmarus, in Vita Remigii; *and by* Rorico, *the Monk. But* H. Valeſius *proves the Accounts of the two former to be moſt credible. Why I do not mention* Procopius *here, will appear in the following* §, not. 2.

(15) *It is uncertain, whether* Godegiſilus *made the Propoſal, as* Gregory *aſſerts, or whether* Clovis *aim'd at the Treaty on his Part, as* Gundobald *complains in the Paſſage cited in the following* §, not. 9.

had

had both Cauſe to fear (16); and *Godegiſil* actually join'd his Troops: But when they came to an Engagement, near *Dijon* (17), he went over to the *Franks*. *Gundobald* was oblig'd to quit the Field, in great Conſternation, and could not think himſelf ſafe 'till he reach'd *Avignon*, where he put himſelf into a Condition to hold out a long Siege. *Clovis* purſu'd him, and beſieg'd *Avignon*; but met with ſo much Difficulty, that, ſetting aſide his Engagement to *Godegiſil*, he made Peace with *Gundobald* (18), on his Promiſe of a Tribute, which he nevertheleſs afterwards refus'd to Pay.

Gundobald makes himſelf Maſter of all *Burgundy*.

§ XI. *GODEGISIL*, in the mean Time, with the Aſſiſtance of ſome Troops, which *Clovis* had left him, made himſelf Maſter of a Part of the Country belonging to his Brother, and enter'd *Vienne*, as it were, in Triumph. He thought himſelf now ſecure of being ſoon Maſter of all *Burgundy*: But *Gundobald* came upon him unawares, and beſieged *Vienne*. *Godegiſil* took Refuge in a Church of the *Arians*, but was there put to Death (1); and expiated, with the Loſs of his Life, the Treachery, to which his Avarice and Ambition had led him. Thus *Gundobald* became Maſter of all the *Burgundian* Provinces, and govern'd them with Renown to his Death, *A.* 516 (2). Among other good Deſigns, he endeavour'd to regulate his Nation by Laws, and *Gregory* allows him this Commendation, that he did it with a View of making the Condition of the Country, and its ancient Inhabitants, more tolerable (3). As the Dominion of the *Romans*, to whoſe Laws the *Gauls* were accuſtom'd, was wholly at an End in thoſe Countries, this Precaution was the more neceſſary, that the ancient Inhabitants, as well as the *Burgundians*, might know to what Laws they were ſubject, and conſequently might live the more peaceably together. Theſe Laws are ſtill extant, and to ſome of

(16) *This Circumſtance becomes very dubious, if we grant, that the Conference of the* Catholicks *and* Arians, *which is mention'd below, was held during the Preparations for this War, as* F. Daniel *affirms: For according to the Account of their Proceedings,* Gundobald *knew, at that Time, that his Brother was in a League with the* Franks. *See the Words in the following* §, not. 9.

(17) *Ad fluvium Oſcaram* (Ouche.)

(18) Marius, Gregorius, Fredegarius.

§ XI. (1) Gregorius Turonensis, *L.* 2. *c.* 32 & 33. Marius Aventicensis: Regnumque quod perdiderat, cum eo, quod Godegiſilus habuerat, receptum, uſque in diem mortis ſuæ feliciter gubernavit. Gregory *is therefore notoriouſly miſtaken, when he ſays:* Gundobaldum & regnum & animam perdidiſſe.

(2) Procopius de Bello Gothico, L. 1. c. 12. *relates, that* Clovis *enter'd into a League with* Theoderick, *King of the* Oſtro-Goths, *againſt the* Burgundians, *and then wag'd War with them: But he aſſigns no particular Time.* F. Daniel *follows his Account,* p. 35. *and ſo connects his Relation as if this War happen'd after the Year* 500, *when* Gundobald *was Maſter of all* Burgundy. *But* Procopius's *Accounts of the* Franks *are in general, and in this Paſſage more particularly, ſo imperfect, that I thought it ſafeſt to have no Regard to this Relation of his.*

(3) Gregorius Turonensis, *l. c. c.* 33. Ipſe vero regionem omnem, quæ nunc Burgundica dicitur, ut in ſuo dominio reſtauravit, Burgundionibus leges mitiores inſtituit, ne Romanos opprimerent.

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them we find the Name of *Gundobald* expreſly prefix'd. In the Reign of *Sigiſmund*, his Son and Succeſſor, I ſhall treat more circumſtantially of the Collection of the *Burgundian* Laws themſelves (4).

I HAVE already extoll'd the Regard he had to Religion; and cannot, on this Occaſion, omit the Mention of a Conference (5) held at *Lyons*, in the King's Preſence, ſoon before, or after the *Franconian* War (6), betwixt the *Catholick* Biſhops and the *Arians*. *Stephen*, Biſhop of *Lyons*; *Avitus* of *Vienne*; *Ennodius* of *Arles*; the Biſhop of *Valence*, and ſome others, being aſſembled, according to Cuſtom, on the Feſtival of *S. Juſtus*, went to Court, and beg'd the King would grant them a Conference with the *Arians*. *Avitus* ſpoke in the Name of the Reſt. The King ſtarted to them this Queſtion: *Since the Purity of your Faith is ſuch, as you boaſt of, why do you not diſſuade the King of the* Franks, *from waging War with me* (7)? *Avitus* anſwer'd, that they knew not what Views or Motives the King of the *Franks* might have to induce him to War; but they knew, from ſacred Writ, that the Tranſgreſſion of the Divine Law had caus'd the Deſolation of whole Kingdoms, and that therefore, the beſt Method of preſerving Peace, was for the King and his People, to return to the Law of God (8); which done, they would do their utmoſt to procure a laſting Peace, by their Mediation. The Conference was held the next Day. The King, on this Occaſion, renew'd the Mention of the *Franconian* War, to the Biſhop of *Vienne* (9), and the Biſhop repeated, that his

(4) *In the Collection of the* Burgundian *Laws, publiſh'd by* Lindenbrogius, *we find inconteſtably ſome Conſtitutions of* Gundobald's, *as* ex gr. *the* 42*d and* 45*th*. Gundobald's *Name is likewiſe prefix'd to the* 89*th*. *Theſe Laws are call'd* Lex Gundobalda *(vulgarly,* Les Gombettes.) *The* 45*th Conſtitution is famous, in particular, on Account of the Treatiſe written againſt it by* Agobardus. *Leg. Longobard. L.* 2. *Tit.* 55. *l.* 22. ut infantes qui ſine rationabili ætate ſunt, non cogantur jurare, ſicut GUNDEBADA LEGE viventes faciunt.

(5) V. Collatio Epiſcoporum adverſus Arianos, præſertim AVITI, Viennenſis Epiſcopi, coram Rege Gundobaldo, in Spicilegio LUCÆ D'ACHERY, T. 3. p. 304. *This ſeems almoſt to have been the Conference which* Avitus *mentions to* Sigiſmund, Ep. 21.

(6) F. Daniel *places it in this Year* (500), *and ſuppoſes it to have been held, when Preparations were making on both Sides for a War. But according to* F. PAGIUS, ad A. 501, n. 4. *it was in the following Year. It would be difficult to determine this with any Certainty: I have therefore thought it ſafeſt to aſſign no certain Year.*

(7) *Vid. Collatio, &c. l. c. p.* 305. Ad quæ Rex reſpondit: Si veſtra fides eſt vera, quare Epiſcopi veſtri non impediunt regem Francorum, qui mihi bellum indixit, & ſe cum inimicis meis ſociavit, ut me deſtruerent? nam non eſt fides, ubi eſt appetentia alieni, & ſitis ſanguinis populorum. Oſtendat fidem per opera ſua.

(8) IBIDEM. Ignoramus, o Rex, quo conſilio & qua de cauſa Rex Francorum facit, quod dicitis; ſed ſcriptura nos docet, quod propter derelictionem legis Dei ſæpe ſubvertuntur regna, & ſuſcitantur inimici omni ex parte, illis qui ſe inimicos adverſus Deum conſtituunt. Sed redite cum populo veſtro ad legem Dei, & ipſe dabit pacem in finibus veſtris; nam ſi habetis pacem cum illo, habetis & cum ceteris, & non prævalebunt inimici veſtri.

(9) IBIDEM, *p.* 306. Ingreſſi ſunt ergo, & cum rex eos vidiſſet, ſurrexit in occurſum eorum, mediuſque inter Dominum Stephanum, & Dominum Avitum adhuc multa locutus eſt contra Francorum Regem, quem dicebat ſollicitare fratrem ſuum contra ſe. Sed cum reſponderent præfati Epiſcopi, quod non eſſet melior via ineundi pacem,

his Converſion to the *Catholick* Faith would be the beſt Means of procuring a Peace. As for the Conference itſelf, the Hiſtorian ſays, that the *Arians* made a very weak Defence, and that the King was indeed moved, but would not declare his Mind publickly. Several other ſuch Conferences were held, as appears from the Letters of *Avitus*. It is indeed dangerous to confute a Doctrine, in the Preſence of Princes, and perhaps againſt themſelves, which they eſteem to be true, when they are reſolv'd to ſupply the Want of demonſtrative Arguments by their Authority: But the *Catholicks* themſelves boaſt, that they had nothing of this Kind to fear, on the Part of *Gundobald* (10): And it ſeems evident, that, at Length, he publickly quitted the *Arian* Party. *Gregory* indeed relates, that the King deſir'd *Avitus* would confirm him privately; but that *Avitus* refus'd it, and inſiſted on performing the Ceremony in Publick; which the King not being willing to conſent to, he remain'd in the Community of the *Arians*, to the Day of his Death (11): And *Agobardus*, Biſhop of *Lyons*, ſays likewiſe, that he died an *Arian* (12). But we find him publickly extoll'd, as the Support and Protection of the *Catholick Orthodox* Church, in ſeveral Paſſages in *Avitus* (13), which are of more Weight than what either *Gregory* or *Agobardus* ſay, the latter, eſpecially, having written above three hundred Years afterwards. Thoſe Letters, among others, which *Avitus* wrote, about the Year 512, by the King's Command, contain Encomiums, which this zealous and reſolute Prelate would never have been ſo liberal of to an *Arian* Prince (14).

Clovis wages War with the *Wiſi-Goths*.

§ XII. *ALARIC*, who ſucceeded *Euricus*, his Father, *A.* 484, was Sovereign of the *Wiſi-Goths* (1). *Euricus* had greatly extended his Dominion in *Gaul*, after he had conquer'd *Auvergne*, and after *Odoacer* had, as I obſerv'd before, reſign'd *Provence* to him. The *Wiſi-Gothick* Kingdom, which in the Records of theſe Times, is call'd *Gothia* (2),

cem quam concordare in fide, & operam ſuam ſi gratam haberet, pollicerentur pro tam ſancto fœdere conciliando, nihil amplius locutus eſt, ſed unuſquiſque locum, quem præcedenti die tenuerat occupavit.

(10) *Vid. locus* HERACLII, *not.* 8. *ad* § 10.

(11) GREGORIUS, *L.* 2.

(12) AGOBARDUS, *in Tr. adverſus Legem Gundobatam*, qui *(ſcil. Avitus)* ipſo Gundobado, in ſua perfidia perdito, ſucceſſorem ejus, Sigiſmundum Regem, ad fidem catholicam convertit.

(13) *In the Letter, which he wrote, to condole with him, on the Deceaſe of his Daughter, he ſays: (Ep.* 5.) Unde cum lætitiam veſtram, quaſi ſerenitatem cœli expectet univerſitas, reddite vos gaudiis populorum: quia nunquam reſpublica orphanitatis incurrit pernitiem, quam diu ſuſtentantibus vobis mater eccleſia non ſenſerit orbitatem.

(14) *His firſt Letter*, (Ep. 2.) *he begins thus:* Unicum ſimul & multiplex donum ſeculo noſtro, nutu divinitatis, indultum eſt, ut inter regias ordinationes glorioſiſſimi principatus veſtri, principaliter de tuenda Catholicæ partis veritate curetis, &c *We ſhall give a farther Account of this Affair in the Sequel.*

§ XII. (1) *Of the State of the* Wiſi-Gothick *Kingdom, ſee in the former Volume*, Lib. 10. § 26, 27, 28.

(2) LEX BURGUNDIORUM, *in Additamento* II. *n.* 3. Quicunque ingenuus de GOTHIA captivus a Francis in regionem noſtram venerit, & ibidem habitare voluerit, ei licentia non negetur.

compre-

comprehended then *Hiſpania Terraconenſis* and *Bætica*, beyond the *Pyrenæan* Mountains: It reach'd, in *Gaul*, as far as the *Loire*, border'd Eaſtwards on the Dominions of the *Burgundians*, and, on the Side of *Provence*, on the *Oſtro-Goths* in *Italy*. The few diſpers'd Remains of the *Roman* Subjects, in theſe Countries, were, after the Overthrow of *Syagrius*, oblig'd to ſubmit wholly to the *Gothick* Dominion. The *Wiſi-Goths* had no Wars during the Reign of *Alaric*, excepting when they aſſiſted the *Oſtro-Goths* in *Italy*, and this perhaps occaſion'd *Gregory* and *Iſidorus* (3), to repreſent him as an effeminate and voluptuous Prince. We find, on the the other Hand, ſome Monuments of his Care for the Peace of his Subjects, and for the Adminiſtration of Juſtice and Equity. He was himſelf an *Arian*, and yet granted many Privileges to the True-Believers, as appears from the Acts of the Council, which was held in his Reign, *A.* 506, at *Agde* †, which Council was open'd with Prayers and Vows for the Proſperity of his Perſon and Government (4). *Theoderick*, his Grand-father, and *Euricus*, his Father, had already collected a Body of Laws for the Uſe of the *Goths* *: But *Alaric* was now deſirous of bringing the Laws of the *Gauls* into ſome Order. And, as that Nation was accuſtom'd to the *Roman* Laws, and the Clergy, in particular, were ſtrenuouſly for them, he grounded his Laws upon them; but they were regulated in ſuch Manner, that the enacting Power was no longer deriv'd from the *Romans*, but from him. He caus'd an Extract to be made from the *Codex*, publiſh'd by *Theodoſius*, the younger, *A.* 438, and from other Collections of the *Roman* Laws ††; *Anianus* had the chief Inſpection over this Work, and he prefix'd a Summary to each of thoſe Statutes, which were retain'd from the ancient *Roman* Laws (5); to the Intent, that thoſe, who found it too difficult, thoroughly to underſtand thoſe ancient Laws, might nevertheleſs have an Idea of the Senſe of them. The Biſhops and Nobles of the Country, were previouſly conſulted about the whole Work (6); becauſe

† In lower *Languedoc*.

(3) ISIDORUS *ſays*, Alaricum a pueritia vitam in otio, & convivio peregiſſe.

(4) ACTA SYNODI AGATHENSIS *in* SIRMONDI *Concil. Gal. T.* 1. *p.* 160. *in Proœm.* Cum in nomine Domini, ex permiſſu Domini noſtri, glorioſiſſimi, magnificentiſſimi, piiſſimique Regis, in civitate Agathenſi, ſancta Synodus conveniſſet, ibique flexis in terram genibus, pro regno ejus, pro longævitate, pro populo Dominum deprecaremur, ut qui nobis congregationis permiſerat poteſtatem, regnum ejus Dominus felicitate extenderet, juſtitia gubernaret, virtute protegeret.

* *Theſe Laws have already been mention'd*, L. 10. § 28.

†† Viz. *the* Codex Gregorianus *and* Hermogenianus: *From* Pauli Sententiæ, Caii inſtituta, *and the new Conſtitutions of the Emperors, made after the Times of* Theodoſius.

(5) *In the* Commonitorium, *prefix'd to this* Breviarium Aniani *(for ſo it is call'd) we read:* Anianus, Vir Spectabilis, ex præceptione D. N. Glorioſiſſ. Alarici Regis, hunc Codicem de Theodoſii legibus, atque ſententiis juris, vel diverſis libris electum, Aduris, Anno XXII. eo regnante edidit, atque ſubſcripſit.

(6) IBIDEM. Utilitates populi noſtri propitia divinitate tractantes, hoc quoque quod in legibus videbatur iniquum, meliori deliberatione corrigimus:

becauſe, when Laws are to be eſtabliſh'd, which a Nation is to conform to, that Nation is beſt able to judge, how far they are ſuitable to it. Theſe Countries therefore found, at the Change of their Government, this advantageous Difference, that they were now themſelves conſulted about the Regulation of their Laws, whereas they depended before on the arbitrary Will of the Emperors. This new Collection, which was publiſh'd, *A.* 506, is known by the Name of *Codex Alaricianus* or *Breviarium Aniani*. It remain'd in Uſe in *Gaul*, even after the Dominion of the *Goths* was at an End, and was afterwards confirmed a-new by *Charlemaign* (7). On the other Hand, the *Goths* in *Spain* had Laws of their own, of which we may treat more properly in the Sequel.

ALARIC had married *Theudigoth*, the Daughter of *Theoderick*, King of *Italy*. This Alliance was intended to unite the Minds and Forces of the *Goths*, that their Name might be the more formidable to the *Romans*, as well as the *Germans*: But *Alaric*'s Hopes, in this Reſpect, were fruſtrated, with Regard to the *Franks*. The latter had, in former Times, earneſtly ſought the Friendſhip of the *Wiſi-Goths*, as long as their Deſigns were the ſame againſt the *Romans* in *Gaul*, and the Treaty, *Euricus* engag'd in with them, is particularly famous in Hiſtory *: But when *Clovis* had now ſubverted the Dominion of the *Romans*, and the *Franks* were become Neighbours to the *Goths*, Pretences could not be long wanting to foment Differences between the two Nations. Some Letters are extant of *Theoderick*, King of *Italy*, which were written at a Time, when a Rupture was on the Point of breaking out, between the *Wiſi-Goths* and *Franks*. We there perceive how ſollicitous *Theoderick* was to prevent it, and preſerve, as it were, an equal Ballance betwixt the two Nations. He admoniſhes both his Son-in-Law (8) and *Clovis* (9), not

mus: ut omnis legum Romanarum, & antiqui juris obſcuritas, adhibitis ſacerdotibus ac nobilibus in viris, lucem intelligentiæ melioris deducta reſplendeat: & nihil habeatur ambiguum, unde ſe diuturna, aut diverſa jurgantium impugnet objectio. Quibus omnibus enucleatis, atque in unum librum prudentium electione collectis, hæc quæ excerpta ſunt, vel clariori interpretatione compoſita, venerabilium epiſcoporum, vel electorum provincialium noſtrorum roboravit adſenſus.

(7) *This Collection* Jac. Gothofredus *treats of at large, in his* Prolegomena Codicis Theodoſiani, cap. 5. *and likewiſe* Anton. Schultingius, in Præf. ad Juriſprud. Ante-Juſtinianeam. *The Work itſelf was firſt printed at* Baſil *for* Sichardus, A. 1528.

* *See* L. 10. § 27. not. 1.

(8) CASSIODOR. *Var. Lib.* 3. *Epiſt.* 1. Quapropter ſuſtinete, donec ad Francorum Regem Legatos noſtros dirigere debeamus, ut litem veſtram amicorum debeant amputare judicia. Inter duos enim nobis affinitate conjunctos non optamus aliquid tale fieri, unde unum minorem contingat forſitan inveniri. Non vos parentum fuſus ſanguis inflammat: non graviter urit occupata provincia: adhuc de verbis parva eſt contentio: facillime tranſigitis, ſi non per arma veſtros animos irritetis. Objiciamus, quamvis cognato, cum noſtris conjuratis eximias gentes. Juſtitia, quæ Reges efficit fortiores, cito convertit animos, qui contra ſe tales ſentit armatos.

(9) IBIDEM, Ep. 4. *He writes him, among other Things,* Jure Patris vobis interminor, & amantis.

Ille

not to be too haſty; he puts them in Mind of the ancient good Intelligence which ſubſiſted between them, and exhorts them to let their Miſunderſtandings be terminated by a peaceable Accommodation; threatening withal, that he and his Allies were ready to take up Arms againſt the Party that ſhould reject theſe friendly Propoſals. He entreats *Gundobald*, King of the *Burgundians* (10), whom he ſtiles his Brother, to make the ſame Remonſtrances, on his Part, to *Clovis*. Another Letter, of the ſame Import (11), is directed to the Kings of the *Heruli* (12), *Guarni* (13), and *Thuringians*, who were in ſtrict Alliance with him, and had it in their Power, greatly to moleſt the *Franks* in *Germany*. He reminds theſe Princes of the Benefits they received from *Alaric*'s Father (14), and of the Danger they would be in, in their own Country, with Regard to the King of the *Franks*, if his Attempt againſt the *Wiſi-Goths*, ſhould prove ſucceſsful (15).

§ XIII. BUT it is Matter of Doubt, whether theſe Letters relate to the War I am now about to give an Account of (1). This Precaution at leaſt prov'd fruitleſs. *Clovis* actually prepared for a War, *A.* 507, and pretended, that he was oblig'd to take up Arms againſt the King of the *Wiſi-Goths*, leſt that Princeſhould be before-hand with him. He was privately ſpirited up by many of the *Catholick* Party among the *Wiſi-*

Alaric is ſlain.

Ille nos & amicos noſtros patietur adverſos, qui talia monita (quod non opinamur) crediderit eſſe temnenda. Quapropter ad excellentiam Veſtram ILLUM, & ILLUM legatos noſtros magnopere credidimus dirigendos: per quos etiam ad fratrem veſtrum, filium noſtrum, Regem Alaricum, ſcripta noſtra direximus, ut nullatenus inter vos ſcandala ſeminet aliena malignitas. *The former of the Words* Jure Patris & amantis, *ſeems to relate to* Alaric *his Son-in-Law, the latter to* Clovis, *whoſe Siſter he had married.*

(10) IBIDEM, Ep. 2. *He gives him the Title of* Fraternitas veſtra. *And*, Ep. 3, *in ſpeaking of him, he ſays*, Fratris noſtri.

(11) IBID. Ep. 3. *The Superſcription is:* Herulorum, Guarnorum, Thuringorum, Regibus.

(12) *This is perhaps the ſame King of the* Heruli, *whom* Procopius *and* Paulus Longobardus *call* Rudolphus; *and very probably the ſame, whom* Theoderick *adopted.*

(13) PROCOPIUS *mentions one* Hermegiſclus, *King of the* Guarni, *who liv'd about this Time.*

(14) Recolite namque ſenioris affectum! quantis vos juvit ſemper muneribus, quoties a vobis proximarum gentium imminentia bella ſuſpendit? *This Paſſage ſerves to illuſtrate what I obſerv'd,* Lib. 10. § 28, *of the great Regard all the* German *Nations had for* Euricus.

(15) Reddite filio ejus gratiam, quam tamen agnoſcitis veſtris utilitatibus attributam. Nam ſi tanto regno aliquid prævaluerit, vos aggredi ſine dubitatione præſumet. *Theſe laſt are the moſt remarkable Words:* Ut vos, qui noſtrum ſequimini, Deo juvante, diſpoſitum, unus complectatur aſſenſus: & foris hoc agatis, ne in veſtris provinciis dimicare poſſitis. *We here perceive, that the* Heruli *and* Guarni *dwelt, at that Time, in* Germany, *and were, as well as the* Thuringians, *in a ſtrict Alliance with the King of the* Oſtro-Goths.

§ XIII. (1) *We cannot exactly aſſign the Date of theſe Letters.* Valeſius, Marina, F. le Cointe, *and* Pagius, *place them in the Beginning of this War. But* F. Daniel, *imagines, that they relate to ſome former Tranſaction; becauſe, according to* Iſidorus's *Account, the King of* Burgundy *was engag'd in a Treaty with* Clovis, *to make War againſt* Alaric, *who is nevertheleſs mention'd in the aforeſaid Letter, as a faithful Ally to the King of the* Oſtro-Goths. *But how eaſy was it not for him, at that Time, to alienate a Prince's Friendſhip, when he found a new Alliance more advantageous?*

Goths (2); and *Gregory* would have it look'd upon as a War for the Sake of Religion. *Clovis* had himſelf been heard to declare, that he could not well tolerate Hereticks in *Gaul*: And this might, at leaſt, ſerve to infuſe the more Zeal into his Soldiers, and into thoſe Inhabitants of the *Gothick* Provinces, who were already ſecretly affected to the *Franks* (3). He vow'd, before he ſet out from *Paris*, to build a Church in Honour of the Apoſtles. And when he arriv'd at *Tours*, which, with Regard to the *Franks*, was the firſt City in the *Gothick* Dominions, he made an Offering at St. *Martin*'s Tomb; and caus'd a Proclamation to be publiſh'd throughout his Army, that no one ſhould preſume to endamage any Thing appertaining thereunto. He took with him, to the Field, *Theuderick*, his eldeſt Son. *Siegbrecht*, King of the *Franks*, who, as I obſerv'd before, reſided at *Cologn*, on the *Rhine*, had ſent him ſome Auxiliaries, commanded by *Chararick*, his Son; and the King of the *Burgundians*, at the ſame Time, declar'd for the *Franconian* Party. *Alaric* had led not only his *Goths*, but likewiſe the ancient Inhabitants of his Countries, to the Field, and waited for the Enemy near *Poitiers*. An Engagement enſued, near *Vouglé*, a Place not far diſtant from that City, on the River *Vienne*, in which *Clovis* gain'd the Victory. Many Perſons of Diſtinction from *Aquitain* and *Auvergne* were ſlain on the Spot, and particularly *Apollinaris*, the Son of the famous *Sidonius*. King *Alaric* was ſlain on his Flight (4). *Clovis* purſued his Victory as far as *Bourdeaux*, where he ſpent the Winter Seaſon; and his Son took, in the mean Time, from the *Goths*, the Cities of *Rovergue*, *Quercy*, and *Auvergne*. The terrified *Goths* made a Halt at *Narbonne*, and, to compleat their Misfortune, fell at Variance among themſelves. One Party choſe for their King, *Geſalic* *, *Alaric*'s eldeſt Son, but not by a lawful Wife; this they did under Pretence, that *Amalarick*, the other Prince, the Son of *Theoderick*'s Daughter, was too young, to govern a Nation in ſo dangerous a Juncture (5). The latter fled into *Spain* (6). *Clovis* went the following Year, 508, to *Toulouſe*, where the Royal Treaſure fell into his Hands. He then return'd, and left his Son behind him (7), who was to endeavour, with the Aſſiſtance of the *Burgundian* Nation, to

(2) GREGORIUS II. 36. Multi jam tum ex Gallis habere Francos dominos ſummo deſiderio cupiebant *He then relates, that* Quintianus, *Biſhop of* Rhodes, *was oblig'd to abandon his Church, becauſe he was ſuſpected of having wiſh'd to be under the Dominion of the* Franks.

(3) Cointe *and* Pagius *take Notice of the Policy made Uſe of on this Occaſion.*

(4) GREGORIUS TURONENSIS: Porro Rex, cum fugatis Gothis, Alaricum regem interfeciſſet, &c. *Some modern Writers ſay, that* Clovis *ſlew* Alaric *with his own Hands.*

* Iſidorus *calls him* Giſelic, *In* Caſſ. L. 5. ep. 43. *he is named* Giſolec.

(5) ISIDORUS. PROCOPIUS.

(6) GREGORIUS, *l. c.*

(7) GESTA FRANCORUM: FREDEGARIUS.

drive

drive the *Goths* entirely out of *Gaul*. He himſelf took *Angouleſme*, on his Return (8), and then went to *Tours*, pleaſed with the Thoughts of having taken from the *Goths*, in the Space of one Year, what they had before conquer'd in many, and with much Pains.

§ XIV. AT this Place he received an Ambaſſy from *Anaſtaſius*, the Emperor. The Affairs between that Monarch and King *Clovis* were, after the latter had conquer'd the Reſidue of the *Romans*, in ſuch a Situation, that the Subject of their Negociations muſt have been of the utmoſt Importance. However, *Gregory* mentions nothing more, but that the Emperor had nominated *Clovis*, *Patricius* (1). *Clovis*, to enter, as it were, publickly on this Dignity, put on the Purple-Habit, belonging to the Patriciat, in the Abby of St. *Martin* (2), and rode to the Cathedral of that City, with his Crown on his Head, himſelf ſtrowing Mony among the Populace, by the Way. An ancient Image of Stone is ſtill to be ſeen at *Paris* †, which repreſents *Clovis* in this Habit, with a Truncheon in his Hand, ſuch as was uſually born by the *Conſuls*. From the Friendſhip *Anaſtaſius* hereby expreſs'd to *Clovis*, we may conclude, that the Affair about *Gaul* was ſettled. But ſome Doubt remains, nevertheleſs, what his Deſigns might be, in granting him this *Patriciat* (3). We have already had ſeveral Inſtances of *German* Princes, whom the Empe-

Clovis is declar'd *Patricius* by *Anaſtaſius*.

(8) Gregory, *impatient to bring his Orthodox Hero back, and reſolv'd not to detain him long at the Siege of* Angouleſme, *ſays, that the Walls of the City fell down, at the Approach of the King. He abounds with Miracles of this Kind, throughout his whole Work.*

§ XIV (1) GREGORIUS, *L. 2. c.* 38. Igitur ab Anaſtaſio Imperatore codicillos de conſulatu accepit, & in baſilica beati Martini tunica blatea indutus eſt, & chlamyde, imponens vertici diadema, Tunc aſcenſo equo, aurum argentumque in itinere illo, quod inter portam atrii & eccleſiam civitatis eſt, præſentibus populis manu propria ſpargens, voluntate benigniſſima erogavit, & ab ea die tanquam conſul & Auguſtus eſt vocitatus.

GESTA FRANCORUM, *p.* 705. Ab Anaſtaſio imperatore accepit tunc codicillos Clodoveus rex, pro conſulatu. Tunica blatea indutus rex in baſilica beati Martini, corona aurea in capite ſuo: aſcenſo equo, aurum & argentum in atrium, quod eſt inter civitatem & eccleſiam beati Martini, præſente populo, manu propria ſparſit, atque voluntate benigniſſima diſpenſavit. Ab ea die tanquam Conſul, & Auguſtus eſt appellatus. *As for the Word* Conſul *in this Paſſage, it is taken for granted, that* Gregory *uſes the Words* Conſulatus *and* Patriciatus, *as denoting the ſame Thing; which others have likewiſe been guilty of, as is demonſtrated by* Pagius, ad A. 508. n. 2, 3, 4. *and* Valeſius, L. 6. p. 299. ſeq.

(2) CASSIODORUS, Var. Lib. 8. ep. 9 *names the* Sella Curulis, Chlamys, Cingulum, *and the* Calcei picti, *as the Marks of Honour belonging to the* Patriciat. *In* Gregory's *afore-cited Words, we find the* Tunica blatea, Chlamys, *and* Corona. *We ſhall have farther Occaſion, in the Sequel, to treat of the Crown, which the* Patricii *wore. The* Inſignia Patriciatus *are treated of, among others, by* Guido Pancirolus, Var. Lection. Lib. 1.

† *Among the Statues of the Kings of the* Franks, *of the firſt Race, which we ſee in the Suburbs of* S. Germain, *at the Entrance into that Abby, and are ſaid to have been there ever ſince* S. Germanus's *Times.* MONUMENTS DE LA MONARCHIE FRANÇOISE. T. 1. Tab. 7.

(3) *The Conjectures that can be made on this Head, may be reduc'd to theſe two Queries: Whether* Clovis *accepted of this Title, in Order to poſſeſs* Gaul, *as it were, under the Protection of the Emperor, or only for the Sake of the Honour? The* Abbé des Camps *imagines, odly enough, that* Anaſtaſius *admitted him to a Share in the Empire, and that the Kings of the* Franks *have had, ſince then, a perpetual Right to the Imperial Title; which is exploded by* Eckard, *in the Preface to his* Origines Domus Auſtriacæ.

rors,

rors dignified with this Title: Such was *Ricimer*, ſuch were *Gundeucus*, *Chilperic*, and *Gundobald*, Kings of the *Burgundians*; ſuch were even *Odoacer* and *Theoderick*; and we ſhall ſoon ſee a freſh Example in *Sigiſmund*, King of the *Burgundians*. The Emperors ſeem to have deſign'd this, as a Means to preſerve ſome Appearance of the Supremacy of the *Roman* Empire, in thoſe Provinces, which the *German* Princes and their Nations poſſeſs'd. But *Anaſtaſius* perhaps conſer'd this Honour on *Clovis*, with a View of ſecuring the Friendſhip of a King, who was the only Prince in the *Weſt*, capable of ſetting Bounds to *Theoderick*, and to the *Gothick* Power: For the Emperor was, at that Time, greatly at Variance with *Theoderick*. This Prince had lent his Aſſiſtance to *Mundus*, a Prince of the *Hunns* (4), againſt the Imperialiſts, and the Emperor, on the other Hand, had ſent a Fleet againſt *Italy*, which had made Depredations here and there, on thoſe Coaſts (5). We have therefore more Cauſe to wonder, that *Clovis* ſhould accept of this Dignity? He had, at leaſt, no Occaſion to allow any Sovereignty to *Anaſtaſius*. His Kingdom was ſufficiently eſtabliſh'd, and the *Grecian* Court was in ſuch Perplexity, that he had nothing to fear from that Quarter. But who knows what ſecret and diſtant Views were then formed, which were fruſtrated by the Viciſſitude of the Times? And this Inſtance may, at leaſt, ſerve to ſhew, that a *German* Prince vouchſafed to accept of this Pomp, which ſtill captivated the Eyes of a People, accuſtom'd to the *Roman* Splendor, without making the leaſt Conceſſion of a ſuperior Power, to the Emperor, on that Account; almoſt in the ſame Manner, as we at preſent ſee one King accepting an order of Knighthood from another, without any Derogation to his Dignity. We ſhall be put in Mind again of this *Patriciat*, in the Sequel, when we find *Pipin* and *Charlemaign* bearing the ſame Title. *Clovis* went from *Tours* to *Paris*, and fix'd upon this Place for his future Reſidence (6), which Choice was perhaps occaſion'd by the Situation of it, with Regard to the Dominions he then poſſeſs'd.

Theoderick, King of the *Oſtro-Goths*, ſuccours the *Wiſi-Gothick* Kingdom.

§ XV. To return to the *Wiſi-Gothick* War, we find that King *Gundobald* plunder'd *Narbonne*, and *Geſalic*, finding he could not ſtand his Ground, fled to *Barcelona* (1). *Theoderick*, whom *Clovis* had not given

(4) Jornandes, cap. 58, *and* Ennodius *in his* Panegyr. pag. 309. *treats of* Mundus, *this* Hunnick *Prince, and of the Protection granted to him.*

(5) Marcellinus *in Chronico:* Celepe & Venantio *Coſſ.* (508). Romanus. Comes Domeſticorum, & Ruſticus Comes Scholariorum, cum centum armatis navibus, totidemque dromonibus, octo millia armatorum ſecum ferentibus, ad devaſtanda Italiæ littora proceſſerunt, & uſque ad Tarentum, antiquiſſimam civitatem, progreſſi ſunt, remenſoque mari inhoneſtam victoriam, quam piratico auſu, Romani ex Romanis rapuerunt, Anaſtaſio Cæſari reportarunt.

(6) Gesta Francor. *l. c.* De Turonis autem egreſſus, Pariſiis civitatem veniens, ibi ſedem regni ſui conſtituit.

§ XV. (1) Isidorus. *See the Words in the following* §. not. 2.

Time

Time ſufficient to come to his Son-in-Law's Aid; now took up Arms (2). Several were the Motives that induc'd him thereto; the Death of his Son-in-Law; the Attempt of *Geſalic*; the Declenſion of the *Wiſi-Gothick* State; and, above all, the Danger of *Clovis*'s paving a Way into *Italy*. To all theſe, he had now to add, the League that ſubſiſted between the King of the *Franks* and the *Burgundian* Monarch, and the former's Friendſhip with *Anaſtaſius*, eſpecially as the good Wiſhes, which many *Catholicks* in the *Wiſi-Gothick* Provinces, had diſcover'd for the Succeſs of the Arms of the *Franks*, in a Manner, warn'd him what he might juſtly apprehend from that Quarter: And perhaps he had, at the Beginning, an Eye to the Advantages which he afterwards found Means to obtain, at the Concluſion of the War. The moſt famous Tranſactions of this War, betwixt the *Oſtro-Goths* and *Franks*, were the Siege and Relief of *Arles*. The *Franks* beſieged (3) this City, which for its Situation, and on Account of its Bridge over the *Rhone*, was of great Importance. *Iba*, the *Gothick* General (4), undertook to relieve *Arles*, on which Occaſion, another valiant *Goth* diſtinguiſh'd himſelf, whoſe Name was *Tholuit* (5), and who was then *Magiſter Domus*, and became *Patricius* afterwards, in *Athalarick*'s Reign (6). The *Franks* were drove out of *Arles* (7), and *Theoderick* kept the City for himſelf (8). To alleviate, in ſome Meaſure, the Calamities this Place had undergone, he remitted the Contribution for the next enſuing Year, and ſent himſelf a Sum of Mony, to rebuild the Walls and Turrets †. He likewiſe endeavour'd to take Revenge of

(2) CASSIODORUS *in Chronico*: VENANTIO JUN. & CELERE Coss. *(A.* 508.*)* his Coss. contra Francos a Domino noſtro deſtinantur exercitus, qui Gallias Francorum deprædatione confuſas, victis hoſtibus ac fugatis, ſuo acquiſivit imperio. JORNANDES, *cap.* 58. *in fin.* Non minus tropæum de Francis per Hiobam, ſuum Comitem, in Galliis acquiſivit, plus 30 millibus Francorum in prœlio cæſis. Nam & Thiodem, ſuum armigerum, poſt mortem Alarici generi, tutorem in Hiſpaniæ regno Amalarici nepotis conſtituit.

(3) *We find ſome Circumſtances of this Siege, in* Vita S. Cæſarii, *written by* Cyprianus.

(4) *This General's Name is differently written:* Iba, Hioba, Ebba, Helba. Iſidorus *calls him* Comes Gepidorum.

(5) Toluit, Tulum, Tuluin. Avitus. Ep. 35. *ſays to* Diaconus Elpidius, *who was Body Phyſician to King* Theoderick: Per majorem Domus Tullii, qui amorem ſuum Dominum meum, Sigiſmundum, a Patre ſuo in legatione directus, in Viennenſium civitate repererat, epiſtolas Tuas me accepiſſe lætatus, per ipſum rurſus officia profuſiſſimæ caritatis exſolvi. Sirmondus *knows not where to place this* Major Domus Tullii. *It muſt be read* Magiſtrum Domus Tulum *or* Tuluit.

(6) *The Services perform'd by* Tulum, *are commended by King* Athalaric, *in his Letter to the Senat, when this* Tulum *was created* Patricius, *in* Caſſiodor Var. L. 3. ep. 10. Adfuit illic dubiis rebus audacia Candidati *(ſc. Tuli)* ubi tanta cum globis hoſtium decertatione pugnavit, ut & inimicoſæ ſuis deſideriis amoveret, & vulnera factorum ſuorum ſigna ſuſciperet.

(7) PAGIUS, ad A. 508. *ſuppoſes, with much Probability, that* Arles *was beſieg'd and reliev'd in the Year* 510.

(8) CYPRIANUS *in vita Cæſarii.* Nos tamen credimus & confidimus in Domino Deo per miſericordiam & fidem, ſeu orationem, B. Cæſarii, quia ſic in diebus ſuis ab hoſtibus Arelatenſis obſeſſa eſt civitas, ut nec captivitati meruerit, nec prædæ ſuccumbere. Sic deinde a Viſi-Gothis ad Oſtro-Gothorum devoluta eſt regnum.

† Var. Lib. 3. ep. 32 *and* 44.

the

the King of the *Burgundians*, in his own Country, for having prefer'd *Clovis*'s Friendſhip to his; and we find, that the *Oſtro-Goths* took ſome Places on the *Durence* (9), and reduc'd *Orange* (10), and *Avignon* (11), to their Dominion.

The Concluſion of the *Gothick* War.

§ XVI. It would be a difficult Task, to come at all the Circumſtances, whereby the *Wiſi-Gothick* Kingdom extricated itſelf from theſe ſeveral Perplexities. The *Franks* and *Burgundians* were its Enemies; the Nobles were divided amongſt themſelves, and the King of the *Oſtro-Goths* gave them already ſufficiently to underſtand, that he expected to be richly paid for his Aſſiſtance. We cannot diſcover when, or on what Conditions, the Peace was made with the *Franks*; but certain it is, that the *Franks* retain'd *Auvergne* and both *Aquitains*, together with the City of *Toulouſe*, and that the *Wiſi-Goths* reſerv'd no other Dominions in *Gaul*, than the Province of *Narbonne*, in which were the Cities of *Narbonne*, *Beſiers*, *Nimes*, *Carcaſſonne*, *Lodeue*, *Agde*, &c. This Tract of Land is very near the ſame with the preſent *Languedoc*, and was afterwards call'd *Provincia Galliæ*, in the *Wiſi-Gothick* Hiſtory (1). As for the Throne of the *Wiſi-Goths*, *Iba*, the General, purſu'd *Geſalic* into *Spain*, and reduc'd him to ſuch Streights, that he repair'd to *Africa*, to implore the Aid of *Thraſamund*, King of the *Vandals*. He was hereupon declared, at a Convention of the States, to have forfeited the Crown he had uſurp'd (2). The *Vandalick* Court was greatly perplex'd by this Viſit. The Queen, who was Siſter to *Theoderick*, had a Hand in all the Affairs of State, and an Inclination to comply with the diſtreſs'd Princes Requeſt muſt of Courſe be kept from her Knowledge: But the Exigencies of the State, nevertheleſs requir'd it. *Theoderick*, it appear'd, would become too formidable to the *Vandals*, if he were to unite the Power of the two *Gothick*

(9) *That the* Goths *were in Poſſeſſion of the fortified Cities on the* Durence, *appears from* Theoderick's *Regulation.* Var. 3. ep. 41. Tritici ſpeciem ob exercituales expenſas noſtra providentia de Italia deſtinavit, ne fatigata Provincia hujuſmodi læderetur. Ad Caſtella ſupra Druentiam conſtituta de Maſſilienſium horreis conſtat eſſe portandum.

(10) *Vita S. Cæſarii.*

(11) *Conf. Variar. L.* 3. *ep.* 38.

§ XVI. (1) *The State of this Province has been illuſtrated by* Garſias Loaiſa, *in his* Collectanea Conciliorum Hiſpaniæ, *where he ſays:* Narbonnæ ſedi ſubjacent hæ ſedes: Beterris, Agatha, Magalona, Nemauſo, Luteba, Carcaſona, Elna: *Several learned Annotations have been made on this by* Petrus de Marca, *in his Treatiſe* de Marca Hiſpanica, c. 16.

(2) Isidorus *in Chron.* Dum eadem civitas *(Narbonna)* a Gundebaldo direpta fuiſſet, iſte *(ſc. Giſelichus)* cum multo ſui dedecore, & cum magna ſuorum clade, apud Barcelonam ſe contulit: ibi moratus, quouſque etiam regni faſcibus a Theoderico, fugæ ignominia, privaretur. Inde profectus ad Africam Vandalorum ſuffragia poſcit, quo in regnum poſſit reſtituti. Qui dum non impetraret auxilium, mox ex Africa rediens, ob metum Theoderici, Aquitaniam petit, ibique anno uno deliteſcens Spaniam revertitur. Anonymus *Chronico* Victoris Turonensis *inſertus, ad Conſulatum* Boetii (510.) Hoc anno idem Geſalicus ab Helbane Theoderici, Italiæ Regis, Duce, ab Hiſpania fugatus, Africam petit.

King-

Kingdoms. Whereas, on the other Hand, if *Geſalic* could be reſtored to the Throne of the *Wiſi-Goths*, they would have a convenient Neighbour of him, who would always have the ſame Cauſe as they, to be watchful over the Motions of the *Oſtro-Goths*. The King therefore aſſiſted *Geſalic* with Mony, and thereby enabled him to return to *Gaul*. A Letter is ſtill extant of *Theoderick*'s, who got Intelligence of this Affair, wherein he reproaches his Brother-in-Law in a very ſevere Manner (3). *Geſalic*, in the mean Time, arriv'd in *Aquitain*, and the *Franks* themſelves ſeem to have aſſiſted him, in Order to cut out Work for *Theoderick*. He again tried his Fortune in *Spain*: But *Iba*, *Theoderick*'s General (for he did not go in Perſon to *Spain*) (4) defeated him again, *A.* 511, near *Barcellona*. *Geſalic* was taken Priſoner on his Flight, and ſpent the Remainder of his Life, in ſome Fort in *Gaul* (5). *Amalarick* was however too young to aſcend his Father's Throne, and the *Wiſi-Goths* were very ſenſible, that they ſtood in Need of a valiant and experienc'd King, to withſtand the *Franks*. *Theoderick* therefore took upon himſelf the Government of the *Wiſi-Gothick* Kingdom, in the Year 511, as Guardian for his Grand-ſon; and adminiſtred the ſame fifteen Years, till his Deceaſe. He is reckon'd among the *Gothick* Kings in *Spain*, and the Acts of the Councils, that were held there during that Time, are dated according to the Years of his Reign (6). He appropriated to himſelf, the Cities in *Provence*, which before appertain'd to the *Wiſi-Gothick* Kingdom, perhaps under Pretext of the Expences he had been at. He renew'd, on this Occaſion, the pompous Title of *Præfectus Prætorio Galliarum*, and honour'd *Liberius* with that and the *Patriciat* (7). *Gemellus*, his Lieutenant in *Gaul*, had expreſs Orders from the King, to uſe the People with Lenity (8). This he likewiſe did himſelf, in Order to excite in his Subjects that Satisfaction, which contributes as much to the Security of a Government, as the ſtrongeſt Garriſons. Among other Tokens of his

(3) CASSIODORUS, Var. Lib. 5. Ep. 43. Thraſamund *palliated his Fault as well as he could. Then follows* Theoderick's *Anſwer*, Ep. 44, *wherein he expreſſes himſelf ſatisfied with his Excuſe:* Fecimus utrique regalia: ſic nos ſuperavimus tyrannicam cupiditatem, ſicut & vos viciſſe conſtat errorem.

(4) LUCAS FUDENSIS *and others affirm, that* Theoderick *came himſelf to* Spain. *Among the modern Writers*, F. le Cointe, ad A. 509, *takes this for ganted. But* F. Mariana *and* Pagius, ad A. 508. n. 5. ſ. *prove this Pretence to be groundleſs.*

(5) ISIDORUS: Geſalicus Aquitaniam petiit, ibique anno deliteſcens Spaniam revertitur, atque ab Elbane, Theuderici Regis Duce, duodecimo a Barcinone urbe milliario, commiſſo prælio in fugam vertitur, captuſque, trans flumen Druenticum Galliarum interiit, ſicque prius honorem, poſtea vitam omiſit. Pagius *obſerves, that the Beginning of* Theoderick's *Reign, over the* Wiſi-Goths, *muſt be plac'd in the Year* 511. ante 6. Id. Junias.

(6) *Such, for Inſtance, is the Date of the Council at* Gironna *in the Year* 517.

(7) *The Name at Length is,* Petrus Marcellinus Felix Liberius. *We find Letters directed to this* Liberius; *as in* Avitus, Ep. 32, *in* Ennodius, L. 9. ep. 23. conf. CASSIODORI, Var. L. 2. ep. 6. & L. 11. ep. 1.

(8) CASSIODOR. Var. L. 4. ep. 21.

Care, he remitted the Duties in the Sea-Ports, that the Importations might be the greater, and Commodities the cheaper (9). He entruſted the Government of the *Wiſi-Goths*, in *Spain*, to one *Theudis*, who was before in his Service (10), and had a great Share in his Confidence. He concluded a Peace with the King of *Burgundy* (11), of which we do not indeed find the moſt exact Circumſtances recorded; but from the Connexion of the Hiſtory, the River *Durence* appears to have been the Boundary between the *Oſtro-Gothick* and *Burgundian* Dominions.

Clovis unites all the Nations of the *Franks*.

§ XVII. I must refer the Reader to the Hiſtories of *France*, for the other Tranſactions of *Clovis*'s Reign, before he could ſecure to himſelf the *Northern* Part of *Gaul* (1), and for the War betwixt him and the *Britons*, who had ſettled on thoſe Coaſts (2). Inſtead of theſe, I ſhall give an Account how he ſubdued the other Nations of the *Franks*, and muſt, therefore, in this Senſe likewiſe, be regarded as the Founder of the Monarchy of the *Franks*. In the Hiſtories of theſe Times, we find Mention made of ſeveral Princes, or Kings of the *Franks*, each of whom govern'd a ſeparate Nation; for ſeveral *German* People were comprehended under the Name of *Franks*. I have taken Notice, myſelf, of *Sigebert* and *Raganarius*, who both reign'd over ſome *Franconian* Nations, that had eſtabliſh'd themſelves in *Gaul*, before *Clovis*'s Time. *Gregory* calls them Relations of *Clovis*: But we are not ſufficiently acquainted with the ancient *Merovingian* Race, to pretend to ſay how nearly they were allied (3). *Sigebert*'s Kingdom extended on both Banks of the *Rhine*, particularly on the left Side of that River, as far as the *Moſel*, and, in Length, from *Mentz* to below *Cologn*, which is ſaid to have been his Capital: It therefore comprehended that Tract of Land, the Inhabitants of which, by Reaſon of their Promixity to the Banks, are call'd *Riparii* or *Ripuarii*. On this Side of the *Rhine*, it reach'd as far as the *Buch-Wald*, and the Borders of *Thuringia*. This was, very probably, the ſame Nation of *Franks*, which, in the Times of *Valentinian* III, ſack'd the Cities of *Mentz*, *Cologn*, and *Treves* (4). I mention'd before, of this *Siegbrecht*,

(9) *Ibidem, ep.* 19.

(10) Jornandes, *c.* 58. Thiodem, Suum Armigerum, poſt mortem Alarici, generi, tutorem in Hiſpaniæ Regno Amalarici, nepotis, conſtituit.

(11) *That a Peace was concluded appears from* Avitus, Ep. 32.

§ XVII. (1) *In the ancient Geography of* Gaul, *theſe People are call'd* Armorici. *Of* Clovis's *Expedition againſt them, in the Year* 502, *ſee* F. le Cointe, ad A. 502. n. 3. Procopius de bello Gothico, L. 1. c. 12. *gives a long Account of the Tranſactions of the* Franks *with the* Arborichi; *and* F. Daniel *imagines theſe* Arborichi *to be a ſeparate Nation. I believe,* Procopius *meant the* Armorici; *and as he was very unexperienc'd in Matters relating to the* Franks, *only miſtook their Name and Situation.*

(2) *We treated of theſe* Britons *in the former Volume,* L. 10. §. 26.

(3) Eckard, in Hiſtoria Franciæ Orientalis, P. 1. p. 510. *makes very probable Conjectures about the Conſanguinity of the firſt Princes of the* Franks.

(4) *See* Vol. I. L. 9. § 21.

their

their King, that he was in Perſon at *Zülpich*, in the Engagement with the *Alemanni*, and that he ſent Auxiliaries to *Clovis*, againſt the *Wiſi-Goths*, under the Command of *Cloderick*, his Son (5). This very Son now caus'd his Father to be treacherouſly aſſaſſinated, while he was diverting himſelf with the Chace, in the *Buch-Wald*; and immediately notified his Succeſſion to *Clovis*, with an Offer, that as much as he pleas'd, of his Father Treaſures, ſhould be at his Service: But *Clovis* provided a Murderer for him, who put an End to his Life, even when he was buſied in ſharing his Father's Treaſures with his Ambaſſadors. *Clovis* lay ready in the Neighbourhood, 'till he receiv'd News of the Succeſs of his Attempt, and then went to *Cologn*, where, with little Difficulty, he reduc'd the whole Nation to his Dominion (6). He was immediately ſet upon a Shield, a Cuſtom which the *Franks* ſtill retain'd from the moſt ancient *Germans*, and was publickly proclaim'd King (7). Theſe *Franks* retain'd the Name of *Ripuarii*, which we ſhall frequently meet with in the Sequel, as well as their own Laws, which are yet extant, and, in many Reſpects, agree with the *Salick* Laws. In ſome of them, we find the *Romans* mention'd (8), by which Name are meant the ancient Inhabitants of the Country. They appear to have been all enacted at one Time, after this Nation had embrac'd the *Chriſtian* Faith (9). But it is uncertain, whether *Sigebert* was a *Chriſtian*, and had caus'd theſe Laws to be compil'd, or whether they were not brought into the Order we now find them, in or after the Reign of *Theuderick*, the Son of *Clovis*, to whoſe Share *Auſtraſia* fell, after his Father's Deceaſe.

§ XVIII. *GREGORY* mentions, moreover (1), another Prince of the *Franks*, named *Chararic*, whom he likewiſe calls King (2). We cannot

He cauſes *Chararic* and *Reganarius* to be put to Death.

(5) *See above*, § 8 *and* 13.

(6) GREGORIUS, *L.* 2. *c.* 40.

(7) IDEM, *l. c.* Plaudentes tam palmis quam vocibus, eum clypeo evectum, ſuper ſe Regem conſtituunt.

(8) *In the* Leges Ripuariorum, *the* Ripuar ii *and* Romani *are ſet in Oppoſition to one another, as*: Tit. 58. n. 11. Si autem Eccleſiaſticus, Romanus, vel Regius homo, ingenuam Ripuariam acceperit, aut ſi Romana, vel Regia, ſeu tabularia, ingenuum Ripuarium in matrimonium acceperit, generatio eorum, ſemper ad inferiora declinetur. *Add. Tit.* 61. *de Libertis ſecundum legem Romanam.*

(9) *Such Footſteps as theſe we find throughout. I ſhall only produce one Inſtance*, Tit. 58. n. 1. Hoc etiam jubemus, ut qualiſcunque Francus, Ripuarius, ſeu tabularius, ſervum ſuum pro animæ ſuæ remedio, ſeu pro pretio, ſecundum legem Romanam, libertare voluerit, ut in Eccleſia coram Preſbyteris, Diaconis, ſeu cuncto Clero & Populo, in manu Epiſcopi ſervum tradat, & Epiſcopus Archidiaconum jubeat, ut ei tabulas ſecundum legem Romanum, qua Eccleſia vivit, ſcribere faciat.

§ XVIII. (1) *We cannot exactly aſſign the Year of this Civil War.* Gregory *however relates the Death of* Sigebert *and his Son, immediately after the* Gothick *Expedition, and* Chararick's *Death ſoon after that. The* French *Chronologers, eſpecially* F. le Cointe, *place* Chararick's *Fall in the Year* 509, *and the Expedition againſt* Rachanarius *in the Year* 510.

(2) GREGORY *relates this after* Chlodaric's *Death*, L. 2. c. 41. Poſt hæc ad Chararicum Regem dirigit. Quando autem cum Syagrio pugnavit,

cannot indeed exactly aſſign, over what Part of the *Franks* he govern'd *: But he appears, from ſeveral Circumſtances, to have been a *Chriſtian*. *Clovis*, had of old, conceiv'd a Hatred for him, becauſe, in the Battle with *Syagrius*, he ſtood neuter, as if he waited to ſee which Party would gain the Victory, that he might proceed accordingly. He made both him and his Son, his Priſoners, by a Stratagem: The Father he cauſed to be conſecrated a Prieſt, and his Son a Deacon; but both to be, at Length, put to Death, for his greater Security, leſt the Son ſhould, ſoon or late, find an Opportunity of revenging the Death of his Father. *Raganarius* was, at Length, liable to the ſame Fate (3): Of this Prince, I obſerv'd before, that he was preſent at the Battle of *Soiſſons*. He kept his Court at *Cambray* (4), and his Dominions reach'd, on this Side the *Somme*, thro' the preſent *Flanders* and *Artois*. *Clovis* ſecretly gain'd Partizans among his Subjects, and then declar'd a War againſt him, during which he made him his Priſoner by Treachery. *Raganarius* and *Richard*, his Brother, were beheaded; and *Regnomer*, the third Brother, was, by his Orders, likewiſe put to Death, in the City of *Mans* (5). *Raganarius* and his People had continued in *Paganiſm*: But the Nation was now, thro' the Care of *Remigius*, brought to a Confeſſion of the *Chriſtian* Faith (6). *Gregory* mentions, that *Clovis* caus'd ſome other Princes, and Relations of his to be murder'd; and, as an Excuſe for this Proceeding, ſays, that he could not place any Confidence in them; but had Reaſon to fear ſome Attempt from them, on his Throne, or on that of his Children (7). Thus all that the *Franks* had 'till then poſſeſs'd in *Magna Germania*, and had, at ſeveral Times, conquer'd in *Gaul*, was united under one So-

navit, hic Chararicus, evocatus ad auxilium Clodovechi, eminus ſtetit, neutram adjuvans partem, ſed eventum rei expectans, ut cui eveniret victoria, cum illo & hic amicitiam colligaret. Ob hanc cauſſam Clodovechus indignans contra eum abiit, quem circumventum dolis cepit, cum filio, victoſque totondit, & Chararicum quidem Preſbyterum, filium vero ejus Diaconum ordinari jubet, &c.

* Jacobus Malbrancus, L. 2. c. 38. *ſuppoſes, that he reign'd in the Country, where, according to the ancient Geography, the* Morini *dwelt.*

(3) Al. Rachanarius. *That he was preſent at the Battle of* Soiſſons, *appears from the Words of* Gregory, *quoted* § 1. n. 4.

(4) Jac. Meyerus, L. 1. Annal. Flandr. *treats of this* Rachanarius *at large. He calls him the Grand-Son of* Clodius, *King of the* Franks, *and ſays, that he married a* Wiſi-Gothick *Lady: But all this needs farther Proof.*

(5) Gregorius, L. 2. c. 42. conf. Cointe ad A. 510. n. 4. *See likewiſe* Hincmarus's *Words in the following Note.*

(6) Hincmarus *in vita Remigii:* Multi nec dum ad fidem converſi cum Raganario, ultra Sommam fluvium aliquandiu degerunt, donec Chriſti gratia cooperante, glorioſis potitus victoriis, eundem flagitiis turpitudinum ſervientem, vinctum a Francis, ſibi traditum, Rex Ludovicus occidit, & omnem Francorum populum, per B. Remigium ad fidem converti, & baptizari obtinuit.

(7) Gregorius Turonensis, L. 2. c. 42. *concludes the Account of theſe Murders, in the following Words:* Interfectiſque & aliis multis regibus, & parentibus ſuis, de quibus zelum habebat, ne ei regnum auferrent, regnum ſuum per totas Gallias dilatavit.

vereignty.

vereignty. However glorious the Founders of great Kingdoms may ſeem in Hiſtory, they appear as inglorious, if we enquire more narrowly into the Means, they made Uſe of, to obtain their Ends: But we need hardly wonder, that *Clovis* made Attempts of this Kind, when we find *Gregory*, and other ancient Hiſtorians, making ſuch large Conceſſions to him, on Account of his Converſion to the *Catholick* Religion; and how many Things the Biſhops were either not able to prevent, or willingly conſented to, when the Church gain'd any Advantage thereby.

§ XIX. AND indeed, as *Clovis* muſt be regarded as Founder of the Monarchy of the *Franks*, ſo the *Franconian* Church was firſt inſtituted in his Reign. Amidſt his military Atchievements, he himſelf was ſolicitous for the Concerns of the Church, and this his Care was as uſeful, as it was neceſſary, in Order to unite the *Franks* with the ancient Inhabitants of *Gaul*. The Council, which was held at *Orleans* (1), *A.* 511, by the King's Command, is a laſting Monument of his Solicitude. The Biſhops had, from ancient Times, been accuſtom'd to conſult about Eccleſiaſtical Matters, at their Conventions, and had known how to preſerve this Privilege, in *Gaul*, even under the *Gothick* and *Burgundian* Monarchies, notwithſtanding they were *Arians*. An Aſſembly of this Kind ſeem'd now the more requiſite, in the Kingdom of the *Franks*, becauſe ſeveral Scruples had been rais'd, which were to be remov'd and determin'd by the Decrees of the Church, particularly on Occaſion of the late Converſions in thoſe Countries, which had been taken from the *Weſt-Goths*, where many *Arians* were now come into the Communion of the True Believers (2). This is the firſt Synod, that was held under the Government of the *Franks*. There were 32 Biſhops preſent at it, five of whom were *Metropolitans*, *viz.* thoſe of *Rouen*, of *Bourdeaux*, of *Bourges*, of *Tours*, and of *Eauſe*, which laſt See was afterwards remov'd to *Auſch en Gaſcogne*. The Articles, on which the King deſir'd their Opinions, were laid before them, and they ſent their Decrees to him for his Confirmation (3). Thus was the *Franconian* Church form'd under the Umbrage of a Regal Power, and

Origin of the *Franconian* Church: A Synod at *Orleans*.

§ XIX. (1) *Of this Council* F. le Cointe *treats at large*, ad A. 511. n. 4. ſequ.

(2) *Vid. Canon* 10. *Synodi Aurelian.*

(3) *The Biſhops ſent their Decrees to the King, with this Letter*: Domino ſuo, Catholicæ Eccleſiæ filio, Clotovecho, glorioſiſſimo regi, omnes ſacerdotes quos ad concilium venire juſſiſtis. Quia tanta ad Religionis Catholicæ cultum glorioſæ fidei cura vos excitat, ut ſacerdotalis mentis affectu ſacerdotes de rebus neceſſariis tractaturos, in unum colligi juſſeritis, ſecundum voluntatis veſtræ conſultationem, ad titulos, quos dediſtis, ea quæ nobis viſa ſunt, definitione reſpondimus, ita, ut ſi ea, quæ nos ſtatuimus, etiam veſtro recta eſſe judicio comprobantur, tanti conſenſus Regis, ac Domini, majori autoritate ſervandam tantorum firmet ſententiam ſacerdotum. *In the Beginning of the Counſil we read:* Cum auctore Deo, ex evocatione glorioſiſſimi regis, Clotovechi, in Aurelianenſi urbe fuiſſet Concilium ſummorum Antiſtitum congregatum, communi omnibus conlatione placuit, ut hoc, quod verbis ſtatuerant, etiam ſcripturæ teſtimonio reborarent.

was,

was, in Process of Time, join'd by all the other Churches in *Gaul*, as the Countries themselves were united under that Scepter. It is call'd the *Franconian* Church, from the Nation then reigning; tho', at first, the Bishops, as well as most of the Congregations, consisted of Native *Gauls*. The Light of the Gospel was, by Means of this Church, afterwards propagated thro' many Kingdoms and Nations, and as the *Franconian* Monarchy gave Rise to the Kingdom of *Germania*, as well as to that of the present *France*, so both national Churches esteem'd it equally an Honour to be descended from this ancient *Franconian* Church.

Clovis's Death. The Partition of the Kingdom, *&c.*

§ XX. *CLOVIS* did not long enjoy the Friuts of his Victory. He died at *Paris*, at the Beginning of the Year 511, in the 45th Year of his Age, and was interr'd in the Church, which he built in Honour of the Holy Apostles, and which was afterwards dedicated to S. *Genoveva*. He left Issue four Sons. We cannot discover who was the Mother of *Theuderick*, the eldest. The other three, *Chlodomir*, *Childebert*, and *Clotarius*, were the Sons of *Clotildis*, the *Burgundian* Princess, and one or more of them, must have been very young, when they lost their Father. These four Brothers divided the Kingdom among them. *Theuderick* obtain'd *Belgica Prima*, both *Germanies*, and that Part of *Belgica Secunda*, in which were the Cities of *Rheims*, and *Chalons sur Marne*; together with the Dominions of the *Franks*, on this Side of the *Rhine*: Besides this, he had *Aquitain*, *Rovergue*, *Auvergne*, *Quercy*, and *L'Albigois*, which Countries he had, by his Father's Commands, taken from the *Goths*, after the Battle of *Voglé*. *Rheims* and *Metz* are said to have been the two Capitals of his Kingdom. Of the other three Brothers, *Chlodomir* kept his Court at *Orleans*; *Childebert* at *Paris*; and *Clotarius* at *Soissons*. After this, we meet with the Names of *Austrasia* and *Neustria*, in the History of the *Franks*. That Part of the *Franconian* Dominions, which was situate *Eastwards*, was call'd *Austrasia*, and the *Western* Country, as far as the *Loire*, was call'd *Neustria* or *Neustrasia*. But *Aquitain* and *Burgundy* (after *Clovis's* Sons had conquer'd the latter) were not included in either, but retain'd their proper Names. Now as those Countries, which fell to *Theuderick's* Share, furnish us chiefly with Subject for the History of *Germany*, we shall principally examine the History of *Austrasia*; the other Countries appertaining more properly to the History of *France*; and that Labour has besides been already anticipated by many excellent Pens.

Other Nations in *Germania*: *Frisians*, *Thuringians*, *Saxons*, *&c.*

§ XXI. To this End, I must here take Notice of those People, who dwelt in *Germania*, at the Beginning of the Sixth Century, and were afterwards either subdued by the *Franks*, or quitted their Country in Search of fresh Adventures, and made Room for other Nations. The

Alemanni

Alemanni were before ſubject to the *Franks*. They were afterwards join'd by a Reſidue of the ancient *Suevi* (1); after which Union (2), the Names of *Alemanni* and *Swabians* were uſed indiſcriminately, and the ſucceeding Dukes, were ſometimes ſtill'd *Alemanniæ*, and ſometimes *Sueviæ Duces*. The *Friſians* retain'd their ancient Habitation on the Sea Coaſts, which they extended greatly. The Kingdom of the *Thuringians* was in great Repute, next to that of the *Franks*. This famous Nation, which was, in foregoing Times, comprehended under the Name of the *Goths*, and was renowned in *Attila*'s Time, had conquer'd the Country of the *Hermunduri*, in *Germania*, and extended themſelves much farther than the preſent *Thuringia*. We before took Notice of the Incurſions they made into *Noricum* (3), and of their Broils with the *Franks*. They continued to live in the moſt perfect Intelligence with the *Goths*: They were firſt, in ſtrict Alliance with the *Wiſi-Goths*, particularly with King *Euricus*, but when, after *Alaric*'s Death, that Monarchy fell to decay; they cultivated a Friendſhip with *Theoderick*, King of the *Oſtro-Goths* (4), of which we ſhall make farther Mention in the Sequel, on Occaſion of the Subverſion of the *Thuringian* Kingdom. The *Saxons*, who firſt made their Name famous in the great *Cimbrian Peninſula*, and afterwards in the fifth Century, by their Conqueſts in *Britain*, had, about this Time, begun to enlarge their Territories by Land, in *Germany*, and were ſoon involv'd in a War with the *Franks* (5). The ancient Boundary on the *Danube*, which had long ſeparated the *Roman* Provinces, from the free *German* Nations, remain'd 'till now unmov'd. *Rætia* and *Noricum* appertain'd to the Kingdom of the *Oſtro-Goths*, in *Italy*; after the Declenſion of which, they fell under the Dominion of the *Franks*, and then the Name of *Bavarians* firſt became noted. On the left Banks, oppoſite to *Noricum*, we find the *Longobards* (6), 'till, under the Command of *Alboin*, their King, they begun their March, *A.* 529, for *Pannonia*, from whence they proceeded to *Italy*. The *Sileſian* Hiſtorians likewiſe aſſert, that the *Lygii*,

§ XXI (1) *The* Swabians *and* Alemanni *were originally diſtinct Nations: But theſe* Swabians, *who join'd the* Alemanni, *ſeem to have been the ſame, who were under the Government of the* Oſtro-Goths.

(2) *One Part of* Swabia *was ſubject to the* Oſtro-Gothick *Kingdom, as appears from the* Gothick *Hiſtory. Mention is there made of* Chunemund, *their King, whom* ECKARD, Rer. Franc. L. 2. p. 31. *calls the Succeſſor of* Gibultus, *King of the* Alemanni, *which, however, is inconſiſtent.* In CASSIODORI Varia, *theſe* Suevi, *are often mention'd as a People ſubject to the* Gothick *Scepter. This Union of the* Alemanni *and* Swabians *cannot therefore have happen'd 'till after* Vitiges *had left the Reſidue of the* Alemanni *to the* Franks, *and the latter had made themſelves Maſters of* Rætia.

(3) *See* Vol. 1. 9. 30. *The War with* Clovis *is mention'd above,* § 7.

(4) *Of the Friendſhip between the* Thuringians *and* Wiſi-Goths, *and particularly between the former and King* Euricus, *we made Mention above,* § 12.

(5) *The Origin of the* Saxons *is deſcribed in the former Volume,* L. 6. § 11.

(6) *The Relations of* Procopius *and* Paulus Diaconus *agree herein, that the* Longobards *dwelt, about this Time, on the* Danube, *in or near the Country, formerly inhabited by the* Rugi, *whom* Odoacer *conquer'd.*

and

and a Part of the *Quadi*, remain'd in their ancient Country (7). Farther *Eaſtwards* dwelt the *Gepidæ*, who had made themſelves Maſters of *Dacia*, and were border'd on the other Side, by ſome *Hunnick* and *Sarmatian* Nations.

Of the Nations, who, at that Time, dwelt on the *Eaſt-Sea*.

§ XXII. We muſt now take a View of thoſe Nations, who dwelt on the Coaſts of the *Eaſt-Sea*, on the *Elve*, and about the *Oder* and *Viſtula*. Theſe large Tracts of Land, the Country, that firſt gave Riſe to the *Gothick* and *Vandalick* Nations, and even to the *Franks* themſelves (1), had, in ancient Times, been the Theatre of bloody Wars, and great Revolutions, which have been mention'd, in the firſt Volume, on Occaſion of the *Gothick* and *Vandalick* Wars: For the *Goths* had erected a powerful Kingdom in theſe Countries, which, after *Hermanaric*, their King, had conquer'd the *Heruli*, *Venetæ*, *Eſtii*, and *Roxolani*, about the Middle of the fourth Century, extended, at Length, from the *Baltick* (or *Eaſt-Sea*) as far as the *Black-Sea*, and conſequently comprehended a great Part of thoſe Countires, to which, taken together, the Ancients gave the Name of *Scythia*, or likewiſe more particularly of *Sarmatia*. By which Means, many Nations lay conceal'd under the Name of *Goths*, which were originally quite a different People. But when the *Goths* were, ſoon afterwards, ſubdu'd by the *Hunns* (2), freſh Revolutions happen'd likewiſe here. One Part of the Nations, which were before ſubject to the *Goths*, liſted themſelves under *Attila*; ſuch were the *Gepidæ*, *Rugi*, *Scirri*, &c. The Reſt perhaps immediatly recover'd their Liberty; which they could, with the more Eaſe, maintain, as the Power of the *Hunns* fell with *Attila*, and the *Goths* ſought their Fortune in other Parts. The *Varni* and *Heruli*, under which Names many neighbouring Nations were probably comprehended, are, in particular, famous in the Monuments of this Time. Theſe *Varni* are the ſame *Varini*, who are placed by *Tacitus*, in his Time, among the *Swabian* Nations, who dwelt on the *Eaſt-Sea* (3), as Neighbours to the *Angli*. Geographers agree herein, that they dwelt about the two Rivers *Trave* and *Warna*; the former of which falls into the Sea near *Lubeck*, the latter near *Roſtock*. How far their Dominions reach'd by Land, is uncertain; but if we have an Eye to a Letter of *Theoderick*, King of the *Oſtro-Goths*, directed, at the ſame Time, to the Kings of the *Thuringians*, *Heruli*, and *Varni* (4), theſe Nations ſeem, at

(7) Hanckius, *in particular, has given a more circumſtantial Account of this, in his Treatiſe*, de Sileſiorum majoribus, cap. 21.

§ XXII. (1) *Of the Origin of the* Franks, *ſee Book* 5. § 31.

(2) *Of the Declenſion of the ancient* Gothick *Kingdom, ſee Book* 7. § 15. *and following.*

(3) Tacitus *de M. G. c.* 40. Reudigni deinde, & Aviones, & Angli, & Varini, &c. *The* Aviones *are the* Chaibones, *mention'd Book* 6. § 1. *and* 15.

(4) *See above*, § 12. not. 11.

that

that Time, to have border'd on each other, and as good a Friendſhip to have ſubſiſted between their Kings, as betwixt them and the King of the *Oſtro-Goths*. The Kingdom of the *Guarni* flouriſh'd till about the Time of *Childebert*, King of *Auſtraſia*: And a Reſidue of the *Rugi* remain'd, not improbably, in their ancient Country, from whence the Territory and Iſle of *Rugen* retain'd its Name (5).

In particular of the *Heruli*.

§ XXIII. THE Deſtruction of the Kingdom of the *Heruli*, which I am now about to relate, renews in us a Deſire of being better acquainted with this Nation; eſpecially ſince ſome derive from them the People of *Lithuania* and *Livonia* (1), others the *Werli*, an ancient People in *Mecklenburg* *. It appears, indeed, from what has been ſaid of them in the former Volume, that they dwelt on the *Eaſt-Sea* (2); but their Situation, particularly towards the Inland Countries, was not accurately deſcrib'd (3). They had before detach'd numerous Colonies, which, in the Reign of *Gallienus*, the Emperor, cruiz'd, with the *Goths*, on the *Black-Sea*, and, with them, invaded *Illyricum*. One of theſe Swarms was overcome by *Gallienus*, near the City of *Naiſſus*, in *Moëſia*, and thereupon took Service under the *Romans* (4), when the *Heruli* compos'd a ſeparate Body, among the foreign Cavalry (5). Another Swarm, accompanied by ſome of their Neighbours, made their Way for *Gaul*, in the Time of *Maximinian*, the Emperor, but were by him defeated (6). The whole Nation of the *Heruli*, themſelves, about the Middle of the fourth Century, were ſubdued by *Hermanaric*, King of the *Oſtro-Goths* (7); but perhaps recover'd their Liberty, when, ſoon afterwards, the *Gothick* Monarchy, in the Countries betwixt the *Danube* and the *Eaſt-Sea*, were ſubverted. We meet, in Hiſtory, with freſh Colonies of the *Heruli* after that Time.

(5) *Conf.* SCHWARZ *de finibus Rugiæ, p.* 19.

§ XXIII. (1) VIIUK KOIALOVIZ *derives the Natives of* Lithuania, Livonia, *the* Samogites *and* Pruſſians, *from the* Heruli, *in his* Hiſt. Lithuan. p. 5, 6. ſq. *That the People of* Lithuania *and* Livonia *are the ſame by Deſcent, is likewiſe confirm'd by* OL. HERMELINUS in Orig. Livonicis.

* *See* HARTKNOCH's Altes und Neues Preuſſen, p. 32.

(2) MAMERTINUS in Panegyrico, *ſpeaks at once of the* Eruli *and* Chaibones *(who were the ſame* Aviones, *whom* Tacitus *places on the* Eaſt-Sea) *and ſays of them:* Chaibones, Erulique, viribus primi barbarorum, locis ultimi, &c. SIDONIUS APPOLLINARIS *ſays of the* Eruli, L. 8. ep. 9.

Hic glaucis Erulus genis vagatur.
Imos Oceani colens receſſus.
Algoſo prope concolor profundo,

(3) *The Hiſtorians of* Mecklenburg, *make frequent Mention of* Werla, *an ancient City, which they call a Colony of the* Heruli; *and from which the ancient Princes of* Mecklenburg, *took the Title of Lords of* Werla. *It is ſaid to have been not far diſtant from the preſent* Guſtrow. THOMAS, in Analect. Guſtrov. p. 50. *Even the* Heruli *are by them likewiſe term'd* Werli, *and they uſe that Name, as if it was ſynonimous to that of* Venedi. *But the Ancients diſtinguiſh the* Heruli *and* Venedi. GUNDLING, in Lib. de Henrico Aucupe, p. 159 & 161. *imagines, that they likewiſe inhabited the adjacent Part of the Marquiſate of* Brandenburg, *and that Mount* Harlung, *near the City of* Brandenburg, *took its Name from them.*

(4) *Vid. L.* 5. § 43, 44.

(5) *Vexillum Erulorum, Batavorumque, Vid. L.* 7. §. 2. *n.* 3.

(6) *Vid. L.* 6. § 1. *n.* 3.

(7) *Vid. L.* 6. § 43. *n.* 2.

A Body of them ravag'd, in the Years 457 and 460, the Coaſts of *Spain* (8): and their Troops became, ſoon after, famous in *Italy*, where they were inſtrumental in ſetting *Odoacer* on the Throne (9). The Nation itſelf kept up, during this Time, a good Underſtanding with the *Goths* (10), as appears from ſeveral Treaties with *Euricus*, King of the *Wiſi-Goths* (11), who adopted for his Son, the King, who then reign'd over them (12), and who ſeems to have been the ſame *Rudolph*, in whoſe Reign the Kingdom of the *Heruli* receiv'd that violent Shock, which ſoon after caus'd its total Subverſion.

Their ſingular Cuſtoms.

§ XXIV. *PROCOPIUS* makes frequent Mention of the *Heruli* (1), as a People, very famous in the Reign of *Juſtinian*, and obſerves, on this Occaſion, two very extraordinary Cuſtoms, in Vogue among them. One of theſe was, that ſuperannuated, infirm People themſelves entreated their Relations, to remove them out of this World: Whereupon they were laid on a Pile of Wood, where ſome one (not of their Kindred) firſt kill'd them, and then ſet Fire to the Wood. This unciviliz'd People had no Notion, either of thoſe eaſy Employments, in which old and ſuperannuated Perſons might ſerve the Common-Wealth; or of that tranquil State of Mind, which old Age is capable of giving. We find almoſt the ſame related of ſome other Nations, as of the *Cantabri* (2), that their aged People threw themſelves into the Sea; which likewiſe the ancient Geographers took Notice of, in general, as practis'd by the

(8) *Vid. L.* 10. § 24.

(9) *See above*, § 11. n. 1. *Yet it remains dubious whether theſe were the ſame* Eruli, *who, from the Times of* Gallienus, *were in the* Roman *Service, or whether they did not rather belong to thoſe* German *Troops, which perhaps went into* Italy, *not long before, on Occaſion of the inteſtine Wars, rais'd under* Anthemius. *And that the whole Nation of* Heruli *did not march into* Italy, *appears in particular from thoſe Words of* Ennodius, *cited before*, § 5. n. 7.

(10) Theoderick *boaſts of this Alliance betwixt the* Heruli *and the* Goths, *in the Letter, by which he adopts their King for his Son.* Var. 4. ep. 2.

(11) Vid. L. 10. §. 28. n. 2. *Where* Sidonius Apollinaris *expreſly names the* Heruli *among the foreign Ambaſſadors, at* Euricus's *Court. In the Letter cited*, § 12 not. 11. *King* Theoderick *puts the Kings of the* Heruli *and* Guarni *in Mind of the Services they had received of* Euricus.

(12) *Varior.* 4. *ep.* 2.

§ XXIV. (1) Procopius, *p.* 419. Jam vero quodnam hominum genus Eruli ſint, atque unde in Romanorum ſocietatem ſe contulerint, explicabo. Trans fluvium Iſtrum olim habitabant, cultui dediti multorum numinum, quæ humanis placare hoſtiis fas habebant. Inſtitutis plurimum differebant a cæteris nationibus. Nam nec ſenibus, nec ægrotis fas erat vitam producere: at ſi quem ſenium occupaſſet, vel morbus, rogare is cogebatur propinquos, darent operam, ut quamprimum ex vivorum numero exturbaretur. Illi pyra conſtructa ingenti, collocabant hominem in faſtigio, & ad ipſum mittebant Erulum aliquem, inſtructum ſica, non tamen ei conjunctum genere: nefas enim ducebant, a Conſanguineo cædem fieri. Reverſo, qui illorum propinquum interfecerat, protinus ligna omnia, facibus imo ſubjectis rogo, urebant. Poſtquam flamma reſederat, legebant oſſa, ac ſtatim terræ infodiebant. Ubi vir quiſpiam Erulus fato conceſſerat, ut virtutem probaret uxor, ac relinqueret ſuperſtitem ſibi gloriam, neceſſe habebat vitam paulo poſt ad mariti tumulum finire laqueo: ni faceret, in æternum dedecus, & propinquorum mariti offenſionem incurrebat.

(2) *Of the* Cantabri *ſee* Silius Italicus, L. 3.

Mirus amor populo, cum pigra incanuit ætas,
Imbelles jam dudum annos prævertere ſaxo.

moſt

moſt remote *Northern* Nations (the *Hyperborei*) (3), and which the ancient heroick Songs of the *Danes*, relate, in particular, of ſome of their Kings (4). The *Thuringians*, while they were *Pagans*, even after they were conquer'd by the *Franks*, committed very near the ſame Cruelty, which *Procopius* relates of the *Heruli*; *viz.* that when ſick Perſons appear'd to be incurable, they caus'd their Heads to be cut off, and their Bodies to be burnt (5). Another Practice of the *Heruli*, mention'd by *Procopius*, muſt ſeem equally ſtrange in theſe Days: He ſays, that Wives were oblig'd, at the Funeral of their Husbands, to ſubmit to the Halter themſelves, unleſs they choſe rather to forfeit their Honour, and to incur the *Odium* of all the Relations of the Deceaſed. Funerals were not attended with ſo much Cruelty among the ancient *Germans* in general. A Horſe was, at moſt, perhaps burnt (6). It was indeed cuſtomary among the *Gauls*, for Servants to accompany their Maſters on the Funeral-Pile; but this was aboliſh'd in the Times of *J. Cæſar* (7). This Barbarity of the *Heruli*, which is only us'd now-a-days, here and there, in the *Eaſt-Indies*, and that but very ſeldom (8), was likewiſe common to ſome neighbouring *Scythian* Nations (9). The ſame is related of the *Venedi*, and ſome other People, whoſe Confines join'd to thoſe of the *Heruli* (10). Both Cuſtoms may ſerve to ſhew the Tyranny of Imagination, which was here of greater Force, than that natural Deſire of Life, which is but too much indulg'd by moſt other Men.

§ XXV. THIS Kingdom of the *Heruli* receiv'd a terrible Shock, in the Beginning of the ſixth Century, in the Reign of *Anaſtaſius*, the Emperor. The Circumſtances are differently related. *Procopius* ſays, that the *Heruli* urg'd *Rudolph*, their King, ſo long, that he was oblig'd to make

A Revolution in the Kingdom of the *Heruli*.

(3) *This is related of the* Hyperborei, *by* MELA, PLINIUS, SOLINUS.

(4) *See* ARNKIEL's Cimbriſche Heiden-Begräbniſſe, p. 52.

(5) *This appears from a remarkable Paſſage* in ANONIMI Vita S. ARNULPHI Epiſcopi Metenſis, c. 12.

(6) TACITUS *de M. G.* c. 27. Funerum nulla ambitio. Id ſolum obſervatur ut corpora clarorum virorum certis lignis crementur. Struem rogi nec veſtibus, nec odoribus cumulant. Sua cuique arma, quorundam igni & equus adjicitur.

(7) CÆSAR *de B. G.* 6. 19. Funera ſunt pro cultu Gallorum magnifica, & ſumtuoſa omniaque quæ vivis cordi fuiſſe arbitrantur, in ignem inferunt, etiam animalia; ac paulo ſupra hanc memoriam, ſervi & clientes, quos ab iis dilectos eſſe conſtabat, juſtis funebibus confectis, una cremabantur.

(8) *How this Cuſtom is ſtill retain'd in the* Eaſt-Indies, *is circumſtantially related in the* Diſſertation ſur les Mœurs, & ſur la Religion des Bramines, c. 13, 14. p. 42. & ſequ. *Of the Cuſtom of the ancient* Indians, *I ſhall here only add thoſe excellent Verſes of* PROPERT. L. 3. El. 7.

Felix Eois lex funeris una maritis,
Quos aurora ſuis rubra colorat equis.
Namque ubi mortifero jacta eſt fax ultima lecto,
Uxorum fuſis ſtat pia turba comis,
Et certamen habet lethi, quæ viva ſequatur
Conjugium, pudor eſt, non licuiſſe mori.

For farther Inſtances, ſee TIRAQUELLUS ad ALEXANDR. ab ALEXANDRO Dierum Genial. Lib. 3. c. 7.

(9) *This is related of the* Thracians, *and ſome other* Scythian *Nations, by* ALEXANDER ab ALEXANDRO, l. c. p. 640.

(10) ARNKIEL, l. c. p. 98 *and* 99.

War with the *Longobards*, who were already tributary to them (1), in Order to reduce that Nation to an entire Subjection (2); but that they were defeated by the *Longobards*, and their King slain in the Attempt: That thereupon they were forc'd to leave their Country a Prey to the Conqueror, and to seek Refuge under the *Gepidæ*, who assign'd them Habitations about and in their Dominions (3). From *Jornandes*, on the other Hand, we might conclude, that the *Danes* expell'd the *Heruli*, and that *Rudolph*, their King, took Refuge in *Italy*, under *Theoderick* (4). But, whatever the particular and more accurate Circumstances may be, it appears sufficiently, from the Sequel of History, that the Power of the *Heruli* was, about this Time, greatly reduced, and soon after totally subverted.

Nations beyond the *Vistula*; the *Æstii*, &c.

§ XXVI. THE *Æstii* are likewise met with, in the Acounts we have of the sixth Century, in the same Parts on the *East-Sea*, where *Tacitus* places them (1). Now, if we grant, that the *Heruli* extended their Dominion as far as the *Vistula*, after the *Goths* had quitted their ancient Habitations, then the *Æstii* were, after that Time, their Neighbours. They were likewise formerly conquer'd by the *Goths*; but soon after recover'd their Liberty, and, on the other Hand, now kept up a good Understanding with *Theoderick*, King of *Italy*; in whose History we read, that the *Æstii* sent an Ambassy to him (2), and made him a Present of their Amber, which was still in as high Esteem, as it was in the

§ XXV. (1) PROCOPIUS, *p.* 420. *A.* Demum Langobardos jam tum Christianos, & quasdam alias gentes sibi vectigales fecerunt, contra Barbarorum, in illis partibus degentium, morem, ad id cupiditate arrogantiaque inducti. Susceptis ab Anastasio Romani habenis imperii, non habentes Eruli, quos deinceps invaderent, armis depositis quievere, ac triennio pax illa stetit: quam graviter pertæsi, RUDOLFO, Regi suo impudenter maledicebant, ipsumque aditantes, mollem & effœminatum vocabant, aliisque id genus convitiis per summum dedecus os ejus verberabant. Permotus contumelia Rudolfus, in Langobardos plane insontes expeditionem suscipit. *He then relates the Overthrow of the* Heruli. Paulus Diaconus *gives likewise an Account of this War; but with many fabulous Circumstances.*

(2) *That this was transacted in* Anastasius's *Reign, appears from* Procopius's *Words in the preceeding Note.*

(3) PROCOPIUS *proceeds*, p. 421. A. Quo factum, ut in patria amplius manere nequiverint: sed illa quamprimum egressi, iter porro continuarint, cum liberis & uxoribus peragrando oras omnes, Istro fluvio ulteriores. Regionem ingressi habitatam olim a Rugis, qui in Italiam cum Gothorum exercitu concesserant, ibi constitere. Sed cum inculta solitudo esset, paulo post exacti illinc stimulis famis, ad Gepædum fines accedunt. Ac primum quidem Gepædes illis supplicibus permiserunt, ut cum vicini sui essent, tum inquilini.

(4) JORNANDES de Rebus Geticis, cap. 3. *where he treats of the Inhabitants of* Scanzia. Quamvis & Dani ex eorum stirpe progressi, Erulos propriis sedibus expulerunt: qui inter omnes Scanziæ nationes nomen sibi ob nimiam proceritatem affectant præcipuum. Sunt quanquam & illorum positura Grannii, Aganziæ, Unixæ, Ethelrugi, Arochiranni. Quibus non ante omnes, sed ante multos annos Rodulf Rex fuit, qui contemto proprio Regno ad Theoderici, Gothorum Regis, gremium convolavit, & ut desiderabat invenit. *That a Party of* Heruli *fled to* Theoderick, *appears from his Letter in* CASSIOD. Var. 4. ep. 4, 5.

§ XXVI. (1) *See* Vol. 1. L. 6. § 43 n. 5, 6, 7.

(2) VARIAR. 5. 2. Theoderick's *Letter itself has been inserted in Book* 6. § 43. n. 7.

Times

Times of the *Romans*. Thus was the Name of the *Æſtii* (3), which yet ſubſiſts in the Province of *Eſtonia*, known over all the preſent *Livonia* (4), and over one Part, at leaſt, of the preſent *Pruſſia*. Inſomuch that the People, who dwelt on the Right of the *Viſtula*, on the Coaſts of the *Eaſt-Sea*, were comprehended under the Name of *Heruli*, or of *Æſtii*, among whom were the *Galindi* and *Sudeni* (5), who are acknowledg'd to have been the firſt Inhabitants of *Pruſſia*. Much in the ſame Manner as long afterwards, almoſt all who came from the *Eaſt-Sea*, were, in *England*, and in the Low-Countries, call'd *Eſterlings*. The *Scirri* and *Hirri*, whom *Pliny* mentions on the *Eaſt-Sea*, beyond the *Viſtula*, have been frequently mention'd before (6); and I related of them, in particular, that, in the Reign of *Theodoſius*, they made Inroads on the *Roman* Provinces; that they ſerved in *Attila's* Army, and that, after his Deceaſe, they were rooted out by the *Gothick* Princes. But whether the whole Nation, or only ſome Colonies left their Country, on thoſe Occaſions, is uncertain. The *Scirri*, are at leaſt ſuppoſed to have dwelt in *Courland*, which is ſaid to have taken its Name from them; and ſo likewiſe we find ſome Footſteps of the *Hirri* in the preſent *Eſtonia* (7). The Origin and Antiquities of the People of *Poland*, *Ruſſia*, *Lithuania*, *Livonia*, and *Pruſſia* (8), will be farther illuſtrated, when, in the Sequel, I ſhall relate the Revolutions, occaſion'd by the *Venedi*, and other *Sarmatian* Nations, in the Countries betwixt the *Viſtula*, the *Danube*, and the *Eaſt-Sea*.

§ XXVII. THE Ancients imagin'd the *Baltick* to be an open Sea, and were neither ſufficiently acquainted with the Countries that confined it *North-Eaſtwards*, nor with the Iſlands contain'd in it, nor even with its Coaſts: And, indeed, how could it be otherwiſe? Their Ships were perhaps as ſeldom ſeen on this Sea, as their Armies on the Coaſts of it, by Land. Commerce, which otherwiſe affords good Opportunities of gaining a Knowledge of diſtant Countries, was, perhaps, but very incon- Of the *Eaſt-Sea* and its Iſlands: Of *Scandinavia*.

(3) *That more than one Nation were comprehended under this Name, appears from theſe Words of* Tacitus: Dextro Suevici maris littore ÆSTIORUM GENTES alluuntur, quibus ritus habituſque Suevorum, lingua Britannicæ proprior. *At the End if this Volume, I ſhall add a particular Annotation, concerning theſe People on the* Baltick.

(4) *That the* Livonians *are comprehended under the Name of* Æſtii, *is taken for granted in the Hiſtory of that Country.* V. KELCH. Hiſt. Liv. P. 1. p. 14.

(5) *See* Vol. 1. L. 6. § 43. not. 3 *and* 7.

(6) *This Irruption of the* Scirri, *is related,* Vol. 1. L. 7. § 30. *that they ſerv'd under* Attila, L. 9. § 25. *and, after his Death, fix'd their Abode on the other Side of the* Danube, L. 10. § 7. *and that there they were beat and extirpated,* L. 10. § 10.

(7) *In the Territory of* Harria *or* Wiriæ, *which is a Part of* Eſtonia.

(8) HARTKNOCH *in his* Altes und neues Preuſſen, p. 71 *and* 73. *derives the* Pruſſians *from the* Boruſci *in* Ptolemy. BAYER in Diſſ. de vetere Inſcriptione Pruſſica *is of a different Opinion, becauſe the* Pruſſians, *in ancient Records, are never call'd* Boruſſi, *but* Pruſſi *or* Pruſchi.

ſiderable

ſiderable with theſe People, and we find that their only exportable Commodities, were Amber and Furrs. *Tacitus* calls this Sea *Mare Suevicum* (1); becauſe the People, who dwelt along the Coaſts, were ſuppos'd to be a Part of the principal Branch of the *Suevi*. *Pliny* (2) and *Pomponius Mela* (3), call it *Sinus Codanus*. Among the Iſlands, they mention one by the Name of *Scandinavia*, which was larger than all the Reſt. *Ptolemy* (4), and *Jornandes* (5), who appeals to *Ptolemy*, call it *Scanzia*. *Procopius* (6) mentions it by the name of *Thule*. But the Relations of both the latter are as confuſed, as thoſe, which we meet with in the moſt ancient *Roman* Writers, and in *Ptolemy*. It is nevertheleſs apparent, that *Jornandes* comprehends, under the Name of *Scanzia*, and *Procopius* under that of *Thule*, the preſent *Norway*, *Lapland*, *Sweden*, *Gothland*, *Finland*, and the *Daniſh* Iſlands; nay, it ſeems even the Iſland and Territory of *Rugen*. *Jornandes* names the *Danes* among the Inhabitants of *Scanzia* (7); and likewiſe the *Swedes* (8), (whom *Tacitus* * mentions by the Name of *Suiones*) and ſays of the latter, that they traded in Furrs and Sables. He names moreover the *Fenni* (9), and *Gauti* (10), who are yet known in the *North*, by the Name of *Goths*. The preſent Languages of *Norway*, *Denmark* and *Sweden*, which laſt is likewiſe ſpoken in *Gothland*, are, as it were, Daughters of the ancient *Norwegian* Mother-Tongue, which retain'd its Purity chiefly in *Iſeland*, which Iſle was, in the ninth Century, peopled from *Norway*. If we compare them with the *Anglo-Saxon*, and with the other Remains of the ancient *Swevian* Tongue, which we meet with, in what little we have left of that of the *Longo-*

§ XXVII. (1) TACITUS *de M. G. c.* 45. Ergo jam dextro SUEVICI MARIS littore, Æſtiorum gentes adluuntur. *The moſt ancient Geographers mention the Iſland of* Balthia, *from whence perhaps the* Belt *takes its Name. But the Name of* Mare Balthicum, *for the whole* Eaſt-Sea, *is not ſo very ancient, and as* CLUVER. Germ. Antiq. L. 3. c. 38. *aſſerts, took its Riſe in the Times of* Adam Bremenſis *and* Helmoldus.

(2) PLINY's *Words are cited* L. 1. § 11. n. 3.

(3) *See* POMPON. MELA's *Words above*, Lib. 1. §. 7. n. 3.

(4) PTOLOMÆUS *names three* Inſulæ Scanziæ.

(5) JORNANDES *de Rebus Geticis, c.* 3.

(6) PROCOPIUS de bello Goth. L 2. c. 15. *He is herein greatly miſtaken.* Pliny *and* Tacitus *knew how to diſtinguiſh the Iſland of* Thule *from* Scandinavia. *We need not doubt, but by the Name of* Thule, *which the Ancients, in general, place at the utmoſt* Northern *Point of the then known World, was meant the Iſland of* Iſeland. Conf. CLUVERIUS, l. c. cap. 39.

(7) JORNANDES, *cap.* 3. Quamvis & Dani ex ipſorum ſtirpe progreſſi Erulos propriis ſedibus expulerunt, qui inter omnes Scanziæ nationes nomen ſibi ob nimiam proceritatem affectant præcipuum.

(8) IDEM. Alia vero gens ibi moratur Suethans, qui velut Thuringi, equis utuntur eximiis. Hi quoque ſunt, qui in uſus Romanorum Saphirinas pelles, commercio interveniente, per alias innumeras gentes tranſmittunt, famoſi pellium decora nigredine. *And afterwards he names the* Suetidi.

* TACITUS *de M. G. cap.* 44. Suionum hinc civitates ipſo in Oceano, præter viros armaque, claſſibus valent, &c. *And* cap. 45. *he ſays:* Suionibus Sitonum gentes continuantur.

(9) JORNANDES, *l. c.* Fenni nitiſſimi, Scanziæ cultoribus omnibus mitiores. *And ſoon after he names the* Scritofennæ.

(10) IDEM, *l. c.* Gauti-goth acre hominum genus.

bards,

bards, as well as with *Ulphila's* Tranſlation of the four Goſpels, and the ancient Dialect of the *Franks*, we ſhall indeed find them different from all theſe; but ſo that the firſt Sources, from whence theſe Dialects, like ſo many Rivulets, took their Riſe, were not far diſtant from each other. They have, in their Traditions, many Things in common with the *Anglo-Saxons*, the *Longobards*, and other People of *Germania*, and particularly the Memory of *Odinus*, who is ſaid to have come from *Aſia* to *Scandinavia*, and was ador'd as an Hero, and, at Length, as a Deity, in the Iſlands and Countries on both Sides of the *Eaſt-Sea* (11). And theſe Circumſtances leave me no Room to doubt, but that the Nations that dwelt on each Side of the *Eaſt-Sea* frequently made Treaties, and wag'd War, one with another, alternatively, even as we find it in ſucceeding Times. The Sea was open for their Uſe, and both were experienc'd Navigators (12): But we meet with no certain Teſtimony of theſe Things, in ancient Hiſtorians. The *Danes*, *Norwegians*, and *Swedes*, have indeed ancient Monuments of their Hiſtory: In particular many Inſcriptions, which are ſtill extant, in the ancient Letters or *Runen*. They boaſt of the Songs of their *Scalder*, or ancient Maſter-Singers, and of ſome Accounts, (which in their Language are call'd *Edda* or *Saga*) of the Acts of their Anceſtors, which only ſo far differ from the Mythology of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, that they, in general, extol the Valour and Hoſpitality of their Heroes, whereas the *Greeks*, on the other Hand, attributed to their Gods and Goddeſſes, all thoſe Frailties of their own, which Love prompted them to. But all theſe Remains either have not reach'd to theſe Times, or are liable to great Doubts and Uncertainties. It may therefore ſuffice, that we here follow the few Accounts we have, in the Hiſtorians of this Time. The Clouds, which yet hover over them, will by Degrees be moved, when, in ſucceeding Times, we begin to treat more largely of the *Northern* Nations. For, in the Hiſtory of the *Franks*, we ſhall have but too frequent Occaſion, to relate the Piracies and Irruptions of the *Normans*, which will ſerve to give us ſome Idea of what paſs'd, in ancient Times, in the Navigation and Excurſions of the *Franks*, *Saxons*, and *Heruli*.

§ XXVIII. To return to the Hiſtory of the *Franks*, we find that every Thing continued, after *Clovis's* Death, notwithſtanding the Partition, in a peaceable State. Nothing could be more advantageous to the Kingdom, than this Harmony of the Brothers. It produc'd, among others, this Effect, that the Dominion of the *Franks*, and the new Regulation

A Peace among the Kings of the *Franks*.

Broils in the *Eaſt*, &c.

(11) Conf. WACHTER's *Preface to his* Gloſſary.

(12) *Of the Navigation of the ancient* Germans, *ſee* CLUVERIUS, L. 1. c. 18.

was

was thereby confirm'd, and the *Goths*, *Burgundians*, and other Neighbours, were, at leaſt, the more obliged to ſtifle their Inclinations to make any Attempts: But then the King of the *Oſtro-Goths*, to whoſe Motions the chiefeſt Regard was to be had, happen'd beſides to be involv'd in other Difficulties with the *Grecian* Emperor, which were alone ſufficient to keep him employ'd. In Order to give the Reader an Idea of this Affair, I muſt lead him to a different Subject, and juſt take Notice of the Controverſies in Point of Religion, of theſe Times, and of the Influence they had on Temporal Matters. In the former Volume, I have already frequently made Mention of the fatal Differences, occaſion'd by the Doctrine of *Arius*, that the Son of God was not of the ſame, nor even of a ſimilar Eſſence with the Father; I likewiſe obſerved what Ground this Error gain'd among the *Goths*, *Vandals*, *Suevi*, *Burgundians*, and other *German* Nations. *Neſtorius* gave Occaſion to a new Diſpute, by denying that the Divine Nature was perſonally united with the human Nature (1). His Doctrine was rejected in the Year 431, in the Council at *Epheſus*, where *Cyrill* of *Alexandria*, who had before zealouſly oppoſed him, preſided. *Eutyches* fell, on the other Hand, into the Error, that no Diſtinction was to be made betwixt the two Natures in the Perſon of Chriſt, as if they were, in a Manner, confounded together; for which he was condemned at the Council of *Chalcedon*, *A.* 451. The Canons of this Council rais'd freſh Difficulties, which were augmented by *Peter*, ſurnam'd *Fullo* (2), Biſhop of *Antioch*. The Hymn, *O Holy Lord, O holy mighty God*, &c. had, at that Time, been already introduc'd in their publick Worſhip (3). The ſame *Peter* inſerted into this Hymn, the Form: *Thou who waſt crucified for us, have Mercy upon us.* How unexceptionable ſoever theſe Words are, if rightly interpreted, they now caus'd very great Uneaſineſſes, becauſe the True-believers apprehended, that the falſe Tenet of our Saviour's having likewiſe ſuffer'd in his Divine Nature, (from which Error the *Theopaſchitæ* took their Name) (4), would be thereby inſenſibly introduc'd. *Zeno*, the Emperor, thought he acted very prudently, when he publiſh'd, *A.* 482, that famous Edict, whereby Silence was enjoin'd to both Parties (5), concerning the Council of *Chalcedon*; which Method has

§ XXVIII. (1) *See the third Annotation at the End of this Volume.*

(2) Conf. Henr. Valesius *in Obſervation. ad* Evagrium *de Petro, Epiſcopo Antiocheno, & de Acacio.*

(3) *It appears from what* Jobus Monachus, *ſays in* Photius in Bibliothec. Cod. CCXX. *that the Beginning of this ſo famous* Triſagium *was:* Sanctus Deus, Sanctus Fortis, Sanctus Immortalis.

(4) Conf. Henricus Norisius *in Diſſ. de uno ex Trinitate paſſo.*

(5) *This is the famous* Enoticon, *of which Dr.* Wenſdorf, *in a particular Diſſertation, and Mr.* Berger, in Diſſ. de Enoticis Orientis, *treat more at large.*

been

been uſed more than once in Differences on Account of Religion, when two Parties oppos'd each other too warmly. This Edict, as uſual, was not, indeed, very agreable to the Zealots on either Side; but *Acacius* (6), then Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, was as mild and compliant, as the Emperor could deſire.

Vitalian rebels againſt *Anaſtaſius*, &c.

§ XXIX. NOW when *Anaſtaſius* was rais'd to the Imperial Dignity, he renew'd the Mandate of Silence, and did not care to concern himſelf about the Council of *Chalcedon*, tho', at his Coronation, he had been oblig'd to promiſe ſtrenuouſly to ſupport it. Matters came, hereupon, to ſuch a Height, that Pope *Symmachus* excommunicated all, that were of *Acacius*'s Opinion, and conſequently the Emperor himſelf, but without naming him (1). *Anaſtaſius* inclin'd, in the mean Time, more and more to this Party, and caus'd the abovemention'd Form to be introduc'd into publick Worſhip. This immediately rais'd a horrid Tumult in the Church, which was ſoon ſpread all over the City. *Anaſtaſius* narrowly eſcap'd being dethron'd on this Occaſion. The rebellious Populace proclaim'd *Ariobindus* Emperor (2), who had married *Anicia Juliana*, the Daughter of Emperor *Olybrius*, who was, as well as he, of the *Orthodox* Party. *Vitalian*, a Grand-ſon of the famous *Aſpar*, whom I mention'd in the former Volume (3), and Commander of the foreign Troops, ſet up for Emperor, in *Myſia*, againſt *Anaſtaſius*, under the ſpecious Pretence, of oppoſing the *Eutychian* Hereſy, and defending the Council of *Chalcedon*. The Emperor indeed appeas'd the Fury of the People at *Conſtantinople*: But a dangerous War enſued with *Vitalian*. *Theoderick* (4), King of *Italy*, and *Hormiſda*, the Pope, aſſiſted the latter to the utmoſt of their Power. The Doctrine of the *Eutychians* was, indeed, as much oppos'd by the *Arians*, as by the True-Believers: But we need not doubt, but *Theoderick* was prompted to it more by political Views, than his Zeal for Religion: For what could contribute more to the Security of his Throne in *Italy*, than to cut out Work for *Anaſtaſius* in the *Eaſt*, and to ſupport the Pope, as well as the Senat of *Rome*, in their Diſaffection to him? The King of *Burgundy*, who ſeem'd, in every other Reſpect, a Friend to *Anaſtaſius*, at this Juncture, likewiſe enjoin'd *Avitus*, Biſhop of *Vienne*, to oppoſe the *Eutychian* Tenets. The two Letters are extant, which this Prelate wrote on that Head to the King himſelf; of which the Learned indeed obſerve (5), that the State of Affairs at *Conſtantinople*,

(6) VALESIUS *de Acacio.*

§ XXIX. (1) *Pope* Symmachus *ſays, in his* Apolegeticum adverſus Anaſtaſium *in* Baronius ad A. 503. n. 26. Nos non Te excommunicavimus, Imperator, ſed Acacium: Tu recede ab Acacio, & ab illius excomunicatione recedis.

(2) *Vid.* PAGIUS *ad A.* 512. n. 9.

(3) *L.* 10. § 29.

(4) THEOPHANES.

(5) *Conf.* PAGIUS *ad A.* 512. *n.* 11. *ſeq.*

had been miſrepreſented to him: But this is not our Concern here, and we find no farther Account, whether, and how far the King of *Burgundy* interfer'd in the War, which thereupon enſued. *Vitalian* came himſelf, with a large Army of *Huns* and *Bulgarians*, as far as *Conſtantinople*; and *Anaſtaſius* was oblig'd to ſue for Peace. It was accordingly concluded, *A.* 514, on Condition that the Emperor ſhould recall all thoſe Biſhops, who had been baniſh'd on Account of their Conſtancy; that he ſhould ſuffer a free Council to be held at *Heraclea*, in *Thrace*, and entreat the Pope to aſſiſt at it (6). Several Negotiations were thereupon ſet on Foot with the Pope and King *Theoderick*: But for the Council of *Heraclea*, and that Union of Churches, which *Hormiſda* ſo much deſir'd, they were not brought to bear during *Anaſtaſius*'s Life.

A Party of *Danes* ſails up the *Maes*.

§ XXX. About this Time it was, if we obſerve the ſame Order which *Gregory* of *Tours* keeps in his Hiſtory, that *Theuderick*, King of the *Franks* in *Auſtraſia*, was embroil'd with the *Danes*, and this is the firſt Time we meet with the Name of that Nation in the Hiſtory of the *Franks*. They ſail'd by the Coaſts of *Saxony* and *Frieſland*, and ſo up the *Maes* (1), where they landed, and ravag'd the Country betwixt that River and the *Rhine*, and particularly the Dominions of the *Attuarii* (2), (the preſent *Guelders.*) *Gregory* calls their Leader *Chochilaic* (3), and ſtiles him a King: But they were probably a Swarm of People, who had quitted their Country to ſeek their Fortune elſewhere; the like of which we find many Inſtances of, before and after theſe Times, in the Hiſtory of the *Northern* Nations. They were juſt about to retreat, when King *Theuderick* attack'd them, both by Water and by Land. *Theudebert*, or *Thiebrecht*, his Son, kill'd their Prince, who had remain'd on Shoar, to cover their Imbarkation. The *Franks*, in the mean Time, with their Fleet, attack'd the *Daniſh* Ships, and took from them their Booty and Priſoners (4). The Name of the *Danes* appears again,

(6) Theophanes.

§ XXX. (1) Chronologers *place it in the Year* 517: *See* F. le Cointe, Pagius ad h. a. n. 12. *and* Eckard de Rebus Franc. Orient. *It is ſcarce credible, that* Theoderick *ſhould, at that Time, have a Son, qualified to head an Army.*

(2) *Geſta Francorum.*

(3) Meyerus in Chron. Flandriæ, *relates many Particulars of this* Daniſh *Prince,* Chochilaich, *on I know not what Foundation.* Pontanus *calls him* Godolacus, *but acknowledges that he meets with no Mention of him, in the domeſtick Accounts of the* Danes.

(4) Gregorius Turonensis, *L.* 3. *c.* 3. His geſtis, Dani cum Rege ſuo nomine Chochilaicho, evectu navali, per mare Gallias appetunt. Egreſſique ad terras, pagum unum de Theoderici devaſtant, atque captivant: oneratiſque navibus tam de captivis, quam de reliquis ſpoliis reverti ad patriam capiunt. Sed Rex eorum in littus reſidebat, donec naves altum mare comprehenderent, ipſe deinceps ſecuturus. Quod cum Theoderico denunciatum fuiſſet, quod ſcilicet regio ejus fuerit ab extraneis devaſtata, Theodobertum filium ſuum in illas partes cum valido exercitu, ac magno armorum apparatu direxit. Qui interfecto Rege, hoſtes navali prælio ſuperatos opprimit, omnemque rapinam terræ reſtituit.

in

in the History of *Sigebert*, King of *Auſtraſia* (5), and is, in the following Centuries, included under the Name of *Normans*, who made great Depredations on the *Franks*.

XXXI. *GUNDOBALD*, King of *Burgundy*, died *A.* 516 *, and left two Sons, *Sigiſmund* and *Godomar*: But *Sigiſmund*, who, in his Father's Life-time, bore the Title of King, and reſided at *Geneva*, was his only Succeſſor. He had quitted the *Arian* Sect, before his Father's Deceaſe, and always bore a great Affection to *Avitus*, Biſhop of *Vienne*, who had endeavour'd to inſtill into him, not only a Zeal for the *Catholick* Party, but, at the ſame Time, a particular Inclination to the Imperial Court. He left a Monument of his Zeal in that famous Monaſtery, which he either built, or at leaſt renew'd, *A.* 515, on the *Rhone* (in the preſent Country of *Valais*) in the Place where, in ancient Times, the Capital of *Agaunum* was; and where the *Legio Thebæa*, with *Mauritius*, their Commander, is ſaid to have been maſſacred, on Account of the *Chriſtian* Religion, by Command of *Maximinian*, the Emperor. This Monaſtery, from whence the Place itſelf took the Name of *S. Maurice*, was, ever after that Time, highly eſteem'd by the *Burgundians*: The Veneration of *S. Maurice*, himſelf, deſcended from them to the *German* Emperors, and his Lance is to this Day preſerv'd among the *Regalia* of the Empire. *Sigiſmund* had been dignified by the *Roman* Emperor, with the Title of *Comes*, and even with that of *Patricius*, after his Acceſſion to the Throne. Two Letters are extant, which he ſent to that Emperor, at his coming to the Crown. *Avitus*, Biſhop of *Vienne*, who wrote them in the King's Name, and who was himſelf, not a little proud of the Title of *Senator Romanus*, us'd Terms ſo ſubmiſſive, that the Reader may juſtly be ſurpriz'd, to find the *Burgundian* King treating the Emperor with ſo much Deference **. Soon after the Beginning of *Sigiſmund*'s Reign, *A.* 517 †, the Biſhops held a Council at *Yenne*, a Place in the little Territory of *Bugey*, on the Banks of the *Rhone* (1), at which the afore-mention'd *Avitus* preſided (2). If we form a Conjecture of the Extent of the *Burgundian* Kingdom, from the Cities of thoſe Biſhops, who aſſiſted at this Council, it will appear to have contain'd the Countries, which were afterwards known by the Names of the Dukedom and County of *Burgundy*,

Gundobald's Death.

† M. *Sept.*

(5) Venantius Fortunatus *ſpeaking in Praiſe of Duke* Lupus, *who was particularly famous in* Sigebert's *Reign, ſays, among other Encomiums:*

Quæ Tibi ſit virtus, cum proſperitate ſuperna,
Saxonis, & DANI gens cito victa probat.

§ XXXI. * *Of* Gundobald's *Death, and of his Queen, ſee the ſixth Annotation, at the End of this Volume.*

** *The fifth Annotation will prove what is here related of* Sigiſmund.

(1) *We find this Account of* Epaona, *in* Pagius ad A. 509. n. 21.

(2) *The Decrees of this Council are met with in* Tom. 2. Conciliorum. *I ſhall give an Account of the Biſhops that were preſent at it, in the ſixth Annotation.*

Dauphiny, and *Savoy*; the City and Dominion of *Lyons*; a Part of *Provence*; the Country of *Valois*, and a Part of those Countries, which are at present comprehended under the Name of *Switzerland*. ¶

Of the Collection of the *Burgundian* Laws.

§ XXXII. MUCH about this Time, *A.* 517, he publish'd that Collection of the *Burgundian* Laws, which is still extant. *Gundobald* had before taken Care to prescribe to his Subjects a certain written Rule of Equity, and had himself enacted several Laws (1). *Sigismund* now resum'd the whole Work, at a Diet, held at *Lyons*, and order'd the *Burgundian* Counts then present, to subscribe to it. *Gundobald* and *Sigismund* were not, perhaps, the first Inventors of these Laws, for they contain, for the most Part, the original Customs of the *Germans*, which have been taken Notice of by the most ancient Historians, and are met with in the old Laws of the other *German* Nations (2).

Sigismund causes *Sigerick*, his Son, to be put to Death.

§ XXXIII. HOWEVER promising the Reign of *Sigismund* seem'd to be, the Event was by no Means answerable to the Hopes conceiv'd of it. By his first Consort, the Daughter of *Theoderick*, King of the *Ostro-Goths*, he had two Children, a Son, nam'd *Sigerick*, and a Daughter, who was married to *Theuderick*, King of the *Franks*, in *Austrasia*. Both follow'd their Father's Example, and became Converts to the *Catholick* Religion (1). He had likewise Children by his second Wife; who rais'd Suspicions in their Father, of their half-Brother, and the King was prevail'd on to believe, that the Prince rely'd too confidently on being Grandson to the King of *Italy*. *Sigismund* was exasperated to such a Degree, that he caus'd the Prince to be put to Death, *A.* 522 (2). But the greater was his Affliction, soon after, when he found the Accusations groundless, and was sensible of his own Rashness. He made open Profession of Repentance for his Crime; and, for some Time, retir'd into the Monastery of *S. Maurice*, where he founded an Establishment for singing of Hymns, Day and Night in the Choir (3). But in vain he withdrew from the Eyes of the Court; his own Conscience was a sufficient Reproach to him. In vain he enjoin'd the Monks to sing for the Sins of others. The Sound of their Psalms, ever renew'd in his Memory, the Occasion of that Institution. With his Son he had, at the same Time, sacrific'd the Peace of his Life. *Theoderick*, King of *Italy*, whose Friend-

§ XXXII. (1) *See above*, § 11. not. 4.

(2) *Of the Collection of the* Burgundian *Laws, see the seventh Annot.*

§ XXXIII. (1) *Among the Remains of* Avitus's *Writings, the* Titulus VIII. inter Homilias deperditas, *runs thus:* Homilia dicta in conversione Domini Segesrici, postridie quam soror ipsius ex Ariana hæresi est recepta.

(2) GREGOR. TURONENSIS. *The Year is observed by* MARIUS ad A. 522. Segericus, filius Sigismundi Regis, jussu patris sui, injuste occisus est. *conf.* Pagius *ad h. a. n.* 10.

(3) Conf. PAGIUS ad A. 522. n. 10. seq. *Where he likewise gives an Account of the Synod, which* Sigismund *caus'd to be held at* Agaunum.

ship

ſhip would have been the ſtrongeſt Bulwark againſt the *Franks*, was highly enraged. He loſt, by Degrees, the Affection of his People, and the Diſaſter, which ſoon after befel him, was regarded as a Judgment from Heaven. Queen *Clotildis*, *Clovis*'s Widow, excited her three Sons, *Chlodomir*, *Clotharius*, and *Childebert*, to invade *Burgundy*, under Pretence of a Right to it by their Mother. Theſe Princes declar'd War againſt *Sigiſmund*, in the Year 523, and defeated him in an Engagement. *Sigiſmund* fled into the Monaſtery of *S. Maurice*; but was betray'd, by ſome of his own faithleſs Subjects, into the Hands of King *Clodomir* (4), and carried Priſoner to *Orleans*. *Godomar*, his Brother, in the mean Time, took upon him the Adminiſtration of the Government (5), and recover'd thoſe Cities which the *Franks* had taken. *Clodomir* made Preparations, the following Year, 524, for a War with *Godomar*: But he firſt caus'd the Captive King *Sigiſmund*, his Conſort, and two Princes, to be put to Death. Their Bodies were afterwards depoſited in the beforemention'd Monaſtery of *S. Maurice*, and *Sigiſmund*, himſelf, was plac'd among the Saints (6).

§ XXXIV. *CLODOMIR*, after having perpetrated this cruel Deed, ſet out for the Army. His Brother *Theuderick*, King of *Auſtraſia*, had ſent him ſome auxiliary Troops, which he did perhaps with a View of obtaining a Part of the *Burgundian* Dominions, now *Sigiſmund*, his Father-in-Law, was dead. An Engagement enſued, in the Plain near the City of *Vienne* (1), where *Clodomir* loſt his Life, at the very Beginning. His Head was fix'd on a Spear, and carried about in the *Burgundian* Army, as it were, to comfort them for the ignominious Death of their King. The *Franks*, indeed, ſoon reveng'd the Loſs of their Sovereign: But it caus'd, nevertheleſs, a great Revolution in their own State, which prov'd advantageous to the *Burgundians*: For *Clotarius* married *Guntheuga*, his Widow, and ſhar'd *Clodomir*'s Kingdom, with his two ſurviving Brothers. His three Sons, who were yet Minors, were totally excluded, and *Clotildis*, the Grand-mother, took them under her Care. Every one regarded *Clodomir*'s unhappy Death, and the Excluſion of his

His Death reveng'd on his Murderer.

(4) MARIUS *Maximo Coſſ.* (523.) Sigiſmundus Rex Burgundionum Francis traditus eſt, & in Franciam habitu Monachali perductus.

(5) MARIUS JUSTINO AUGUSTO ITER. & OPILIONE Coſſ. (524.) Godemarus, frater Sigiſmundi Rex Burgundionum ordinatus eſt. Eo anno contra Chlodomerem Regem Francorum Viſeroncia præliavit, ibique interfectus eſt Chlodomeres. GREGORY *relates this* Burgundian *War*, L. 3. c. 6. *and* PROCOPIUS de B. Goth. L. 1. c. 12.

(6) *His Name may be ſeen in the* Martyrologium RABANI, ADONIS *and* USUARDI, in 1. Maj. Conf. Paſſio S. Sigiſmundi in actis SS. BOLLANDI ad diem 1. Maj.

§ XXXIV. (1) *This Country is noted in Hiſtory, by the Name of* la Plaine de Veſeronce, *and is deſcrib'd by* Chorier, *in his* Hiſtoire du Dauphiné, L. 9. c. 14.

Children,

Children, as a juſt Judgment from GOD, for the Barbarity he had commited on *Sigiſmund* and his Houſe. *Theoderick*, King of *Italy*, took Advantage of the Calamity of the *Burgundians*, and order'd *Tholuit*, his General, to take from them ſome Cities, which border'd on his Dominions in *Provence* (2): And the Biſhops of *Cavaillon*, *Apt*, *Carpentras*, *Orenge*, *Gap*, and *Geneva*, who before aſſiſted at the Convention of the *Burgundian* Church, at *Yenne*, were now preſent at the Council, which was held at *Arles*, in the Year 524, with *Theoderick*'s Approbation. In this Situation, I ſhall now leave the *Burgundians*, 'till, in the Year 534, I ſhall have Occaſion to relate, how that Kingdom was intirely ſubdu'd by the *Franks*.

The *Roman* and *Gothick* Hiſtory reſum'd. *Juſtin* becomes Emperor;

§ XXXV. IN the mean Time, happen'd another great Change in the Face of Affairs, to which the Revolution that broke out in the Empire, and in *Italy*, gave Occaſion. *Anaſtaſius* died in the Middle of *July*, *A.* 518. *Juſtinus* ſucceeded him, by the Aſſiſtance of that Party, which had oppos'd *Anaſtaſius*. He was a Native of *Thrace* (1), and had rais'd himſelf from a common Soldier, to the Command of the Troops of the Imperial Houſehold *, which were always eſteem'd the very Choice of the Army. After his Acceſſion to the Imperial Throne, he took the Names of *Flavius* and *Anicius*, perhaps becauſe he was adopted by the *Anicii*, which was one of the greateſt Families in the Empire, powerful in *Rome*, as well as *Conſtantinople*, and ally'd to the moſt noble Houſes (2). *Lupicina*, his Conſort, who had been his Slave, and now ſhar'd the Government with him, diſtinguiſh'd herſelf by the Names of *Ælia Marcia Euphemia*. *Juſtin* again declar'd for the Council of *Chalcedon*, and the Communion between the *Roman* and *Greek* Churches was reſtor'd, *A.* 519, to which *Vitalian* and *John Cappadox*, then Patriarch, greatly contributed. The Emperor took *Juſtinian*, his Siſter's Son, to Court; who ſoon after, *viz. A.* 520, made away with *Vitalian*, Commander in Chief of the Army, and *Conſul* that very Year, in Order to have the Adminiſtration ſolely in his own Hands, and the better to ſecure his Succeſſion to his Uncle. He was created *Magiſter Militum*, in *Vitalian*'s Room; and, by Degrees, laid the Foundation to thoſe great

(2) *To this we muſt apply what the* Oſtro-Gothick *King*, Athalarick, *ſays in Praiſe of this* Thulum, *or* Tholuit; *in* CASSIODOR. VARIAR. L. 8. ep. 10. Mittitur igitur Franco & Burgundo decertantibus, rurſus ad Gallias tuendas, ne quid adverſa manus præſumeret, quod noſter exercitus impenſis laboribus vindicaſſet. Adquiſivit Reipublicæ Romanæ, aliis contendentibus, abſque ulla fatigatione provinciam, & factum eſt quietum commodum noſtrum, ubi non habuimus bellica contentione periculum. *He was mention'd above*, § 15. not. 4.

§ XXXV. (1) *He was a Native of* Bederiana, *on the Confines of* Thrace *and* Illyricum.

* *Præfectus Prætorianis Militibus.*

(2) *This is the Conjecture of* Pagius, ad h. a. n. 3.

Under-

Undertakings, which, after his Promotion to the Throne, he put in Execution.

§ XXXVI. A GOOD Underſtanding ſubſiſted, for a Time, betwixt *Juſtin* and *Theoderick*: He adopted (1) *Eutharick*, his Son-in-Law, who had been *Conſul* with him, *A.* 519. The *Arians* liv'd unmoleſted in the *Eaſt*, and *Theoderick*, on the other Hand, allow'd the *Catholicks* in the *Weſt*, the ſame Advantage: Nay, we meet with Tokens of his gracious Behaviour to them (2). But, in the Year 523, *Juſtin* publiſh'd a ſevere Edict againſt all who were not of the *Catholick* Church (3), and ſoon after depriv'd the *Arians* of their Churches. About the ſame Time, the King was informed, that ſome of the principal Members of the Senat, at *Rome*, had engag'd with the Emperor in dangerous Deſigns againſt his Government, and the *Goths* in general. *Cyprian*, who was then *Referendarius*, and afterwards attain'd to higher Dignities, accus'd *Albinus* the *Patricius*, of having written Letters of that Kind, to the Emperor *Juſtin* (4). *Boëtius*, one of the moſt conſiderable Senators, and, at the ſame Time, *Magiſter Officiorum* (which was the firſt Office at the King's Court) defended him vigorouſly; but was ſoon after charg'd with being himſelf one of the principal Conſpirators. *Boëtius* had hitherto been renown'd, as well for his ſuperior Talents, as his good Fortune; and, in the Year 522, had the uncommon Pleaſure of ſeeing his two Sons, *Symmachus* and *Boëtius*, both, in their younger Years, at once promoted to the Conſulſhip; an Honour which their Father and Anceſtors could hardly attain to in their old Age. But now he experienc'd, that Merit proves, at ſome Junctures, dangerous, and that the Smiles of Fortune are as eaſily chang'd into Frowns, as in a ſultry Day, Sun-ſhine gives place to Rain. Thoſe very

Who perſecutes the *Arians*, &c.

§ XXXVI. (1) *See the Quotation from* Athalaric's *Letter to the Emperor below.* § 44. not.

(2) *See below*, § 62. not 6.

(3) *To this relates*, L. 12. C. de Hæret. & Manichæis, *which according to the Computation of* Baronius *and* Pagius, *was decreed*, A. 523. Reliqui autem hæretici (hæreticus eſt omnis non orthodoxus) & Græci (S. Pagani) & Judæi & Samaritæ prohibentur magiſtratum gerere, & dignitatem habere, aut jus dicere, aut defenſores, aut patres civitatum fieri (ne habeant licentiam vexare, aut judicare Chriſtianos, aut Epiſcopos) Item militare quoque prohibentur, præterquam ſi ex genere cohortalinonum ſint, &c. Excipiuntur Gothi, qui fiunt fœderati, & aliter, prout viſum fuerit Imperatori honorantur. Baronius *and* Pagius ad A. 524. n. 2. *mention another Edict, which was ſoon after publiſh'd, againſt the* Arians *in particular.*

(4) *In the eighth Annot. I have added what occurs, concerning the Execution of* Boëtius, *and of* Symmachus, *his Father-in-Law.*

(4) ANONYMUS *a Valeſio editus.* Cyprianus, qui tunc Referendarius erat, poſtea comes Sacrarum, & magiſter, actus cupiditate, inſinuavit, de Albino, patricio, eo quod litteras adverſus regnum ejus Imperatori Juſtino miſiſſet. Quod factum dum vocatus negaret: tunc Boetius, patricius, qui magiſter officiorum erat, in conſpectu Regis dixit: Falſa eſt infinuatio Cypriani: Sed ſi Albinus fecit, & ego, & cunctus Senatus uno conſilio fecimus. Falſum eſt, Domine Rex. Tunc Cyprianus hæſitans, non ſolum adverſus Albinum, ſed & adverſus Boetium, ejus defenſorem, deducit falſos teſtes adverſus Albinum, &c. Sed Rex dolum Romanis tendebat, & quærebat, quomodo eos interficeret, plus credidit falſis teſtibus, quam Senatoribus. Tunc Albinus, & Boetius ducti in cuſtodia ad baptiſterium eccleſiæ.

Circum-

Circumſtance, which had hitherto contributed to the Encreaſe of his Fame and Grandeur; that Zeal, wherewith he had oppos'd ſome eminent *Goths*, when they proceeded too far; his great Reputation at *Rome*; his Affinity, in particular with the *Anicii*, all render'd him but the more ſuſpected. The King inſtantly caus'd *Albinus* and *Boëtius* to be impriſon'd: The latter wrote, during this Captivity, his famous Treatiſe, *Of the Comfort of Philoſophy*, in which he repreſented the Vanity of all ſublunary Things, and demonſtrated, according to *Plato*'s Tenets, that Virtue only can bear the Teſt of all Trials; a Knowledge, which Mankind frequently does not attain to, 'till it is too late to turn it to any Advantage. The Accounts we have of theſe Matters are too ſlender for us to judge, whether the Suſpicions of him were ſufficiently grounded; or whether he was not accus'd without any Foundation; whether it was not only a Combination, by Means of which one Party at Court endeavour'd to procure the Fall of the other; and the King was deluded by falſe Accuſations and corrupt Teſtimonies, as *Boëtius* himſelf complains. It is certain, however, that *Boëtius* was not perſecuted by the King on Account of Religion (5). *Boëtius* was put to Death, in his Priſon, in the Year 524: and *Symmachus*, his Father-in-Law, underwent the ſame Fate, the next Year, at *Ravenna*.

Theoderick ſends Pope *John* in Ambaſſy to *Juſtin.*

§ XXXVII. THE King ſent Pope *John*, with *Eccleſius*, Biſhop of *Ravenna*, *Euſebius* of *Fano*, three other Biſhops, and four Senators, as Ambaſſadors, to *Conſtantinople*. Their Commiſſion, with Regard to Eccleſiaſtical Matters, was, to make Inſtances with the Emperor, to reſtore to the *Arians* their Churches, and a Liberty of Conſcience, and to permit thoſe, who had been compell'd to become Converts to the *Catholick* Faith, to return to their former Profeſſion (1). *Latin* Hiſtorians boaſt very much of the Reſpect that was ſhewn to Pope *John*, at *Conſtantinople*, and particularly, that *Juſtin* cauſed him to place the Crown on his Head (2). Now tho' *Anaſtaſius*, who wrote the Lives of the Popes, mentions, that, for the former Point, *Juſtin*, in Order

(5) H. GROTIUS *Proleg. in hiſt. Goth.* Ultima Theuderichi Oſtrogothi facta in Symmachum, Boetiumque, non excuſo: illud tamen video, actum ibi non de religione, quæ Boetio ſatis Platonica fuit, ſed de Imperii ſtatu.

§ XXXVII. (1) ANONYMUS VALESII.

(2) ANASTASIUS: Tunc Juſtinus Auguſtus, dans honorem Deo, humiliavit ſe pronus in terram, & adoravit beatiſſimum Joannem Papam: *And lower:* Juſtinus autem Imperator gaudio repletus eſt, quia meruit temporibus ſuis Vicarium B. Petri Apoſtoli videre in regno ſuo, de cujus manibus cum gloria coronatus eſt Juſtinus Auguſtus. AIMONIUS *ſays*, Lib. 2. cap. 1. *of this Pope* John: Juſtino Auguſto, ut Vicarius B. Petri Imperialem impoſuit coronam. *This Circumſtance is not mention'd by the* Greek *Hiſtorians*, Nicephorus *and* Theophanes. Juſtin *had before been crowned by* John, *Patriarch of* Conſtantinople, *as appears by his Letter to Pope* Hormiſda. *Be that as it will, we muſt here obſerve what* F. Franc. Pagius *ſays*, in Breviar. Pontif. Roman. in Vita Johannis, n. 7. Nec inſolens fuit ſub ſecutis Seculis Imperatores & Reges ſecundo, aut etiam tertio coronari.

to

to procure better Treatment for the *Catholicks* in *Italy*, promis'd not to moleſt the *Arians* (3); yet we find, on the other Hand, that *Theoderick* was diſſatisfied with him at his Return, and, in a Manner, put him under Confinement at *Ravenna*, where he died not many Days after, *viz. A.* 526, on the 18th of *May* (4). At *Theoderick*'s Recommendation, the *Romans* elected *Felix*; which Election was confirm'd by *Athalarick*, his Succeſſor. This was the Manner of electing a Pope, as long as the *Oſtro-Gothick* Kingdom ſubſiſted, and was afterwards retain'd by *Juſtinian* (5).

§ XXXVIII. *THEODERICK* was juſt about to make Uſe of Repriſals againſt the *Catholicks*, when Death put an End to his Deſign †. Thoſe who had been exaſperated againſt him, on Account of the late Controverſies in Point of Religion, gave various, and, in Part, contradictory Accounts of his Deceaſe. One Writer ſays, that his Bowels guſh'd out, in like Manner as had happen'd to *Arius* (1). Others relate, that the Head of a large Fiſh being ſerv'd up at Table, his evil Conſcience got ſo much the Aſcendant over his Immagination, that he fancy'd, he ſaw the Head of *Symmachus*, and was ſo terrified that he fell into a Fever, which haſten'd his End (2). Others even pretend to attribute his Death

Theoderick's Death. His Monument at *Ravenna*.

† *A.* 526. *d.* 30. *Aug.*

(3) ANNASTASIUS: Eodem tempore revertens Joannes, venerabilis Papa, & Senatores, cum gloria, cum omnia obtinuiſſent a Juſtino Auguſto, Rex Theodericus, hæreticus, cum grandi dolo, & odio ſuſcepit eoſdem.

AUTOR CHRONICI VETERUM PONTIFICUM: Juſtinus autem Auguſtus omnem conceſſit petitionem, & propter ſanguinem Romanorum, reddidit hæreticis eccleſias, ſecundum voluntatem Theoderici Regis hæretici: ne Chriſtiani, maxime ſacerdotes, ad gladium mitterentur.

AUT. HISTOR. MISCELLÆ. Qui pervenientes ad Auguſtum, cum ab eo, ut dignum erat, ſuſcepti eſſent, magnis cum de ſua ſuorumque ſalute ſolliciti fletibus poſtulant, ut ſuæ legationis ſeriem, quamquam eſſet injuſta, libenter exciperet, Italiæque perituræ conſuleret. Quorum fletibus Juſtinus permotus, eis quod petebant conceſſit, Arianoſque ſui juris reliquit.

(4) ANONYM. VALES. Revertens igitur Johannes Papa a Juſtino, quem Theodericus cum dolo ſuſcepit, & in offenſa ſua eum eſſe jubet: qui poſt paucos dies defunctus eſt. *His Name is plac'd in the ancient* Martyrologia, *as* Papebrochius *obſerves in the Hiſtory of his Life, among the* Acta Sanctorum.

(5) *See the ninth Annotation.*

§ XXXVIII. (1) ANONYMUS *a* VALESIO *editus*: Igitur Symmachus Scholaſticus, Judæus, jubente non Rege, ſed Tyranno, dictavit præcepta die quarta feria, ſeptimo kal. Septembris Indictione IV. OLYBRIO Conſule, ut die dominico adveniente Ariani Baſilicas Catholicas invaderent. Sed qui non patitur fideles cultores ſuos ab alienigenis opprimi, mox intulit in eum ſententiam Arii, auctoris religionis ejus. Fluxum ventris incurrit, & dum intra triduum evacuatus fuiſſet, eodem die, quo ſe gaudebat eccleſias invadere, ſimul regnum & animam amiſit.

(2) PROCOPIUS de bello Gothico, L. 1. c. 1. p. 310. *Symmachus, ejuſque gener Boetius, nobiliſſimo loco nati, iidemque viri conſulares in Senatu eminebant. A Philoſophia nemo illis erat inſtructior, nemo ſtudioſior æquitatis, accedebat benignitas, qua inopiam cum civium, tum peregrinorum levabant. Hinc magnam adepti gloriam, ſibi invidiam cumularunt apud homines acerbiſſimos: quorum calumniis inductus Theodericus, ambos ſtudii novarum rerum inſimulatos morte affecit, eorumque bona publicavit. Paucis poſt diebus cœnanti ipſi, cum piſcis grandioris caput miniſtri appoſuiſſent, viſum eſt, id Symmachi caput eſſe, recens obtruncati, quod dentibus inferioris labro impreſſis, & oculis torve truculenterque tuentibus, graviter minantis haberet ſpeciem. Ingenti prodigio*

Death to a Divine Judgment. A Hermit, in the Iſland of *Lipari*, was ſaid to have ſeen the following Viſion, about the ſame Time that *Theoderick* expir'd; he dreamt that Pope *John* and *Symmachus*, looſen'd the King's Girdle, being bare-footed, tied his Hands, and, leading him between them, caſt him into the *Veſuvius*, in that Iſland, call'd *Olla Vulcani* (3). A Veſſel of *Porphyry* is to this Day ſhewn at *Ravenna*, faſten'd to the Wall of the Caſtle, and under it this Inſcription in Marble: VAS HOC PORPHYRIACUM, OLIM THEODERICI GOTHORUM IMP. CINERES IN ROTUNDÆ APICE RECONDENS HUC, PETRO DONATO CÆSIO NARIEN. PRÆSULE FAVENTE TRANSLATUM. AD PARENNEM MEMORIAM SAPIENTES REIP. RAV. P. P. C. MDLXIII. *Amalaſuint* is ſaid to have erected a ſplendid Monument, in Memory of him, half a Mile from the City, on the River *Mondove*, which was afterwards converted into a Church, now call'd *S. Maria Rotunda*, and to have placed this Veſſel on the Top of the *Cupola:* It is ſaid to have been ſhot off in the Year 1509, when the Duke of *Urbino* beſieg'd the City; whereupon they endeavour'd to preſerve the Remains of it in this Manner (4).

His Family. Settlement of the Succeſſion.

§ XXXIX. As for his Family, we find, that he had two Daughters, when he came to *Italy*, the elder of which, nam'd *Theudegoth*, was married to *Alaric*, King of the *Wiſi-Goths*, as *Oſtrogoth*, the younger, was to *Sigiſmund*, the *Burgundian* Prince (1). When he had eſtabliſh'd his Throne in *Italy*, he married *Audofledis*, King *Clovis*'s Siſter (2): By this Queen (3), he perhaps had *Amalaſuinth*, the third Daughter, whom

digio territus, rigenſque frigore extra modum, ad cubile properat, complures imponi ſibi lacernas jubet, ac ſub iis tenet ſeſe: deinde expoſita rei ſerie Elpidio Medico, commiſſum in Symmachum ac Boëtium ſceſus deflevit. Id lamentatus, & animi dolore preſſus, quem calamitas afferebat, paulo poſt obiit. In ſubditos hæc prima fuit eademque poſtrema ejus injuria, quam fecit, in utrumque virum ſententiam ferens, cauſa, præter conſuetudinem, non cognita diligenter.

(3) GREGORIUS MAGNUS, *Dial. L.* 4. *c.* 6.

(4) LEANDER ALBERTUS in Deſcr. Italiæ, p. 474. *and* RUBEI Hiſt. p. 107. *and* p. 424.

§ XXXIX. (1) JORNAND. *c.* 58. Antequam ergo de Audefleda ſobolem haberet, naturales ex concubina, quas genuiſſet adhuc in Mœſia, filias habuit, unam nomine THEODICODO, & aliam OSTROGOTHO. Quas mox, ut in Italiam venit, Regibus vicinis in conjugio copulavit, id eſt, unam Alarico Veſegothorum, & aliam Sigiſmundo Burgundionum. *We treated of theſe Nuptials in the proper Place.* Procopius *calls* Alaric's *Wife* Theudichuſa. *As for the Name of* Oſtrogoth, *it is a Queſtion whether that was rightly written by* Jornandes.

(2) JORNANDES, *ibid.* Miſſa legatione ad LODOIN Francorum Regem, filiam ejus AUDEFLEDAM ſibi in matrimonio petit. Quam ille grate libenterque conceſſit, ſuos filios ILDEBERTUM & CHELDEPERTUM, & THUIDEPERTUM credens hac ſocietate cum gente Gothorum, inito fœdere ſociari. Sed non adeo pacis ad concordiam profuit iſta conjunctio. Jornandes *ſeems not to have been well inform'd of the Names of* Clovis's *Sons. He imagines* Audofledis *to be* Clovis's *Daughter. But we may more ſafely give Credit to* Gregory, *who ſays, that* Theoderick's *Wife was Siſter to the King of the* Franks. Conf. le Cointe ad A. 496. n. 2.

(3) *Some Writers falſly affirm that he had a* Spaniſh *Wife. See the tenth Annot.*

he

he married, *A.* 515, to *Eutharicus Cillaca*, who was likewiſe of the Family of the *Amali* (4). He was not bleſs'd with a Son, which his Subjects had ſo frequently wiſh'd (5): And therefore he may perhaps have deſign'd *Eutharick*, his Son-in-Law, for his Succeſſor. This Prince enter'd upon the Conſulate, *A.* 519, with ſuch Magnificence, as had not, in a long Time, been ſeen at *Rome*. Among other Things, the King of the *Vandals* had ſent the moſt uncommon wild Beaſts from *Africa*, for the Diverſions of the Amphitheater (6). But *Eutharick* died before his Father-in-Law, who, at laſt, found all his Hopes confin'd to his two Grand-ſons, *Amalarick*, the *Wiſi-Gothick* Prince, and *Athalarick*, *Eutharick*'s Son: For the third, *Sigerick*, the *Burgundian* Prince, had been murder'd by his own Father. I have met with a Medal of *Theoderick*, where, in Honour to him, his two Grandſons are repreſented, in Imitation of a Medal of *Auguſtus*, on which we find *Cajus* and *Lucius*, his Daughter's Children (7). He therefore appointed *Amalarick* to ſucceed in his paternal Kingdom of the *Wiſi-Goths*, and *Athalarick* to be King of *Italy*; and not long before his Death, he cauſed the Nobles of *Italy*, and the Chiefs of the *Goths*, to pay Homage to the latter (8) at *Ravenna*. *Amalafrid*, his Siſter, who came with him to *Italy*, and was married a ſecond Time, *A.* 500, to *Thraſamund*, King of the *Vandals*, is likewiſe famous in Hiſtory; as are likewiſe both her Children by the firſt Marriage, *viz.*

(4) JORNANDES *ſays of this:* Comperit, Eutharicum, Viterichi filium, Beremundi, & Toreſmundi nepotem, Amalorum de ſtirpe deſcendentem, in Hiſpania degere, juvenili ætate, prudentia, & virtute, corporiſque integritate pollentem. Ad ſe eum facit venire, eique Amalaſuintham filiam in matrimonium jungit.

CASSIODORUS *in Chronico:* FLORENTION & ANTHEMIO Coss, (515.) D. N. Rex Theodericus filiam ſuam, Dominam Amalaſuntam, glorioſi viri D. N. Eutharici matrimonio, Deo auſpice, copulavit.

(5) ENNODIUS *with a Wiſh like this, concludes his Panegyrick, which I have already frequently made Uſe of:* Utinam aurei bona ſeculi purpuratum ex Te germen amplificet. Utinam hæres regni in Tuis finibus ludat! ut hæc quæ tibi offerimus verborum libamina, ſacer parvulus a nobis exigat ſimilium adteſtatione gaudiorum.

(6) CASSIODORUS *concludes his* Faſti Conſulares *at this Year* 519. D. N. EUTHARICUS CILLACA, & JUSTINUS Coss. Eo anno multa vidit Roma miracula, editionibus ſingulis, ſtupente etiam Symmacho, Orientis Legato, &c. Muneribus (*continues he*) ampitheatralibus diverſi generis feras, quas præſens ætas pro novitate miraretur, exhibuit. Cujus ſpectaculi voluptates etiam exquiſitas Africa ſub devotione tranſmiſit. Cunctis itaque eximia laude completis, tanto amore civibus Romanis inſederat, ut ejus adhuc præſentiam diſiderantibus, Ravennam ad glorioſi Patris remearet aſpexus: ubi iteratis editionibus, tanta Gothis Romaniſque dona largitus eſt, ut ſolus potuerit ſuperare, quem Romæ celebraverat conſulatum.

(7) *Of this and other Medals of the* Wiſi-Gothick *Kings, ſee the eleventh Annot. at the End of this Volume.*

(8) *See below,* § 44. not. 1.

CASSIODORUS VARIAR. *L.* 8. *Ep.* 2. *ad Senatum Urbis Romæ:* Nam cum Domini avi noſtri pro beneficiorum quantitate dulciſſima nobis recordatio urgeretur extremis, magnitudinem dominationis ſuæ tanta in nos celeritate transfudit, ut non tam regnum, quam veſtem crederes eſſe mutatam. Tot proceres manu conſilioque glorioſi, nullum murmur, ut aſſolet, miſcuerunt: Sed ita cum magno gaudio ſecuti ſunt Principis ſui judicia, ut voluntatem ibi potius agnoſceres confluxiſſe divinam. *Add. ep.* 3, 4, 5, 6. *And he ſays, in particular,* Ep. 5. Cujus ordinationi adhuc eo ſuperſtite in Regia Civitate ita Sacramenti interpoſitione cunctorum vota ſociata ſunt, ut unum crederes promittere, quod generalitas videbatur optare.

Theodehat, who afterwards became King of the *Ostro-Goths*, and *Amalaberg*, Wife of *Hermanfrid*, King of *Thuringia*. *Theoderick*'s Kindred were, indeed, very famous in the World; but most of them were also very unfortunate, and of these many came at last to unhappy Ends.

The State of *Theoderick*'s Kingdom. Its Borders, &c.

§ XL. BEFORE I proceed, I must here take Notice of the State and Constitution of the *Ostro-Gothick* Kingdom, in *Theoderick*'s Reign; since it makes, beyond all Doubt, the most considerable Figure, in the History of these Times. To this Kingdom appertain'd all *Italy*, with the Island of *Sicily* (1): On this Side the *Alps*, it contain'd a Part of *Provence*, in *Gaul*; *Rætia* (2), *Vindelicia*, *Noricum* (3), and at least a considerable Part of *Pannonia* and *Dalmatia* (4). Among the Nations subject to him on this Side of the *Alps*, we find the *Swabians* particularly mention'd (5). *Italy* itself had greatly recover'd, during that long Peace, which it enjoy'd under him, and, in his Reign, acquir'd a Fame, it had long before been destitute of, under the *Roman* Government. He had united the Power of the *Wisi-Goths*, to that of the *Ostro-Goths*. The King of the *Vandals*, in *Africa*, was in Alliance with him, and had married his Sister. After *Clovis*'s Decease, and the Division of the Monarchy among his four Sons, the *Franks* were not so dangerous Neighbours, as else perhaps they might have been. His Sister's Daughter had been married to *Hermanfrid*, King of *Thuringia*, who, with the Kings of the *Heruli* and *Guarni*, liv'd in so good an Understanding with him, that, in Case of Necessity, these Nations were in a Capacity to cut out Work enough on the *Rhine* or *Danube*, for the Enemies of the *Gothick* Kingdom. We need not therefore wonder that he so well maintain'd his Power against the Emperor of the *East*.

His Court; Civil Officers, &c.

§ XLI. *THEODERICK* kept his Court generally at *Ravenna*, as the *Roman* Emperors had done after the Times of *Honorius*. The Officers which were customary at the Imperial Court, were likewise kept here; such were the *Magister Officiorum*, *Domesticus*, *Comes Sacrarum Largitionum*, &c. But some Offices were likewise retain'd, which seem to have been deriv'd from the *German* Customs; for Instance, those of

§ XL. (1) ENNODIUS's *Words have aleady been cited above*, § 6. not. 4. CASSIODORUS, *in Chron. Olybrio Jun. Cos.* (*a.* 491.) Tum etiam Vandali pace suppliciter postulata a Siciliæ deprædatione cessarunt. *He left to King* Thrasamund, *as it were, for his Sister's Dowry, the Promontory of* Lilybæum (*now* Capo Morto.) *To this we may apply the Inscription on that ancient Stone in* Reinesius, 1. 42, *which was found thereabouts.*

FINES INTER GOTHOS ET VANDALOS

(2) VAR. *Lib.* 1. *ep.* 11. *Add. Formula Ducis Rætiarum, Ibid. Lib.* 5. *ep.* 4.

(3) VAR. 3. 50.

(4) VAR. *L.* 3. *ep.* 25. & *L.* 5. *ep.* 24. *Add. Formula Principis Dalmatiarum, Ibid.* 6. 24.

(5) *See the twelfth Annot.*

Major

Major Domus and *Armiger*. We find many excellent Men, even of the moſt noble Families, in *Italy*, who fill'd theſe Employments; and, by their perſonal Merits, gave a much greater Luſtre to his Court, than a Crowd of Attendants; ſumptuous Equipages, and ſplendid Liveries would have done (1). To what I mention'd before † of this King's Genius, I muſt here add, that he was not in his Youth much bred up to thoſe Arts, which are generally the Ornaments of Peace; inſomuch, that an ancient Author aſſures us, he was as incapable of writing his own Name, as the Emperor *Juſtin* (2). But he was fond of the liberal Arts and Sciences (3), which Diſpoſition has always been accounted an excellent Part of the Character of the moſt renowned Heroes. His Family was, in this Reſpect, well educated, and *Amalaſuint*, his Daughter, as well as his Siſter and both her Children, were, among other Encomiums, extoll'd for their Improvements in Knowledge. The liberal Sciences, and eſpecially the Mathematicks, flouriſh'd no leſs at Court, than at *Rome*; in which City the Academy, which had been founded by the former Emperors, was kept up (4); and *Boëtius*, of whom I made honourable Mention above, being himſelf a Man of great Learning, gave all poſſible Encouragement to Perſons of Capacity. His Court was in ſhort ſo famous, that the Kings of the *Franks* and *Burgundians* ſtrove to come up to it. *Gundobald*, King of the *Burgundians*, begg'd he would ſend him a Sundial, and a Water Hour-glaſs, which he had ſeen at *Rome*. And *Clovis*, King of the *Franks*, had heard ſo much in Praiſe of his Table-Muſick, that he entreated him, to ſend an able Muſician to his Court (5). Be-

† Above, § 6.

§ XLI. (1) *See the thirteenth Annot.*

(2) ANON. VALESII. *With him confer that Paſſage of* Procopius, *cited below*, § 44. not. 6.

(3) ENNODIUS, p. 312. *extols his Love for the Sciences.* Par fuit etiam, ut eloquentiam laudis præmiis incitares, ne adoreas tuas ſilentio perderemus. Nullarum artium ceſſat induſtria. Solers, ubicunque latet, inquiritur. Magiſtratum, etiamſi longe degûerit, exiget, qui meretur. Nunquam abſconditur, quem prodiderit innocentia: dum ſubtilis arbiter non placaris voce, ſed actibus. Parentum noſtrorum, qui occubuerunt, apud te bene acta ſervantur. Cujus manſuetudini Tuæ fides innotuerit, hereditatis jure quod auctori debueris, ſoboli mox refundes. Habemus de majorum obſequiis fructum; & tamen de exceſſibus ſupplicia non timemus. Finitur indignatio moderata cum homine; cum propter retributionem quærat Tua pietas ſucceſſorem. Reſtant adhuc multa, quæ dicerem: ſed inter plures actuum Tuorum præcones convenit illibatum aliquid reſervari. Debent Tibi veneranda ſtudia, quod loquuntur. Amaverunt præceſſores Tui inſcitiam, quia nunquam laudanda geſſerunt. Sordebat inter aratra facundiſſimus, & quod peritio dederat, vis negabat. Muto mœrebant auctore tribunalia; nec ulla concedebatur palma dicenti. In caſum negotiorum nutabat eventus, quando literis genius non dabatur. Unus ubique ingenia mœror oppreſſerat; quia atterebant otia eloquentium facultates, pompam ſeniorum edax negligentia poſſidebat; nec accendebatur tyro æmulatione ſectanda. Vide divitias ſeculi Tui: tunc vix fora habuere perfectos: nunc eccleſia dirigit laudatorem.

(4) VARIAR. *L.* 9. *ep.* 21.

(5) *See the thirteenth Annot.*

fides

ſides the Edifices he rais'd in *Rome*, and more particularly at *Ravenna* (6), *Italy* was throughout embelliſh'd with magnificent Buildings in his Reign (7). In theſe Times we may perhaps place the firſt Invention of that Architecture, which is call'd the *Gothick*, and particularly that of the Churches. They endeavour'd likewiſe to diſtinguiſh them from the *Pagan* Temples; and imagin'd, that, if they were dark, they would ſtill, in ſome Meaſure, repreſent the ſubterraneous Caverns, in which the primitive *Chriſtians* aſſembled; and that the burning of Candles and Lamps, excited, at the ſame Time, a greater Devotion. They choſe to build their Churches in the Form of a Croſs, rather than that which the *Romans* obſerv'd in their *Baſilica*: But the Ornaments of the ancient Architecture were, on Account of the *Pagan* Invention, as odious, as the Artiſts, by Degrees, became incapable of executing them.

The Conſtitution of his Kingdom, &c.

§. XLII. It will be more difficult, exactly to deſcribe the Government of this Kingdom, ſince, to all Appearance, more depended on the Ability of the Sovereign, than on any formal Conſtitution. *Theoderick*, himſelf, calls his Kingdom the Kingdom of *Italy* (1). By this Title, he was Monarch of the *Romans* as well as the *Goths* (2). Yet each Nation remain'd ſeparate, and his Government was, in a Manner, a double Conſtitution, with Regard to *Italy* and its Inhabitants, on one Hand, and in Reſpect to the *Goths*, on the other. I ſhall only make two or three Obſervations on it, in this Place. He behaved himſelf towards the *Grecian* Emperors, as the *Weſtern* Emperors were wont to do (3), and nominated the Conſul in the *Weſtern* Provinces, as the Emperor did the other in the *Eaſt* (4). But the good Underſtanding between them, was frequently interrupted; eſpecially in the Times of *Anaſtaſius*. In *Italy* itſelf, he made Uſe of all the Power belonging to an Emperor; inſomuch, that he wanted only the Imperial Title, which he ſeems, by

(6) *Of the Edifices which* Theoderick *rais'd at* Ravenna, *ſee* Rubeus, p. 106, 107.

(7) Cassiodorus's *Teſtimony was cited above*, § 6. n. 6. Ennodius *likewiſe praiſes the Buildings in* Italy, p. 307. Video inſperatum decorem urbium cineribus eveniſſe, & ſub civilitatis plenitudine palatina ubique tecta rutilare. Video ante perfecta ædificia, quam videre contigiſſet diſpoſita. Illa ipſa civitatum mater Roma juveneſcit marcida ſenectutis membra reſecando, &c. *The Caſtle of* Spoleto *is ſaid to have been built by him.*

§ XLII. (1) Var. 4. *ep.* 41. *ad Gledoveum:* Toties Regnum Italiæ proficere judicamus, quoties de vobis læta cognoſcimus.

(2) *We find in* Athalarick's *Letters*, Var. 8. ep. 7, *that at his Acceſſion to the Throne, the* Romans *and* Goths, *on Oath, promis'd a mutual Unity and Friendſhip to each other.*

(3) *The Senat of* Rome *ſtiles itſelf, in a Letter to* Anaſtaſius, *in* Baronius, ad A. 515. n. 41. Senatus Veſter, *which proceeds from the ancient Conſtitution, by which the* Roman *Empire was declar'd one State, tho' two Emperors ſhould reign. But* Caſſiodorus, *on the other Hand, ſays of* Theoderick: Senatum Suum mira affabilitate tractans. *Above*, § 6. not. 6.

(4) Var. 2. *ep.* 1 *and* 2.

ſome

ſome Paſſages in Hiſtory, to have been inclin'd to aſſume, ſooner or later (5). In Imitation of the Emperors of former Times, he extended his Prerogative to thoſe Concerns, which regarded the external State of the Church, and even at the Election of a Pope †. The Metropolitans, under his Protection, viſited the Biſhops of their Provinces (6). On the other Hand, he likewiſe expreſs'd his Care and Regard for the Church of *Rome*, tho' he was himſelf of a different Perſuaſion (7). The ſame Adminiſtration of the Common-Wealth, the ſame Offices and Honours, which were before in the Empire, were now retain'd, and we may perceive, by the Salaries annext to theſe Poſts, as related in *Caſſiodorus*, how exact he was in obſerving Order and Decorum. The Senat of *Rome* preſerv'd, at leaſt to all Appearance, the ſame Authority, which it enjoy'd under the Emperors; an Indication of which we have in the remarkable *Senatus Conſultum*, that was publiſh'd againſt the Bribery and Corruption, by which the Papal Elections began to be influenc'd †. The *Præfectus Urbis* was, as it were, the King's Vice-gerent at *Rome*, thro' whoſe Hands every Thing paſs'd, that was to be laid before the Senat as well as the People. This *Præfectura Urbis*, the *Præfectura Prætorii*, and other Offices of the State, with the *Patriciat*, and all Poſts of Honour, were in the King's Diſpoſal (8), and, by Degrees, ſometimes confer'd on *Goths* (9). He was likewiſe, not unmindful of aſſuming the Legiſlature to himſelf: This his Edict, in particular demonſtrates (10), which conſiſts of 154 ſhort Articles. Beſides the Laws which he probably enacted himſelf, the

† See the ix. Annot.

† *Ibid.*

(5) *This appears, among other Proofs, from his Letter to the King of* Thuringia. VARIAR. 5. ep. 1. Deſiderantes Vos noſtris aggregare parentibus, neptis caro pignori, propitia Deitate, ſociamus, ut qui de Regia ſtirpe deſcenditis, nunc etiam longius claritate Imperialis ſanguinis fulgeatis.

(6) *Exemplum in cauſſa Epiſcopi Auguſtani eſt apud* Caſſiodorum *in* Var. 1. 9. *Add. Athalarici epiſtol. ad Victorinum Epiſcopum.* Variar. 8. 8.

(7) ANASTASIUS, *in Vit. Hormiſdæ Papæ:* Eodem tempore Theodericus Rex obtulit B. Petro Apoſtolo ceroſtrata argentea duo, penſantia libras ſeptuaginta. *Of the Reſpect he ſhew'd to the Pope, ſee above,* § 6, not. 6.

(8) *So* Athalarick, *when he ſent the Edict againſt the* Simoniacs, *to the* Præfectus Urbis, *wrote,* Var. 9. ep. 16, *as follows:* Quod nos laudantes, & augentes inventum, ad Beatiſſimum Papam direximus conſtituta, quæ his antelata præfulgent: ut ab honeſtate S. Eccleſiæ profanus ambitus auferatur. Hoc vos ad notitiam Senatus, & Romani populi, volumus ſine aliqua dilatione perducere: quatenus cunctorum figatur cordi, quod cupimus omnium ſtudio cuſtodire. Verum ut Principale beneficium & præſentibus hæreat, ſeculis, & futuris, tam definita noſtra, quam Senatus conſulta, tabulis marmoreis præcipimus decenter incidi, & ante atrium B. Petri Apoſtoli in teſtimonium publicum collocari.

(9) *An Inſtance of this was* Tholuit, *the* Gothick *General, whom* Athalarick *created a* Patricius. VARIAR. 8. ep. 9, 10.

(10) Edictum Theuderici Regis, *may be ſeen in* LINDENBROGII Codex legum antiquarum, p. 239.

Provin-

Provincials retain'd their ancient *Roman* Statutes (11); and had their own Judges (12). Among the external Marks of his Sovereignty, the principal was, perhaps, that he caus'd his Image to be ſtamp'd on the Coin †. The City of *Rome*, in a great Meaſure, preſerv'd her former Magnificence, and particularly thoſe ſplendid Edifices, which were not wholly deſtroy'd, 'till the ſucceeding War. *Theoderick* took Care to have always a great Store of Proviſions in the City, and expended conſiderable Sums in publick Spectacles, both which Articles were always eſteem'd requiſite, to preſerve the Affection of a People, ſo fond of Novelty (13). When he came to *Rome* the firſt Time, he immediately order'd 12,000 Meaſures of Corn to be annually diſtributed †; aſſign'd a certain Sum of Mony for the Support of Theatrical Entertainments, in the *Amphitheatrum Titi*, and caus'd *Pompey*'s Theatre to be repair'd. He not only willingly indulg'd the *Romans* in theſe Diverſions, in Order to render them the better affected to his Government (14), but it was almoſt neceſſary. Two Companies of Players, the *Veneti* and *Praſini* ſtrove to outvy each other. The People, both of a ſuperior and inferior Rank, were hereupon divided into two Parties, and the Factions, to which the *Circus* firſt gave Riſe, had an Effect in the moſt momentous Affairs of State †. The Partition of the Lands, between the ancient Inhabitants and the *Goths*, was ſo regulated (15), that the *Goths* obtain'd the third Part of the cultivated Land; which was the more tolerable in the deſolate State of *Italy*, at the Beginning of his Reign, if we conſider, what the ancient Inhabitants of *Italy*, in former Times, had been oblig'd to part

† See the ix. Annot.

† See above, §. 6. not. 6, 7.

† See the xi. Annot.

(11) *That the* Roman *Laws were retain'd by the Inhabitants of* Italy, *appears in particular from* Variar. 6. ep. 12, *where the King empowers* Marabadus, Comitius, *and* Gemellus, *a Senator, to terminate a certain Law-Suit:* Ut omni incivilitate ſummota, mediis ſacroſanctis evangeliis, cum tribus honoratis, quos partium conſenſus elegerit, qui legum poſſint habere notitiam, quicquid priſci juris forma conſtituit inter eos, conſiderata diſciplina noſtri temporis, proferatis.

(12) Athalarick *reproaches* Gildias, *Count of* Syracuſa, *with having forc'd two* Romans *to have their Proceſs determin'd by him.* Variar. 9. 14. Duorum negotia Romanorum, etiam his invitis, ad tuum diceris vocare judicium: quæ ſi cognoſcis facta, ulterius non præſumas ——— Gothorum laus eſt civilitas cuſtodita ——— Vos armis jura defendite: Romanos finite legum pace litigare.

(13) Juvenal *ſays of the* Roman *People, even in his Times:*

—— Duas tantum res anxius optat,
Panem & Circenſes.

(14) *What Prince could make a more kind and politick Declaration on this Head, than* Theoderick *did?* Variar. 1. ep. 20. Licet inter glorioſas Reipublicæ curas, & Regalium ſollicitudinum ſalutiferos fluctus pars minima videatur, Principem de ſpectaculis loqui; tamen pro amore Reipublicæ Romanæ non pigebit has quoque cogitationes intrare: quia undecunque præſtare poſſumus, dignum noſtris ſenſibus æſtimamus: præſertim cum beatitudo ſit temporum lætitia populorum. Illud enim propitiante Deo labores noſtros aſſerit, quod ſe otioſam generalitas eſſe cognoſcit.

(15) Var. *L.* 2. *ep.* 16.

with,

with, when new Colonies were eſtabliſh'd, or Soldiers worn out in Wars were quarter'd upon them. The King ſubſiſted on certain Domains and other Revenues; and, in one of his Letters (16), expreſſes his being ſatisfied with theſe, without laying any Burthen on his Subjects.

§ XLIII. THE *Goths* retain'd their own Conſtitution, Language, Arms, ancient Cuſtoms, and Habit: They made the Art of War their principal Study. The King had very prudently reſerv'd this for his own Nation; becauſe the Security of his Government, and the Execution of his other Deſigns, depended thereon. They were moreover exempted from all Taxes and Villenage. They were ſubject to Dukes, who were ſtil'd *Viri Sublimes*. Next in Dignity to theſe, were the *Millenarii*, probably ſo call'd, becauſe each commanded 1000 Men: We took Notice, in the former Volume, of the ſame Regulation among the *Vandals*. Theſe Officers came annually to Court, for the Penſion which the King ſettled on them. The *Goths*, in general, exercis'd themſelves continually, even in Times of Peace, in the Uſe of the Spear and Bow, and in whatever elſe appertain'd to War. Theſe Exerciſes are ſo deſcrib'd by an ancient Writer, that we find ſome Reſemblance in them with the Turnaments, which, in after Times, were ſo much in Vogue. They had their own Judges, like the *Romans*; and a particular Count was, for that Purpoſe, appointed over every Diſtrict. In their Judicial Proceedings, we muſt obſerve, to *Theoderick*'s Honour, that whereas ſome other *German* Nations, particularly the *Burgundians*, allow'd of Duels for the Deciſion of Cauſes, he not only aboliſh'd that Cuſtom among the *Goths*, but endeavour'd likewiſe to abrogate it among his other Subjects out of *Italy*. The King indeed made Uſe of the *Latin* Tongue, in moſt Occurrences, and even in his Mandates to the *Goths*; but the *Gothick* Language was nevertheleſs retain'd in Uſe. Hence ſome eminent *Romans*, who accepted of Places at Court, caus'd their Children to learn it, in Order to their more ſpeedy Advancement *. But how ſollicitous ſoever *Theoderick* was to unite both Nations, yet we ſhall find, by the Event, that his Endeavours were fruitleſs, and that the private Animoſity betwixt them, together with the Diſparity of their Religion and Manners, occaſion'd the Downfal of the *Gothick* Kingdom. Neither the *Romans* nor the *Goths*, ſeem to have been much inclin'd to an entire Union. The former Grandeur of the *Romans* was ſtill freſh in their Memory, and the *Goths* were not a little proud of the Shock it had received from them. Had not *Theoderick* been

The *Gothick* Conſtitution: The Liberty, State of War, and Judiciary Proceedings of that Nation.

(16) VARIAR. *L.* 1. *ep.* 19. Fiſci volumus legale cuſtodire compendium: quia noſtra clementia rebus propriis videtur eſſe contenta. Et ſicut nullum gravare cupimus, ita debita nobis perdere non debemus.

* *Of all this, ſee the fourteenth Annot.*

ſo ſoon ſnatch'd away by Death, or had he had a worthy Succeſſor, ſome Means or other would perhaps have been found to remove the Difficulties, and to eſtabliſh a more laſting Conſtitution.

Athalarick, King of the *Oſtro-Goths*; His Mother's Guardianſhip &c.

§ XLIV. *ATHALARICK* was about ten Years of Age, when he ſucceeded to the Throne of his Grand-father, and his Mother, *Amalaſuinth*, had probably, during the King's Minority, the principal Share in the Adminiſtration. *Theoderick*, on his Death Bed, had preſſingly enjoin'd the *Gothick* Nobles then preſent, to obſerve the three following Articles, as fundamental Rules of the *Gothick* State; *viz.* to be loyal to their King; to be obliging to the Senat of *Rome*, and to the *Romans* in general; and, as much as poſſible, to preſerve a good Underſtanding with the Emperors in the *Eaſt* (1). The young King immediately ſent Count *Segiſmer* to *Rome*, to receive Homage of the *Romans*, and to give them the uſual Aſſurances in his Name (2). The *Romans* and *Goths* renew'd their former Leagues, and laid themſelves, with an equal Zeal, under mutual Obligations, to be loyal, faithful, and devoted to the new Government (3). The Court endeavour'd likewiſe to appeaſe the Emperor *Juſtin*, with whom *Theoderick* was on the Point of a Rupture. *Athalarick* entreated him in a Letter, to forget what had latterly paſs'd with his Grand-father, and rather to think of *Eutharick*, his Father, whom he had adopted for a Son (4). The Imperial Court ſeems to have given him a ſatiſfactory Anſwer. *Juſtin*'s advanc'd Age, and the *Perſian* War, made him glad to preſerve a Peace with the *Goths*, and, in all Events, it was eaſy to foreſee, that the *Gothick* Kingdom, would, in the Sequel, afford him ſufficient Opportunity to attempt, what the King's Minority ſeem'd now to render ſo convenient. *Amalaſuinth* was for giving her Son the ſame Education which ſuch a young Prince uſually had among

§ XLIV. (1) Jornandes, *cap.* 59. Eiſque in mandatis dedit, ac ſi teſtamentali voce denuncians, ut Regem colerent, ſenatum populumque Romanum amarent, Principemque Orientalem placatum ſemper propitiumque haberent.

(2) Variar. *L.* 8. *ep.* 2 & 3.

(3) Ibidem, *L.* 8. *ep.* 7. *ad univerſos Provinciales per Galliam:* Unde vos quoque prædicta convenit imitari, ut Gothi Romanis præbeant jusjurandum, & Romani Gothis ſacramento confirment, ſe unanimiter regno noſtro eſſe devotos.

(4) Ibidem, *L.* 8. *ep.* 1. Claudantur odia cum ſepultis: ira perire noverit cum protervis: gratia non debet occumbere cum delictis, ſed magis affectuoſius tractandus eſt, qui ad Regni cauſas innocens invenitur. Perpendite, quid a vobis mereatur ſucceſſor bonorum. Vos avum noſtrum in veſtra civitate celſis curulibus extuliſtis: vos genitorem meum in Italia Palmatæ claritate decoraſtis. Deſiderio quoque concordiæ factus eſt per arma filius quamvis vobis pene videbatur æquævus. Hoc nomen adoleſcenti congruentius dabitis, qualia noſtris Senioribus præſtitiſtis. In parentelæ locum noſter jam tranſire debet affectus; nam ex filio veſtro genitus, naturæ legibus vobis non habetur extraneus, Atque ideo pacem non longinquus ſed proximus peto: quia tunc mihi dediſtis gratiam nepotis: quando meo parenti adoptionis gaudia præſtitiſtis.

the

the *Romans*. She kept him to a close Application to his Studies, and made Choice of three *Goths*, Men of Merit, advanc'd in Years, and of a superior Judgement and great Moderation, under whose Tuition he was plac'd: But the *Goths* in general disliked this (5). *Procopius* relates, that when *Amalasuinth* once found the young King, in his Apartment, doing something unbecoming him; and gave him a Box on the Ear for it, he ran crying into the Anti-Chamber, which immediately alarm'd the discontented Party, who thereupon took Occasion to accuse the Queen openly of Mismanagement in his Education. They remonstrated to her, that Study weaken'd that Spirit, which was requisite in War, and that those to whom the King's Education had till then been entrusted, would infuse into him a Timidity, natural to Persons of their Age: That *Theoderick* was a great Monarch, tho' he never studied, and would not suffer the *Goths* to send their Children to School; imagining that those who had once been accustom'd to fear a Scourge, would not afterwards so easily bid Defiance to the Sword and Spear: They begg'd, therefore, that she would place young Noblemen about the King's Person, by whose Vivacity, that Temper of Mind, which was necessary in a *Gothick* Prince, might be raised and preserved (6). The Mother thought it necessary

(5) PROCOPIUS *de bello Gothico, L. 1. c. 2.* Filium autem ad Romanorum Principum vitam & mores institui voluit, adegitque ludum literarium frequentare. Eundem ad tres viros applicuit, e senibus Gothis delectos, quos omnium intelligentissimos ac moderatissimos noverat. Hæc Gothis minime placebant, more magis barbaro gubernari volentibus ab Atalarico, quo licentius injurias imponerent subditis.

(6) IDEM, *Ibidem*. Aliquando mater cum in cubiculo peccantem aliquid deprehendisset, colaphum illi infligit; is vero flens, se inde proripuit in andronitidem. Tum Gothi, in quos incidit, excandescere, in Amalasuntham convitia jacere, & affirmare, eo spectare ejus consilia, ut morte quam primum deleret filium, & alteri, viro nupta, cum eo Gothis atque Italis imperaret. Subinde collecti spectatissimi quique, Amalasuntham adeunt, & queruntur, nec honeste Regem, nec commode sibi educari; literas a fortitudine longe esse disjunctas, traditamque a senibus institutionem in timiditatem & animi humilitatem plerumque verti; itaque oportere, ut in re bellica futurus animosus gloriæque insignis, amoto doctorum metu, armis exerceatur. Theodericum allegant, nunquam passum Gothorum liberos ad ludimagistros mitti; cum diceret omnibus, eos nunquam hastam aut gladium despecturos mente intrepida, si scuticam tremuissent. Subjiciunt debere ipsam reputare cum animo, ereptum sibi fato Theodericum, postquam tot potitus provinciis, regnumque alienum adeptus esset, quamvis literas ne tantillum quidem auribus admisisset. Ergo inquiunt, hos, Domina, pædagogos in præsens valere jube, & Athalarico convictores aliquot æquales adhibe, qui ætate cum ipso florentes ad generose & more barbaro regnandum impellant. Quæ cum audisset Amalasuntha, etsi parum probabat, tamen verita ne quid Barbari moverent, sibi, quæ dixissent, grata accidere simulavit, & quicquid postulabant, concessit. Amotis ab Atalarici latere senibus, aggregantur in ipsius convictum pueri nondum puberes, nec longe ætate eum præcurrentes. Simul ut pubertatem attigit, eorum impulsu præceps in temulentiam & fœminarum concubitus, evasit infigniter nequam, atque in matrem cum tanta vecordia contumax, ut de illa nil laboraret.

to comply with the Circumſtances of the Times; tho' to the Prejudice of her Son. For, as the Inclinations of Youth are the more irregular, when they are intirely left to their own Liberty, and when the Gratification of their inorderly Appetites is a Means of advancing at Court, the new Favorites now wholly diverted the King from his filial Duty, and accuſtom'd him early to Wine and Women, whereby he quite broke his bodily Conſtitution.

Amalarick, King of the *Wiſi-Goths*.

§ XLV. *THODERICK*'s other Grand-ſon, *Amalarick*, Son of King *Alaric*, now ſucceeded in the Government of the *Wiſi-Goths*. The Confines of the two Kingdoms, which join'd in *Gaul*, were ſo regulated, that *Athalarick* retain'd all the Country from the *Alps* to the *Rhône*; and the Reſt, which reach'd from the *Rhône*, as far as the *Pyrenæan* Mountains, remain'd in the Dominion of the *Wiſi-Gothick* King. The new King had married *Clotildis*, *Clovis*'s Daughter, with the View of providing the better for the Safety of his Kingdom, by a good Underſtanding with the Kings of the *Franks*. But he treated his new Conſort but very badly, which was attributed to the Difference in their Religions, he being an *Arian*. He is even charged with having abus'd her Perſon. The Queen complain'd of this ill Uſage to *Childebert*, her Brother, King of *Paris*, and begg'd he would relieve her. This Prince was at that very Time in *Auvergne*, and from thence made War againſt his Brother-in Law, who then kept his Court at *Narbonne*. But the Circumſtances are differently related by Hiſtorians. It is certain that *Amalarick* was murder'd in the Year 501, but ſomewhat dubious, whether he fell by the Hands of the Enemy, or, as *Iſidorus*, with more Probability, affirms, of ſome diſloyal Subject. After his Death, his Throne was ſeiz'd by *Theudis*, of whom I before obſerv'd, that, in *Theoderick*'s Life-time, he was his Lieutenant in the *Wiſi-Gothick* Kingdom *.

The Hiſtory of *Thuringia* reſum'd.

§ XLVI. THE Conqueſt of *Thuringia*, which Kingdom was, 'till now, very famous in *Magna Germania*, is the moſt remarkable Occurrence in the *Franconian* Hiſtory of theſe Times. *Hermanfrid*, *Baldrich*, and *Bertharius*, three Brothers, at Length ſhared the Kingdom among them. *Hermanfrid* ſought the Friendſhip of the King of the *Oſtro-Goths*, and was join'd in Marriage to *Amalaberg*, his Siſter's Daughter. This Princeſs is highly extoll'd in the Letter which *Theoderick* wrote to him, on Occaſion of theſe Nuptials. This Marriage, and the Alliance with the *Goths*, prov'd indeed ſo far ſerviceable to the *Thuringians*, that they were the more ſecure from the Moleſtations of the *Franks*; but the Queen, on the other Hand, was the Author of another Misfortune, which was at

§ XLV. * *Of all this ſee the fifteenth Annot. at the End of this Volume.*

laſt

laſt follow'd by the Downfal of the whole Kingdom. She is accus'd of having, out of Pride, prompted her Conſort, to make away with his Brothers, and then to make himſelf Maſter of all *Thuringia*; and, in all Probability, ſhe found it no very difficult Matter to perſuade him thereto. *Bertharius* was put to Death, without much Ceremony: But *Baldrich* was better prepar'd. *Hermanfrid* therefore apply'd for Aſſiſtance to *Theuderick*, King of *Auſtraſia*, and promis'd him, in Return, a Part of his Brother's Dominions. This Prince join'd *Hermanfrid* in Perſon, and *Baldrich* was ſlain in a Battle. However *Hermanfrid* did not perform his Promiſe, but ſeiz'd the whole Sovereignty of *Thuringia* for himſelf *. From his perfect good Underſtanding with the King of the *Oſtro-Goths*, and with the Kings of the *Heruli* and *Guarni*, we may conclude, that he made a conſiderable Figure in *Germany*.

§ XLVII. BUT now *Theoderick* was dead in *Italy*, the King of *Auſtraſia* ventur'd to make War againſt *Thuringia*, under the Pretence, that *Hermanfrid* had violated his former Promiſe. *Thiebrecht*, his Son, and *Clotarius*, King of *Soiſſons*, accompany'd him to the Field. Both Sides exerted their utmoſt Force, but we find very few Circumſtances related in Hiſtory. When the *Franks* and *Thuringians* came to a general Engagement, the latter were defeated, and the *Franks* purſued them beyond the *Unſtrut*. *Hermanfrid* eſcaped by Flight, and the *Franks* were then oblig'd to put up with what Booty they could make (1). *Theuderick*, ſome Time after, executed his Deſign by Deceit and Stratagem, it being no difficult Task to him, to make Uſe of ſuch Means (2). He ſo far gain'd *Hermanfrid*'s Confidence, that he came to him to *Zülpick*; but when he leaſt ſuſpected it, *Theuderick* caus'd him to be murder'd. He immediately invaded his Country, which having loſt its King, could now no longer reſiſt the *Franks*. *Thuringia*, after that, appertain'd to the Kingdom of *Auſtraſia* (3), and the Sequel of Hiſtory will ſhew, that this was the Foundation of fixing the Dominion of the *Franks*, in *Magna Germania*, from the *Danube* to the Sea. The *Thuringian* Kingdom extended much farther than the Country which ſtill retains that Name: Partly *Northwards*, where, for Inſtance, the Cities of *Magdeburg*, *Helmſtadt*, and ſeveral other Places, which fell to the Share of the *Saxons* afterwards, were, for a long Time, after this Revolution, included in *North-*

Theuderick, King of *Auſtraſia*, ſubdues *Thuringia*.

§ XLVI. * GREGORIUS TURONENSIS, L. 3. cap. 4. *See the ſixteenth Annot.*

§ XLVII. (1) GREGOR. TURONENSIS, L. 3. cap. 7. *See the ſixteenth Annot.*

(2) GREGOR. *ſays of* Theoderick, l. c. In talibus enim dolis Theodericus callidus erat.

(3) *Of the Conſtitution and Government of* Thuringia, *under the* Franks, *ſee* SAGITARIUS in Antiquit. Ducatus Thuringici, Lib. 4. Add. ECKARDUS Rer. Franc. Orientalis, Lib. 4. § 14.

Thuringia:

Thuringia: Partly likewiſe *Southwards*, where it contain'd a great Part of the Country, that is now included in the Circle of *Franconia*. The *Bavarians* had, very probably, likewiſe a Share in the *Burgundian* War, and, after the *Franks* had conquer'd *Thuringia*, were oblig'd to ſubmit to their Dominion; of which I ſhall treat more largely in the Sequel.

Of the *Thuringian* Royal Family, &c.

§ XLVIII. QUEEN *Amalaberg* was the more ſenſible of this Misfortune, as ſhe had, in ſome Meaſure, been the Cauſe of it; and as the Fate of her Mother in *Africa*, after the Death of *Thraſamund*, her Conſort, was ſtill freſh in her Memory. She could hope for no other Relief from the *Goths*, than that ſhe and her Children might take Refuge in *Italy*, under King *Theodehat*, her Brother. His Murder, which follow'd ſoon after, and the Downfal of the *Gothick* Kingdom itſelf, plung'd the unfortunate Remains of the *Thuringian* Family, into a freſh Miſery. When King *Vitiges*, in the Year 539, ſurrender'd to *Beliſarius*, and was carried to *Conſtantinople*, with *Mataſuinth*, his Conſort, *Hermanfrid*'s Children were forc'd to follow him thither. One Daughter was married to *Alboin*, King of the *Longobards*. *Amalafrid*, his Son, diſtinguiſh'd himſelf bravely in the Field, and gave the World Reaſon to think, that, had Heaven reſerv'd his paternal Kingdom for him, he would have been a valiant Monarch. He aſſiſted *Alboin*, his Brother-in-Law, in conquering the *Gepidæ*, and the Emperor *Juſtinian* created him *Magiſter Militiæ*. *Juſtinian* had Reaſon to beſtow his Favours on a Prince, who had ſo juſt a Pretence againſt the *Franks*, and, without Doubt, was ſtill much belov'd by the *Thuringians*. He ſpent the Remainder of his Days in the Emperor's Service, and left a Son, nam'd *Artarchis*, of whom we find no farther Mention in Hiſtory. *Bertharius*, *Hermanfrid*'s Brother, had a Son, and a Daughter nam'd *Radegundis*, whom King *Clotarius* took Priſoners, when he aſſiſted their Uncle. The Princeſs was, at that Time, very young; and the King took her afterwards in Marriage, for the ſake of her Beauty and Virtue: But this prov'd not the moſt happy Alliance, and, a few Years after, a Storm broke out, which was fatal to the Queen, as well as her Brother. The King caus'd the latter to be put to Death, and ſent his Conſort to *Noyon*. Hiſtorians make no mention of the Crime, which the *Thuringian* Prince was accus'd of, but only take Notice of his Innocence. The Queen prevail'd upon *Medardus*, Biſhop of *Noyon*, to conſecrate her a Deaconeſs. She repair'd afterwards to *Poitiers*, where, with the King's Conſent, ſhe founded the famous Nunnery of the *Holy-Croſs*, according to the Order of *Cæſarius*, Biſhop of *Arles*. Here ſhe ſpent the Remainder of her Life, even to a great Age, in the diligent Exerciſe of all *Chriſtian* Virtues, inſomuch, that the Church

canoniz'd

canoniz'd her after her Decease. She had perhaps sufficient Reason to be dissatisfied at Court, especially as *Clotarius* set no Bounds to his Passion for the fair Sex. Her Example will nevertheless be always edifying. We have hitherto met with so many Persons, who sacrific'd their All to a temporal Grandeur: Therefore the more glorious was the Conduct of a Queen, who, in Contempt of this, knew where to find a much more lasting Peace *.

§ XLIX. As the Kingdom of *Thuringia* declin'd, so the *Longobards* again made their Appearance about this Time. I cannot here omit mentioning them, because we shall find, in the following Book, that they founded that famous Kingdom in *Italy*, whose Name and Constitution subsisted long after the Nation had been conquer'd by the *Franks*. *Paulus Varnefridus*, generally call'd *Paulus Diaconus*, who wrote the History of the *Longobards*, is very fabulous in his Account of their Arrival, and their most ancient Deeds; which is very evident, when we compare it with the Relations of the most credible ancient Writers (1). *Strabo*, *Tacitus*, and *Ptolemy* agree herein, that the *Longobards* were a *Suevian* Nation, which the Traces we find of their Language (2), and of the Customs they brought with them to *Italy*, sufficiently testify. In the Times of *Tacitus* they dwelt next the *Chauci*, on the *Elb* (3), where, according to the Conjecture of some learned Men, the Country of *Bardingou*, and *Bardewick*, the Capital of it, retain their Name from them (4). I observ'd before, in its proper Place, that they were attack'd by *Tiberius*, in his Expedition (5); that in the ensuing Wars, in *Germany*, they and their Neighbours, the *Semnones*, revolted from *Maroboduus* to *Arminius* (6); that they afterwards took the Part of *Italus*, King of the *Cherusci* (7); and that, at the Time of the *Marcoman* War, an Army of *Longobards* pass'd the *Danube*, and invaded the *Roman* Provinces (8). Since that Time, we find no more certain Accounts of them, than are

The Migrations of the *Longobards*.

§ XLVIII. * *Of these Persons of the Royal* Thuringian *Line, see the seventeenth Annot.*

§ XLIX. (1) PAULUS *says, that they came from the* Scanzia Insula: *But his Relation of the ancient History of the* Longobards *is so absurd, that it cannot possibly gain Credit. See the eighteenth Annot. at the End of this Volume.*

(2) *Of the Language of the* Longobards, *see the nineteenth Annot.*

(3) *See* Vol. I. B. 2. § 23.

(4) LEIBNITIUS *in not. ad* TACITI *Germ. Add.* ECKARDI *Rerum Francicarum, Lib.* 1. § 10.

(5) *See* Vol. I. B. 3. § 23.

(6) *Ibid.* 4. 18.

(7) *Ibid.* 4. 27.

(8) *Ibid.* 5. 14.

extant

extant of ſo many other Revolutions, which happen'd, during this Time, in the *Northern* Part of *Germany*. *Procopius* mentions now, at the Beginning of the ſixth Century, a War betwixt them and the *Heruli*, and places them on the *Danube* (9). At the Beginning of *Juſtinian*'s Reign, *A.* 527 (10), they fix'd their Habitations in *Pannonia*, under the Command of *Audoin*, their King. Here the Hiſtory of the *Longobards* begins again to be on a Certainty, and we may, upon applying to the Writers who liv'd in thoſe Times, come at the Accounts appertaining to them.

The Hiſtory of the *Vandals* reſum'd.

§ L. I MUST now return to the Hiſtory of the *Vandalick* Kingdom, which *Genſeric*, or, as he is properly call'd, *Geiſeric* left, *A.* 477, in a flouriſhing Condition, to *Hunoric*, his Son (1). This Kingdom comprehended all that Part of *Africa*, from the *Atlantick* Sea to *Cyrene*, which formerly belong'd to the *Romans*. If we will deſcribe theſe Countries, according to their Situation, and begin from the *Atlantick* Ocean, we ſhall firſt meet with *Mauritania*, which Country was divided into three Provinces: *viz. Tingitana*, ſo call'd from the City *Tingis*, (afterwards *Tangier*:) *Cæſarienſis*, in which was *Cæſarea*, in ancient Times, the Reſidence of King *Juba*; and *Sitifenſis*, of which *Sitifi* was the Capital. Next to theſe, lay *Numidia*, and then *Africa*, properly ſo call'd, or the former Dominions of the *Carthaginians*, which the *Romans*, after having conquer'd *Carthage*, made themſelves Maſters of, and afterwards divided into two Provinces; one of which, wherein was *Carthage* the Capital, was in particular call'd *Proconſularis*, the other *Byzacena*, from the City of *Byzacia*. From thence the *Provincia Tripolitana* reach'd quite as far as the Confines of *Cyrene*. The Inhabitants of theſe Countries were of three Sorts; *viz.* firſt, the ancient *Mauritanians* and *Numidians*, and the Deſcendants of the *Phœnician* Colonies, who had their own Rulers, and are, by *Procopius*, in general, nam'd *Mauri*; the *Roman Provincials*; and laſtly the *Vandals*. To the *Vandalick* Kingdom appertain'd, beſides the Continent, the Iſlands of *Sardinia*, *Corſica*, *Majorca*, *Minorca*, and *Yvica*. *Hunoric* had many Differences with the *Mauri* (2), who revolted

(9) *Of this War we treated above*, § 25.

(10) PAGIUS *places the Irruption of the* Longobards *into* Pannonia, *in the Year* 527. Ad A. 527. n. 8. Conf. *the eighteenth Annot.*

§ L. (1) *See the Hiſtory of the* Vandals, Vol. 1. B. 10. § 35 & 36.

(2) PROCOPIUS *de bello Vandalico*, *L.* 1. *c.* 9. *p.* 196. *B.* Quam diu Vandalis præfuit Honorichus, cum nulla gente bellum geſſerunt, exceptis Mauris: qui quidem antea Gizerici metu coerciti nihil moverant, at ſtatim ut ille exceſſit, detrimenta plurima attulere Vandalis, & ab his rurſus accepere.

from

from the *Vandals*, and plac'd themſelves ſo ſecurely on the Mountain call'd *Auraſius* (3), that neither *Hunoric*, nor his Succeſſors, could ever reduce them to their Subjection. His Name is tranſmitted to us as infamous, on Account of that cruel Perſecution of the True-Believers, of which it would be difficult to decide, who tyranniz'd moſt, the King or the *Arian* Clergy (4)? *Eudoxia*, his Conſort, Daughter of the Emperor *Valentinian* III (5), left him, in the Year 472, and took Refuge at *Jeruſalem*, where ſhe ended her Days (6). He died (7) himſelf in the Year 484. The Kingdom did not deſcend to his Children, for *Gundamund*, the Son of *Genzo*, his elder Brother, ſucceeded, by Virtue of a Regulation made by *Geiſeric*, that the Government ſhould always devolve to the Eldeſt of the Royal Blood (8). We meet with a Medal of *Gundamund* (9), on one Side of which are the Words DN. REX CUNTAMUND, on the other, a Crown of Laurels, and in it the Letters D. N. His Reign was, at the ſame Time, when *Odoacer* govern'd in *Italy*, and was afterwards conquer'd by *Theoderick*, but it is chiefly memorable, on Account of the Stop he put, in the Year 494, to the Proſecution of the True-Believers, when he reſtor'd to them their Churches, and recall'd the baniſh'd Biſhops (10). He was ſucceeded, *A.* 496, by *Thraſamund*, his Brother, who is extoll'd by the Hiſtorians of this Time, on Account of the Excellencies both of his Perſon and Mind; among other Things, he is ſaid to have lov'd the Sciences, eſpecially thoſe which had any Relation to Morals, and to have been a Maſter of them. As he kept up a Friendſhip with *Theoderick*, King of the *Oſtro-Goths*, whoſe Siſter he had married, ſo, on the other Hand, he likewiſe maintain'd a ſingular good Underſtanding with the Emperor *Anaſtaſius*. The *Orthodox Chriſtians* might reaſonably form great Hopes of his Reign: He made, at leaſt, no Uſe of Compulſion, at firſt, but tried other Methods. Whoever turn'd from the *Catholick* Party to *Arianiſm*, might be aſſur'd of making his Fortune; and

(3) *De Auraſio monte, v.* PROCOP. *l. c. cap.* 9.

(4) *This Perſecution is related by* Victor Vitenſis. *In his fourth Book we likewiſe find the Edict, which the King caus'd to be publiſh'd againſt the* Orthodox. *He ſays, among other Obſervations, L.* 5. c. 11. Crudelius Arianorum Epiſcopi, Preſbyteri, & Clerici, quam Rex, & Vandali, ſæviebant.

(5) *See* Vol: 1. B. 10. §. 3.

(6) PAGIUS *ad A.* 471. *n.* 11.

(7) IDEM *ad A.* 414. *n.* 23.

(8) *See this Regulation of King* Geiſeric, Vol. 1. B. 10. § 35. not. 4.

(9) ANTON. AUGUSTIN. *Dial. ſopra le Medaglie, 6. p.* 118.

(10) *V.* RUYNART, *p.* 550.

whoever had committed any Crime, might, by the ſame Means, ſecurely evade the Puniſhment. Conferences on religious Matters were likewiſe frequent; and three Books are ſtill extant, written againſt the *Arians* by *Fulgentius*, one of the moſt famous Teachers in *Africa*, and dedicated to the King himſelf. But when ſome Prelates, contrary to the King's Orders, appointed new Biſhops in the Churches here and there, in the Room of others deceaſed, he caus'd the Churches to be ſhut up, in the Year 503, and baniſh'd a large Number of Biſhops into *Sardinia*, which was the Fate of the before-mention'd *Fulgentius*, who had been conſecrated Biſhop of *Ruſpa*. The Biſhops are ſaid to have taken, on this Voyage, the Corpſe of *S. Auſtin* with them, into *Sardinia* (11), in which Iſland Pope *Symmachus* gave them all poſſible Relief. *Thraſamund* died in the Year 523 (12), ſoon after a fatal Overthrow, which the *Vandals* ſuffer'd from the *Mauri*, who had rebell'd in the Country of *Tripolis* (13)

Hilderick, King of the *Vandals*: *Gelimer* ſets up for King againſt him.

§ LI. He was ſucceded by *Hilderick*, his Couſin, the Son of *Hunoric*, who had been a long Time at *Conſtantinople*, among his Mother's Kindred, and, in particular, cultivated an Intimacy with *Juſtinian*, who then begun to bear the greateſt Sway in the Empire (1). A Silver Medal of him is extant, on one Side of which is his Image, with the Title: DN. HILDERIK REX, and, on the other, the uſual Device of *Africa*, *viz.* a Woman, with Ears of Corn in both Hands, with theſe Words: FELIX KART (2). He either publickly profeſs'd the *Catholick* Faith †, or at leaſt treated the *Catholicks* with ſo much Lenity, that they enjoy'd all the Liberty they could deſire. A Circumſtance like this could not but produce a great Change in the *Vandalick* Kingdom. *Thraſamund*, who knew his Diſpoſition, had exacted an Oath from him, that when, after his Deceaſe, he ſhould aſcend the Throne, he would make no Alteration in Eccleſiaſtical Matters (3): But *Hilderick* nevertheleſs re-

† See the 21ſt Annot.

(11) Idem, *p.* 551.

(12) *What I have here ſaid of* Thraſamund, *is prov'd more at large in the twenty-firſt Annot.*

(13) Procop. *de bello Vandal. Lib.* 1. *c.* 9.

§ LI. (1) *Of* Hilderick, *ſee the twenty-firſt Annotation.*

(2) Banduri *Numiſm. T.* II.

(3) Victor. Turonensis *in Chron.* Hic ergo ſacramento a deceſſore ſuo Traſamundo obſtrictus, ne Catholicis in regno ſuo aut eccleſias aperiret, aut privilegia reſtitueret, priuſquam regnaret, ne ſacramenti terminos præteriret, præcipit ſacerdotes Catholicos ab exilio redire, & eccleſias aperire; & Bonifacium in dogmatibus divinis ſatis ſtrenuum, ad poſtulationem totius Urbis, Carthaginenſis eccleſiæ epiſcopum conſecravit.

call'd

call'd the baniſh'd Biſhops (4), who, in ſeveral Councils, ſoon reſtor'd the almoſt ruin'd State of their Churches (5). *Amalafried*, the Queen Dowager, intended probably to raiſe another Faction, with thoſe *Oſtro-Goths*, who had follow'd her to *Africa*. She had gain'd Adherents among the *Mauri*, and an Engagement actually enſued near *Capſa*, formerly a famous City in the *Provincia Byzacena:* But ſhe was defeated. Moſt of the *Goths* were kill'd on the Spot, and ſhe was herſelf taken Priſoner, in which Condition ſhe died. We find, indeed, a Letter from King *Athalarick* to King *Hilderick*, wherein he charges him with having caus'd the Queen to be put to Death, and threatens to revenge her Murder †. *Hilderick* was already pretty much advanc'd in Years, and ſo averſe to War, that he could hardly bear to hear it mention'd; he therefore left the Management of it to *Hoamer*, his Brother's Son; but the *Vandals* were beat by the *Mauri*, in *Byzacena*. With theſe Circumſtances, the King had a dangerous Enemy, in *Gelimer*, his Kinſman. *Gelaris*, this Prince's Father, was the Son of *Genzo*, and Brother of *Gunthamund* and *Thraſamund*; and, after *Hilderick*'s Deceaſe, would have been the next Succeſſor. He was of a turbulent and ambitious Diſpoſition, and is indeed extoll'd for his Valour and Cunning; but he gave afterwards very ſlender Proofs of both. He cauſed it to be inſinuated to the Chiefs of the Nation, that *Hilderick* intended to put *Africa* into the Hands of the *Grecian* Emperor, in Order to keep his own Family on the Throne, and to exclude him, to whom it of Right appertain'd, after *Hilderick*'s Death, being the eldeſt of the Royal Blood. Whether this was really *Hilderick*'s Deſign, or only a Pretence to cover *Gelimer*'s Impatience, is uncertain. The good Underſtanding, however, betwixt the King and *Juſtinian*, to whom he had juſt before ſent a ſplendid Ambaſſy; his Lenity with Regard to the *Catholicks*; and the great Confidence he repos'd in *Hoamer*, his Nephew, ſerv'd to ſupport the Probability of this Pretence; eſpecially as he was beſides deſpis'd by the Nation, on Account of his Effeminacy, and the Overthrow they had ſuffer'd from the *Mauri*. *Gelimer* was therefore proclaim'd King by his Faction †: Whereupon he ſeiz'd the Capital, *Carthage*, and took King *Hilderick* Priſoner, with his two Nephews, *Hoamer*, and *Edemer*, his Brother, the former of whom he caus'd immediately to have his Eyes put out.

† See *Ibid.*

† *A.* 530.

(4) VITA FULGENTII *ad diem* 1. *Januar.*

(5) *Theſe Councils are mention'd in* Vita Fulgentii. *The* Acta Concilii Carthaginienſis ſub Bonifacio de A. 525. *are related,* T. II. Concilior. p. 1071.

The Beginning of *Juſtinian*'s Reign, *&c.*

§ LII. We now draw near to the Time, in which all thoſe Circumſtances met, that were deſtin'd for the Overthrow of the *Vandalick* Kingdom. The Emperor *Juſtin* died, *A.* 527, on the firſt Day of *Auguſt*; and *Juſtinian*, with whom he had four Months before divided the Government, remain'd now, with *Theodora*, his Conſort, ſole Maſter of the Empire. Hiſtorians give various Accounts of the perſonal Qualifications of this Emperor; eſpecially as *Procopius*, who extols him ſo much, throughout all his other Writings, afterwards repreſents him very differently in his *Anecdota* (1). But we find, in Reality, that the *Roman* Empire had not been govern'd by ſo great Prince, after the Times of *Conſtantine*. He demonſtrated, during his Reign, how much he had been converſant with the Sciences (2), for he not only digeſted the *Roman* Laws, into a new Order; but interpoſed likewiſe, as many imagine, too far into Eccleſiaſtical Matters; he moreover generally drew the Draughts himſelf, of thoſe great and ſplendid Edifices, which he cauſed to be erected in all Parts of the Empire, (and of which *Procopius* wrote a ſeparate Work.) He never went to the Field; but his Generals were ſucceſsful, in thoſe great Wars, which he carried on in the *Eaſt*, in *Africa*, and in *Italy*. His Conſort, *Theodora*, had actually a Share in the Government with him, not alone by his private Conſultations with her, ſuch as *Auguſtus* held with his *Livia*; but likewiſe, in ſuch Manner, that, in the Laws, publick Records, and other Monuments of this Time, ſhe is mention'd as Co-Adminiſtrator. As much as Authors differ, concerning her Education; as ambiguous ſome are likewiſe, in the Account they give, how ſhe paſs'd her youthful Days; but they unanimouſly extoll her Underſtanding and Beauty, to which ſhe firſt ow'd her Marriage, and afterwards her Promotion to the Imperial Throne. Notwithſtanding *Juſtinian* found the Empire involv'd in a War with the *Perſians*, yet he, at the very Beginning of his Reign, form'd two important Deſigns. He caus'd the ancient *Roman* Laws to be brought into Order, which ſeem'd, as it were, an Omen of the Reſtoration of that Empire in the *Weſt*, for whoſe Laws, the People who were formerly govern'd thereby, ſtill retain'd a great Veneration, even under their new Lords. He caus'd the new *Codex* to be firſt publiſh'd, *A.* 529, which was follow'd by the *Pandects*, and the *Inſtitutes*; and, at Length, by another Edition of the *Codex*, which had, in the mean Time, been reviſed. And

§ LII. (1) Procopius's Anecdots *were publiſh'd by* Alemannus, *and afterwards by* Eichelius, *with a Confutation: which is likewiſe the Tendency of* Rivii Apologia Juſtiniani, Trivorii Obſervatio Apologetica *and* Ludwig's Vita Juſtiniani.

(2) *Of* Juſtinian's *Studies ſee* Pagius ad A. 528. n. 2, 3.

theſe

these Things have perpetuated the Memory of his Reign, even after the Decay of so many fine Buildings, of the Fruits of so many Wars, and even almost of the Empire itself. He resolv'd, in the second Place, to extirpate, in the *Roman* Empire, the Residue of *Pagans*, and the Sects, that separated from the national Religion (3), which latter was impracticable, unless he conquer'd those Nations, that profess'd *Arianism*. The Churches, he seiz'd upon, were possess'd of immense Riches (4); which contributed to the Execution of his Design, and enabled him to wage War with the Enemy at their own Expence. The Commotions in *Africa*, afforded him a convenient Opportunity, to make a successful Beginning. The *Vandals* were involv'd in civil Discords, and, which was yet worse, had very much deviated from their ancient Valour, and rigid Discipline. For as formerly *Hannibal*'s Soldiers, in *Campania*, gave themselves up to Luxury, so did now the *Vandals* in *Africa*. During their long Peace with the *Romans* and *Goths*, they had neglected the Arts of Navigation and War, and, instead thereof, spent their Time in Hunting; erecting splendid Villas; on publick Shews, Baths, Banquets, and other Diversions, which abounded in *Africa* (5). Their Tye of Friendship with the *Ostro-Goths* was dissolved; but they, indeed, were themselves not very formidable, after the Death of *Theoderick*. *Justinian* therefore took the Part of the imprison'd King *Hilderick*, in Pursuance of that Amity which had subsisted between them. He sent Ambassadors to *Gelimer*, and requir'd of him, to set his Uncle and lawful King, at Liberty. When this Mediation, as is easy to conceive, prov'd fruitless, he made Use of this Refusal for a Pretence to a War (6), and, in the Year 533, made a

(3) THEOPHANES: Imperator Justinianus abstulit omnes hæreticorum ecclesias, eásque Orthodoxis concessit, exceptis iis, quæ Arianorum Hexacionitarum essent. *I have explain'd the Words* Ariani Hexacionitæ, *in the third Annot.*

(4) PROCOP. *Anecd. cap.* 2. In horum, quos vocant, hæreticorum, fanis, ac iis præsertim in quibus Arii secta celebraretur, opes recondebantur, plane supra quam credibile cuiquam sit, &c. Horum ergo templorum publicata bona prædæ fuerunt Justiniano Augusto.

(5) IDEM *de Bello Vandal. L.* 2. *c.* 6. *p.* 248. *D.* Nam illi ex quo Africam occupaverant, quotidianis omnes balneis, & mensæ, conquisitis terra marique suavissimis cibis extructæ, insueverant. Aureo plerique cultu, & veste Medica (sericam adpellant hodie) splendidi, ac spectaculis ac ludis Circensibus, ceterisque deliciis; præsertim in venatione toti erant, saltatoribus ac mimis instructissimi, aurium oculorumque voluptatibus affluebant, quas homines e concentibus Musicis, & rebus adspectu præclarissimis capiunt. Multi in pomariis benignissimis, riguis, atque optime consitis habitabant. Crebra inter illos convivia, & in omnia re venerea accuratissima exercitatio.

(6) IDEM, *L.* 1. *c.* 10. *p.* 203. *B.*

Peace

Peace with the *Persians*, in Order to be the better able to pursue his Design against the *Vandals*.

He sends out *Belisarius*, with a Fleet, &c.
† *A.* 468.

§ LIII. MANY of his Nobles, and particularly the *Præfectus Prætorii*, were averse to this War, and related to him the fatal Event of a Project of the same Kind, form'd by the Emperor *Leo* †: But the True-Believers excited him the more, and a certain Bishop told the Emperor, that God had declar'd to him in a Vision, that the Emperor would conquer the *Arians*, and recover the Dominion of *Africa* (1). The Emperor's Subjects were unexperienc'd in Naval-Matters, and *Italy* and *Sicily*, with the Coasts of *Gaul* and *Spain*, on the *Mediterranean*, were under the Dominion of the *Goths*. But *Amalasuinth* had made a Treaty with the Emperor (2), by Virtue of which the Ports of *Sicily* were to be open to the Imperial Fleet. The Circumstances that induc'd her to enter into an Alliance with the Emperor, occasion'd her not to consider, how dangerous a Situation the *Gothick* State would be in, if *Africa* should fall into the Hands of the *Romans*, instead of the *Vandals*: Or she did not perhaps foresee the Extent of the Emperor's Views: For he at first made Use of another Pretence. One *Pudentius* had rais'd a Revolt in *Tripolis*, and desir'd the Emperor's Aid. Immediately after, a *Goth*, nam'd *Godas*, to whom *Gelimer* had granted *Sardinia*, in Consideration of the Payment of an annual Tribute, revolted. This *Godas*, at the same Time, assum'd the Title of King in *Sardinia*, and begg'd *Justinian*'s Assistance, to be the sooner deliver'd from the *Vandalick* Dominion (3). *Justinian* gave the Command of this War to *Belisarius*, *Magister Militiæ Orientis*, whom, in the Sequel, we shall have Cause to regard as the greatest General of this Age. He was, in a Manner, the King's Countryman, a Native of the City of *Germania* (4), on the Borders of *Thrace* and *Moësia*, and had before fill'd the Post of Armour-Bearer to the Emperor *.

§ LIII. (1) PROCOP. *L.* 1. *cap.* 10.

(2) *Idem*, *L.* 1. *cap.* 14. *p.* 211. *C.*

(3) IDEM, *L.* 1. *cap.* 10. Quidam erat inter subditos Gelimeris, Godas, natione Gothus: animosus Vir, strenuus, & robore singulari præditus: qui rebus domini impense studere videbatur. Propterea Gelimer Sardiniam ei commiserat, cum annui tributi onere. Is vero cum infirmioris esset animi, quam ut fortunæ gratiam, difficili cibo simile, concoqueret, ac salubriter ferret; in tyrannidem incubuit, nec solum tributo, sed ipsa etiam insula Vandalos spoliavit, &c. *He continues thus:* In Sardiniam pervectus Eulogius Godam offendit Regio jam nomine, habituque insignem, & satellitio stipatum.

(4) IDEM, *l. c. cap.* 11. Originem autem ducebat Belisarius ex Germania, quæ inter Thraces, & Illyricos sita est.

* DORYPHORUS.

Antonina

Antonina, his Wife, a Confident of the Empreſs *Theodora*, had as great an Influence over her Husband, as her Miſtreſs had over the Emperor. The Fleet ſet Sail in the Year 533, in the Middle of Summer. The Army that was imbark'd, conſiſted of 10,000 Foot-Soldiers, and 5000 Horſe, ſome of which came from the *Roman* Provinces, others were Foreigners. The Fleet conſiſted of 500 Veſſels, which together requir'd 20,000 Seamen. There were beſides theſe, 92 Ships, call'd *Dromones*, made Uſe of in thoſe Times, at Sea-Fights, which were furniſh'd with 2000 Rowers, all enliſted at *Byzantz* (5). *Juſtinian* had given to *Beliſarius* a Kind of *Manifeſto*, addreſs'd to the Nation of the *Vandals*, the Import of which was, that he did not intend to break the Peace, concluded with the Emperor *Zeno*, but to ſupport their lawful King (6): However the Event ſufficiently ſhew'd what his real Deſign was.

§ LIV. WHEN the Fleet had reach'd the *Eaſtern* Coaſts of *Sicily*, not far from Mount *Ætna*, *Beliſarius* ſent *Procopius*, who accompanied him in this Expedition, as well as on thoſe into *Italy*, to *Syracuſa*, to enquire into the State of the *Vandals*, whilſt he, with the Fleet, put into the Haven of *Camarina* (1). *Procopius* brought Intelligence, that the King of the *Vandals* was apprehenſive of nothing leſs than to be attack'd in *Africa*, whereupon he immediately ſet Sail; touch'd at the Iſlands of *Gozzo* and *Maltha*, and, the next Day (2) landed in *Africa*, at *Capatuada*, which Place was ſituate in the *Provincia Byzacena* five Days Journy *Eaſtward* from *Carthage* (3). *Beliſarius* here diſembark'd his Men without Moleſtation, a Circumſtance, on which the Succeſs of an Expedition almoſt wholly depends. *Gelimer* had juſt before diſpatch'd *Tzazo*, his Brother, with a ſelect Army of *Vandals*, to *Sardinia*. He was himſelf at that Time at *Hermione*, a City in the Diſtrict of *Byzacena*. Who lands in *Africa*, &c.

(5) PROCOP. *L.* 1. *cap.* 11, 12.

(6) PROCOPIUS *cites this Manifeſto in the following Words:* Nec Vandalis bellum indicimus, nec pacem ſolvimus a Gizerico factam, ſed veſtrum tollere Tyrannum aggredimur, qui teſtamento Gizerici ſpreto, Regem veſtrum aſſervat in vinculis, atque e propinquis quos quidem maxime oderat, ipſo ſtatim initio interfecit; reliquos vero luminibus orbatos cuſtodia detinet, ærumnas letho finire vetans. Igitur juvate nos, & conjuncta opera tam impiæ tyrannidis jugum excutite, ut pace & libertate fruamini. Nos enim vobis hæc præſtituros, teſte Deo, pollicemur.

§ LIV. (1) Caucana: *now* Scamari.

(2) *He landed* Sept. 15. Conf. PAGIUS, ad A. 533. 6.

(3) PROCOP. L. 1. c. 14, 15. Juſtinian *afterwards caus'd a City to be built in this Place*, as Procopius *relates*, de Ædific. 6. 6.

He

He ſent Ambaſſadors to *Theudis*, King of the *Wiſi-Goths*, to eſtabliſh a Friendſhip, and conclude an Alliance with him. But this Prince was appriz'd of the Landing of the *Greeks* before the Ambaſſadors could arrive at his Court (4). *Beliſarius* march'd thro' *Leptis* and *Adrumetum*, directly to *Carthage*. *Gelimer* ſent an Order to *Ammatas*, his Brother, whom he had left in that Capital, to cauſe the Captive King *Hilderick*, and his principal Adherents, to be inſtantly put to Death. He himſelf made Prepartions to fall upon *Beliſarius*, on his March to *Carthage*; and *Ammatas* was order'd, with his *Vandals*, to ſally out of that City, and attack the *Greeks* in the Van. *Gelimer* was on their Rear; and, by the Way, diſpatch'd *Gibamund*, his Brother's Son, to annoy them on the Flank. The Attack was to be made, as ſoon as the Imperialiſts arriv'd near *Decimum*, not far from *Carthage*, where there was a *Defilee*: But *Ammatas* advanc'd too far, before the Troops could be got together that were to follow him from *Carthage*; and paid his too great Forwardneſs with his Life. *Gibamund* fell in with a Detachment of *Huns*, by whom he was defeated. *Gelimer*, who was on his March with the main Army, fell, hereupon, into ſuch Confuſion, that he turn'd aſide, and went to *Bulla*, towards the Borders of *Numidia*, notwithſtanding that, according to the Opinion of *Procopius*, he muſt certainly have gain'd the Victory, if he had even alone attack'd the Imperialiſts, who were under great Apprehenſions. *Beliſarius* came therefore unmoleſted to *Carthage*: The Inhabitants open'd the Gates to him, with great Joy, and the *Vandals*, who were in the City, took Refuge in the Churches. *Beliſarius* made his Entry the next Day, and din'd in the Palace, on the very Proviſions that had been prepar'd for King *Gelimer*, whoſe Servants were oblig'd to attend him. The *Carthaginians*, at the ſame Time, remov'd the Chain they had laid acroſs the Entrance into their Port, that the Fleet might enter. *Beliſarius* offer'd no other Violence to the *Vandals*, who were fled into the Churhes, than to oblige them to lay down their Arms, and to ſurrender themſelves Priſoners: He then caus'd the Walls of the City, which were, in ſome Places, pretty much decay'd, to be repaired (5). He ſpar'd thoſe Inhabitants, who were deſcended from the *Roman Provincials*, as much as poſſible, and endeavour'd to draw the Chiefs of the *Mauri*, who dwelt in *Mauritania*, *Numidia*, and *Byzacena*, over to his Party. Theſe had been accuſtom'd, in former Times, when *Africa* was in the Hands of the *Romans*, to receive of the Emperor thoſe *Inſignia*, which, with them, conſtituted the

(4) PROCOPIUS, *Lib.* 1. *cap.*

(5) PROCOP. *Lib.* 9. *cap.* 20.

Royal

Royal Dignity: They were likewiſe afterwards honour'd with the ſame, by the Kings of the *Vandals*; and now *Beliſarius* ſent them the like Tokens of Royalty, in the Emperor's Name, with a conſiderable Sum of Mony (6), by which Means, at leaſt, he kept them from interrupting his Conqueſts.

§ LV. *TZAZO* had, in the mean Time, ſoon quell'd the Inſurrection at *Sardinia*, and haſten'd back to *Africa*. He join'd his Brother at *Bulla* (1), on the Borders of *Numidia*. Here they rallied all the Forces they could, and *Gelimer* undertook to beſiege the Enemy in *Carthage*. He depended on a good Underſtanding with the *Arians*, who were in the City, and had likewiſe gain'd the *Hunns*, that ſerv'd in the *Roman* Army, who promis'd him to come over to the *Vandals*: But *Beliſarius* detected and fruſtrated theſe Deſigns, and march'd out to meet *Gelimer*, whereupon an Engagement enſued, at *Tricamaro*, not far from *Carthage* (2). The Imperial Cavalry begun the Attack, and *Tzazo* himſelf loſt his Life, at the Beginning of the Battle. *Gelimer* thereupon retreated into his Camp, and fled, the enſuing Night, with ſome few of his Houſhold, in the greateſt Privacy, to *Numidia*, without ſo much as leaving any Orders behind him. The *Vandals* were no ſooner appriz'd of his Eſcape, than they diſpers'd, in the utmoſt Conſternation, and left their

An Engagement near *Tricamaro*: *Gelimer*'s Flight.

(6) PROCOP. *Lib.* 1. *cap.* 25. *p.* 232. *A.* Nam quotquot in Mauritania, Numidia, Byzacio Mauris imperabant, Beliſarium per legatos de ſuo in Auguſtum obſequio fecerant certiorem, ſociaque arma promiſerant. Quidam liberos obſides dederant, & principatus inſignia petierant, more antiquo. Hæc enim vetus erat conſuetudo, ut nemo, quamvis Romanorum hoſtis, pro Maurorum rege ſe ante gereret, quam ab imperatore Romano inſignia regia accepiſſet: quibus donati ſolum a Vandalis, male fundatam regni poſſeſſionem putabant. Ea porro inſignia ſunt hujuſmodi, Virga argentea, auro oblita: argenteus item pileus, qui non totum caput obtegit, ſed coronæ inſtar eminet, argenteis circumdatus vitiis: alba inſuper lacerna, quam ad humerum dextrum aurea fibula colligit, morſuque nectit, in modum Theſſalicæ chlamydis. Accedit alba itidem tunica, figuris variata; denique illuſum auro calceamentum. Hæc ad unumquemque Beliſarius miſit, adjectis pecuniæ donis ampliſſimis. Nec tamen arma ei junxerunt, ſicuti nec Vandalis auſi ſunt ſuppetias ferre; verum ſeſe integros ſervantes, belli exitum intentis animis expectabant. *The Enſigns of Royalty which* Scipio *preſented to the* Numidian *Prince*, Maſiniſſa, *are ſomewhat differently deſcrib'd in* Livy, 30. 15. *Ibi Maſiniſſam primum Regem appellatum, eximiiſque ornatum laudibus, aurea corona, aurea patera, ſella curuli, & Scipione eburneo, toga picta, & palmata tunica donat. Addit verbis honorem*, neque magnificentius quicquam triumpho apud Romanos, neque triumphantibus ampliorem eo ornatu eſſe, quo unum omnium externorum dignum Maſiniſſam populus Romanus ducat.

§ LV. (1) Bulla Regia, *now* Beje, *in the Kingdom of* Tunis.

(2) PROCOPIUS *deſcribes this Battle*, Lib. 2. cap. 3. *It was fought about the Middle of* December, A. 533.

Camp a Prey to the Enemy. The *Romans* found immense Riches in it: They cut to Pieces all the Men they met with in their Purſuit, and made the Women and Children Priſoners. By this Defeat, *Gelimer* loſt all his Hopes, in *Africa*. He could have no Dependance on Fortreſſes: For *Geiſerick* had cauſed the Walls of all the Cities, excepting *Carthage*, to be razed; that he might have the leſs to apprehend from them. *Gelimer* eſcaped to Mount *Papia*, in *Numidia*, inhabited by a Nation of *Mauri*, then in League with him; where there was a City call'd *Medenus*, on the Top of a ſteep and inacceſſible Hill. *Beliſarius* remain'd at *Hippon* †, and order'd *Pharas* (3), General of the *Heruli*, to block up this mountainous Fortreſs of the King of the *Vandals*. He himſelf took, in the mean Time, Poſſeſſion of *Ceſarea* (4), *Ceuta*, and the other Places along the Coaſts, and made ſome Detachments, which, without any Difficulty, ſubdu'd the Iſlands of *Sardinia*, *Corſica*, *Ebuſa*, *Majorca*, and *Minorca*.

† Now *Bone*.

Gelimer ſurrenders.

§ LVI. *GELIMER* hoping he ſhould be able to eſcape to *Spain*, when reduc'd to the greateſt Streights in *Africa*, had already embark'd the moſt valuable of his Treaſures, in a Ship, which he entruſted to a faithful Servant, with Order to make the beſt of his Way thither before-hand: But this Ship fell into the Hands of *Beliſarius*, and *Pharas* block'd up the King ſo cloſely, that no Proviſion could be convey'd to him, nor any one come from him. *Gelimer*, with his Adherents, ſuffer'd, during this Siege, which laſted three Months, not only all the Miſeries of Hunger and Want; but was, in a more particular Manner, burthen'd with the much greater Affliction of ſeing his Nation diſpers'd; his Treaſures loſt, and himſelf deſtitute of Friends, without any Hopes of eſcaping †. *Procopius*, on this Occaſion, relates, that *Gelimer* once entreated *Pharas* to grant him three Things, ſome Bread, a Spunge, and a Harp; the firſt to ſatiate his Hunger; the ſecond to wipe off his Tears, and the third to diſpel his Melancholy; but I leave it undetermin'd, whether the King of the *Vandals* entertain'd any ſuch Thoughts, or whether the Hiſtorian invented this Letter, as he did the other Letters and Speeches, which are interſpers'd in his Hiſtory. *Pharas* offer'd him, that if he would ſurrender, the Emperor would

(3) Procopius ibid. cap. 4. *He mentions the* Eruli, *on this Occaſion, but little to their Honour:* Rarum ſane eſt maximaque dignum commendatione, ſi quis Erulus nec perfidus, nec ebrioſus, ſed virtutis ſit compos.

(4) *Some imagine* Cæſarea *to be the preſent* Algiers, *but this, upon a more narrow Enquiry, proves to be falſe.*

§ LVI. † Salust. *Jug.* 10. Non exercitus, neque theſauri, præſidia regni ſunt, verum amici, quos neque armis cogere, neque auro parare queas: officio, & fide pariuntur.

would create him a *Patricius*, and grant him a competent Eſtate ſomewhere elſe, which would be always more eligible, than to be a Slave among the wild Inhabitants of *Numidia*. Neceſſity at laſt compel'd him to accept of this Offer, and *Beliſarius* ſent *Cyprian*, and ſome other Commanders, to ſwear, in his Name, to the Articles agreed on; after which they accompanied *Gelimer* to *Carthage*. *Procopius* relates, that, when he appear'd before the General, he began to laugh aloud, which, it is pretended, aroſe from his Magnanimity, and a Deſire to ſhew that he was not dejected at his unhappy Fate *.

§ LVII. *BELISARIUS* return'd hereupon to *Conſtantinople*, with the greater Expedition, becauſe he had intercepted Letters, wherein the Writers inſinuated to the Emperor, that he intended himſelf to aſſume the Government of *Africa*. He made a ſplendid Entry there, which might renew the Memory of the Triumphs ancient *Rome* had admir'd, when *Scipio* conquer'd *Carthage*, and *Jugurtha*, King of *Numidia*, was led a Priſoner by *Marius* (1). *Gelimer* himſelf appear'd at it, cloath'd in Purple, with all that were related to the Royal Houſe, and a long Train of the moſt eminent Perſons of his Nation. *Procopius* is very laviſh in his Account of the coſtly Spoils that were carried about for a a Show. Thoſe Riches were in particular diſtinguiſh'd, which *Geiſeric*, when he ſack'd *Rome*, carried away from that City, and from the Palace of the former Emperors. Among theſe were likewiſe the Veſſels of the Temple of *Jeruſalem*, which *Titus* found among the Spoils, when he took the Capital of *Judæa* (2). The conquer'd *Vandals* drew likewiſe, by their comely Appearance and Stature (3), the Eyes of the Spectators on them. When *Gelimer* enter'd the *Circus*, where *Juſtinian* and *Theodora* ſate, and ſaw the Splendor of the Court and City, which was aſſembled there, he ſeveral Times drop'd theſe Words of *Solomon: Vanitas Vanitatum, & omnia Vanitas.* This he could ſay by Experience, having, for about a Year, reign'd over ſo powerful a Nation: But both himſelf and his People would have been much more happy, had he con-

Beliſarius's Triumph. Subverſion of the Kingdom of the *Vandals*.

* PROCOP. *Lib.* 2. *cap.* 6, 7.

§ LVII. (1) PROCOP. *deſcribes this Triumph*, Lib. 2. cap. 9. *with which compare what he ſays thereof*, Lib. 1, Æde dificiis.

(2) PROCOPIUS's *Words are cited*, Vol. 1. L. 10. § 3. n. 8. Hadrianus Relandus de Spoliis Templi Hieroſolymitani *treats at large of theſe Veſſels.*

(3) PROCOP. *de Bello Vandalico, Lib.* 2. *c.* 4. Milites enim, ut erant omnes oppido homines, & affectionibus humanis obnoxii, cum & ingentes divitias, & corpora ſingulari forma prædita, in ſuam repente poteſtatem redacta cernerent, animum nec tenere, nec oblatis explere poterant.

ſider'd this Vanity of human Things, before he ſuffer'd his boundleſs Ambition to prompt him to uſurp the Kingdom by Force and Injuſtice. When he approach'd the Imperial Throne, he was oblig'd to lay aſide the Purple, to throw himſelf at the Emperor's Feet, and to bow his Face to the Ground, which was at that Time the uſual Reverence, given even from the *Conſuls* to the Emperor (4), and which was paid by the victorious *Beliſarius*, as well as by the ſubdued *Gelimer*. For ſuch was the Pride of the Emperors, that they aſſum'd Divine Titles and Honours, and *Juſtinian*, that zealous Defender of Chriſtianity, requir'd a Veneration, which *Trajan*, and other worthy Emperors, tho' *Pagans*, refus'd to accept of (5). When *Beliſarius*, at the Beginning of the enſuing Year, 535, enter'd, with a publick Proceſſion, upon his *Conſulate*, he triumph'd, in a Manner, a ſecond Time. He caus'd himſelf to be carried about the City by Priſoners, and diſpos'd of Part of the Booty of the *Vandals*, in ſuch Liberalities, as the *Conſuls* generally exercis'd at their Acceſſion to that Dignity. The Emperor gave *Gelimer* conſiderable Eſtates in *Galatia*, for the Support of himſelf and Family. He would likewiſe have nominated him *Patricius*, which had been promis'd him in *Africa*; but *Gelimer*, would not quit the *Arian* Sect, and *Juſtinian* refus'd to break thro' the Law, which he himſelf had made, by Virtue of which, that Honour could be confer'd on none but a *Catholick*. *Hilderick*'s Daughters were provided for at Court, in a Manner ſuitable to their Station; becauſe *Eudoxia*, his Mother, was a Daughter of the Emperor *Valentinian*, and ſhe was conſequently related to the *Anicii*. The King caus'd the Captive *Vandals* to be ſent into the Cities in the *Eaſt*. They were call'd *Vandali Juſtinianei*, and *Procopius* commends the Services they did the *Romans*, on thoſe Confines, againſt the *Perſians*. About four Hundred, who were to follow *Beliſarius* to *Conſtantinople*, had forc'd their Mariners, by the Way, to return to *Africa*, where they aſſociated themſelves to the *Mauri*, and, together with thoſe who had been here and there left behind, gave the *Romans* freſh Trouble (6); but they were at laſt ſo intermix'd with the other Inhabitants, that the Name of *Vandals* was no longer heard of. *Procopius* relates, that thoſe *Vandals*, who remain'd in their Country, in the foregoing Century, when *Godegiſil* abandon'd it,

(4) *Conf. L. 4. Cod.* de Conſ. *this Ceremony is there call'd:* adorare purpuram. Non tu civium amplexus ad pedes tuos deprimis, nec oſculum manu reddis.

(5) Pliny *ſays in Praiſe of* Trajan, in Paneg.

(6) Procop. *Lib. 2. cap.* 14.

were

were likewiſe, in the mean Time, extirpated by other Nations (7), whereby thoſe who were conquer'd in *Africa*, were alſo depriv'd of this Refuge. Such was the Downfall of the Kingdom of the *Vandals*. If the Foundation of it, by *Geiſerick*, appears wonderful; it ſeems no leſs extraordinary, that *Beliſarius*, who, when he ſet Sail, knew not where he was to land, ſhould now, with ſo ſmall a Number of Troops (for he could only make Uſe of his Cavalry) and in ſo ſhort a Time, dethrone the King of the *Vandals*; diſarm, take Captive; and, together with their King, carry off the whole Nation (8). Thus ſeverely does God exerciſe his Judgments, over crown'd Heads and Nations, who, having no Judge in this World, ought to be the more mindful of him, who rules over them in Heaven.

§ LVIII. *JUSTINIAN*, who, for his Part, was very ready to aſſume the pompous Titles of *Alanicus*, *Vandalicus*, & *Africanus*, appointed, *A.* 534, a *Præfectus Prætorii*, in *Africa* (1). According to the ancient Diviſion of the Kingdom, one Part of *Africa*, namely, *Mauritania Tingitana*, was, as belonging to *Spain*, included in the *Prætorium Galliarum*, and the Reſt, in the *Prætorium Italiæ*. But now the *Goths* poſſeſs'd *Italy* and *Spain*, and the *Franks* were Maſters of *Gaul*, it was thought more proper to appoint a particular *Præfectus Prætorii* over *Africa*. He caus'd ſeveral Cities to be rebuilt, ſome to be fortified, among which was *Ceuta*, and others to be adorn'd with new Edifices (2). *Carthage* and *Adrumetus*, the Capital of *Byzacena*, were, in Honour of him, call'd *Juſtinianæ*, and the City of *Baga*, in the *Provincia Conſularis*, was, from the Empreſs, nam'd *Theodorias*. All the *Roman* Laws and Cuſtoms were reſtor'd (3). The Church, and eſpecially that of *Carthage*, (4) had

Juſtinian's Surnames of Alanicus, Vandalicus, &c.

(7) Procop. *Lib.* 1, *c.* 22.

(8) Procopius *concludes his Account of the* Vandalick *War, with the following Obſervation,* Lib. 2. cap. 7. Quantum eſt, quod quina advenarum millia (tot enim equites, qui ſoli bellum geſſere cum Vandalis, ſecum advexerat Beliſarius) cum portum, in quem appellerent, non haberent, Gizerici abnepotem, ejuſque regnum, divitiis, ac militibus pollens, everterint tam brevi tempore? Mirandum profecto ſeu fortunæ, ſeu virtutis opus.

§ LVIII. (1) *We find this Inſtitute in* Juſtinian's Codex, *under the Title:* de Officio Præfecti Prætorio Africæ. F. Pagius *indeed affirms,* ad A. 534. n. 4. *that it was made,* A. 533: *But from the Inſtitute itſelf, it appears to have been made in the Year* 534, Indictione 12. Emiſſa lex Idib. Aprilis C. P. D. N. Juſtiniano P.P. A. IV. & Paulino V. C. Coſſ.

(2) Procop. *de ædif. L.* 6. *cap.* 5, 6. *ſeq.*

(3) Nov. 36. Ut Afri ea quæ Vandalorum temporibus vel ipſis, vel propriis parentibus, vel avis

(4), had moſt Cauſe to rejoice at this Revolution. A numerous Council was held in that City, *A.* 535(5), and the Churches obtain'd many of the Spoils, that had been taken from the *Arians*. Theſe ſuffer'd now, with the greateſt Rigour, for that Miſery they had before reduc'd the *Catholicks* to. The Exerciſe of their Religion was prohibited, as was that of all other Sects, rejected by the national Church, and they were excluded from all publick Offices (6). *Juſtinian* was indeed, immediately after, forc'd to carry on a much more bloody War, in *Africa*, againſt his own mutinous Soldiers, and againſt the *Mauri*, who had almoſt ſhaken off their Yoke, and taken to themſelves the Dominion of theſe Provinces: But this is foreign to our Subject.

Political Views of the *Catholicks* and *Arians*.

§ LIX. I SHALL only add one Obſervation on the Political Views, both of the *Catholicks* and *Arians*, which, about this Time, had ſo great an Influence on State Affairs. The Populace were perhaps ignorant, with

avis utriuſque ſexus, vel ex tranſverſo cognatis, uſque ad tertium gradum erepta ſunt; intra quinque annorum ſpatium vindicent, niſi legitimis excludantur præſcriptionibus, &c. *and lower:* Ut omnes Afri Romanis legibus ſubditi ſint.

Point, whether the Church in Africa *could appeal to the Pope at* Rome? *which is maintain'd by* Christian Lupus, in Op. de apellationibus ad ſedem Romanam, *and* Marc. Anton. Capellus, *in a particular Treatiſe.*

(4) *There is a remarkable Paſſage in* Juſtinian's *Laws, concerning the* Jus Metropoliticum *of the Biſhop of* Carthage, Nov. 131. c. 4. Simili quoque modo jus Pontificis, quod Epiſcopo Juſtinianæ Carthaginis, Africanæ civitatis, dedimus, ex quo Deus hanc nobis reſtituit, ſervari jubemus. Sed & aliæ civitates, & earum epiſcopi, quibus in diverſis locis metropoliticum jus præſtitum eſt, hujuſmodi privilegio in perpetuum potiantur. *Some Learned Men imagin'd, that the Biſhop of* Carthage *was declared Head of all the Churches in* Africa: *But two Inſtitutes of this Emperor are extant, wherein he confirms the ancient Conſtitution of the Churches in* Africa: Ed. Pith. p. 238. Si quæ igitur metropolitano Carthaginis, vel Primatibus Numidiæ, vel Viſatii, Conciliorum autoritas præſtitit, & inoffenſa Conſuetudo ſervavit, hoc ſibi quiſque optet, ſibi vindicet, hoc noſtra ſperet ſanctione firmari. *But this is not the proper Place to enquire farther into this, nor to diſcuſs the other*

(5) *Of this See* Baronius *ad h. a.*

(6) Nov. 37. Ab Arianis ablata capiunto, ſibique habento eccleſiæ Africæ: ut tamen publicas pro illis penſiones conferant: ab iiſdem acceptis immobilibus a nemine lædendis. Hæreticus non baptizato, ad Rempublicam non accedito, catechumenum non circumcidito. Nulla omnino hæreſis domum aut locum orationis habeto. *This latter is explain'd by a remarkable Paſſage in* Procopius, L. 2. cap. 14. His maxime ad ſeditionem facem Vandali ſacerdotes ſubdebant, frementes ereptam ſibi facultatem vacandi, ut ſoliti erant rei divinæ, & ad myſteria, ſacraque omnia præululſum aditum. Etenim Juſtinianus Aug. Chriſtianis, qui non recte ſentirent, baptiſmate, myſteriiſque omnibus interdixerat. Inprimis feſtum Paſchale eos urebat, quo infantes ſuos divino lavacro mergere, cæteriſque ad feſtum hoc pertinentibus operari prohibebantur.

Regard

Regard to thoſe ſubtle Queries, on which their Teachers were divided (1): But were no leſs zealous for that Party, to which they had once adher'd. The *Arians* were greatly encreas'd, after the *Northern* Nations had founded ſuch mighty Kingdoms. They were likewiſe conniv'd at in the *Roman* Empire; and could even arrive at the *Conſulate*, and other Poſts of Honour. The True-Believers, beſides their Zeal for the Purity of their Faith, maintain'd the Infallibility of that Church, which had condemn'd *Arius*, at the Council of *Nice*. The *Arians*, on the other Hand, had likewiſe a Church Government, Biſhops, Prieſts, and Deacons, and we find the Title of Patriarch among them. They were zealous for their Churches, and a rigid Diſcipline; And thoſe in *Africa*, perſecuted the *Orthodox* Biſhops and Teachers, with great Cruelty. Thus were the ſpiritual and temporal Views of both Parties different. What Wars, what Controverſies did they not occaſion? What Projects have not been form'd by one, to weaken the other? The Cloak of Religion was often made Uſe of, to palliate an Inclination for another's Property. What Revolutions in the State, have there not been ſtir'd up or promoted by theſe Factions? In *Gaul*, the Diſpoſition of the *Catholicks* prov'd advantageous to *Clovis*, in his Wars with the *Burgundians* and *Wiſi-Goths*. In *Africa*, *Hunoric* offer'd a more favourable Treatment to the True-Believers, if they would ſecond *Hilderick*, his Son, in his Pretenſions to the *Vandalick* Throne, which, according to the Laws of the Kingdom, was ſettled on the eldeſt of the Family (2). The *Orthodox Chriſtians* ſometimes proceeded with Lenity. Conferences were held; Converſion was made eaſy to the *Arians*; and as their Baptiſm was, beſides, allow'd to be valid †, ſo neither were their Clergy, if they became Converts, ſo abſolutely rejected *.

§ LIX. (1) *In the Times neareſt after the* Nicene *Council, an explicit Confeſſion τῦ ὁμοσίου was not inſiſted on in the Creed, as* Petavius *obſerves* in Animadverſ. ad Epiphanium, ad hæreſin 72. *and* Pagius ad A. 341. n. 25.

(2) Victor Vitensis, *L.* 4. *p.* 70. Jurate, inquit, ſi poſt obitum Domini noſtri Regis, ejus filium Hilderich deſideretis eſſe Regem, vel ſi nullus veſtrum ad regiones tranſmarinas epiſtolas diriget: quia ſi ſacramentum hujus rei dederitis, reſtituet vos Eccleſiis veſtris.

† *Thoſe* Arians *who became Converts to the* Catholick *Church, needed not to be re-baptiz'd: For after the Confeſſion of their Faith, they only laid their Hands on them, and gave them the* Chriſma. *Of this ſee* F. le Cointe, ad A. 496. n. 81-90.

* *Can.* 10. Conc. Aurelianensis *de A.* 511. De hæreticis clericis, qui ad fidem Catholicam plena fide ac voluntate venerint, vel de baſilicis, quas in perverſitate ſua Gothi hactenus habuerunt, id ſenſuimus obſervari, ut ſi clerici fideliter convertuntur, & fidem Catholicam integre profitentur, vel ita dignam vitam morum & actuum probitate cuſtodiunt, officium quo eos Epiſcopus dignos cenſuerit, cum impoſitæ manus benedictione ſuſcipiant, & Eccleſias ſimili, quo noſtræ innovari ſolent, placuit ordine conſecrari.

They

They endeavour'd to gain young Princes, and by Marriages to promote the Wellfare of the Church. Sometimes they had Recourſes to Compulſion: But then the Heads of the oppoſite Community made Uſe of Repriſals (3); inſomuch that they kept each other in Awe. The Converſion of the *Franks* was, in the *Weſt*, the greateſt Support of the *Catholick* Party: But their Church was very much weaken'd in the *Eaſt*, eſpecially in the Reign of *Anaſtaſius*, by the Controverſies of the *Neſtorians* and *Eutychians*: However, it no ſooner gain'd the Superiority under *Juſtin*, than it began to encreaſe in *Italy* and *Africa*. *Juſtinian* undertook, by Force, to recover the Provinces, and, at the ſame Time, to reſtore the true Religion in them. The Succeſs of his Arms in *Africa* pav'd the Way for him into *Italy*, againſt the *Goths*.

(3) AVITUS *in Ep. de Hæreticorum Oratoriis* ulciſci in Regione ſua ſimiliter velit, quod hic ſa- *non recipiendis, inter Opera, p.* 43. Quid tamen cerdotibus ſuis doluerit irrogari? ſi nunc quiſquam de vicinis Regibus Legis alienæ

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE ANCIENT GERMANS.

BOOK XII.

To the YEAR DL.

SECT. I. THEODEBERT, *King of* Auſtraſia. II. *The Kings of the* Franks *wholly reduce* Burgundy *under their Power.* III. *The Reign and Death of* Athalaric, *King of the* Wiſi-Goths. IV. Amalaſwinth *makes* Theodehat *her Partner in the* Gothick *Throne; and is murder'd by him.* V. Juſtinian *takes, from thence, a Pretence for a War with the* Oſtro-Goths. VI. *Makes a League with the Kings of the* Franks, *for this Purpoſe.* VII. Theodehat's *Negociations with* Juſtinian. Beliſarius *conquers* Sicily, *and goes into* Italy. VIII. *The* Goths *revolt from* Theodehat. Vitiges *is made King. He cauſes* Theodehat *to be murder'd.* IX. *He gives up* Provence, *and a Part of* Rætia, *to the* Franks. X. Rome *ſurrenders to* Beliſarius. XI. Vitiges *lays Siege to* Rome. XII. Beliſarius *depoſes Pope* Sylverius, *and appoints* Vigilius *to ſucceed him.* XIII. *He receives Succours.* Vitiges *ſends Ambaſſadors to the Emperor.* XIV. *The* Imperialiſts *take* Rimini. Ravenna *is in Danger, on which Account* Vitiges *raiſes the Siege of* Rome. XV. Milan *revolts from the* Goths. Theodebert *ſends ſome Thouſands of* Burgundian *Auxiliaries to the* Goths. XVI. Beliſarius *purſues* Vitiges. *The* Goths *reduce* Milan *and the other Cities in* Liguria, *to their Allegiance.* XVII. Vitiges *in vain demands the Aid of the* Longobards. *He prevails on the King of the* Perſians *to*

declare War againſt the Emperor. XVIII. Theodebert's *Expedition into* Italy. *Why* Juſtinian *ſtil'd himſelf* Francicus? XIX. Beliſarius *beſieges* Ravenna. Vitiges *refuſes an Alliance with the* Franks. XX. Juſtinian's *Propoſals for a Peace. The* Goths *offer the Kingdom to* Beliſarius. *He diſſembles with them. The* Goths *ſurrender* Ravenna. XXI. Juſtinian *recalls* Beliſarius. *A Part of the* Goths *chooſe* Ildebad *for their King.* XXII. Beliſarius's *Departure from* Conſtantinople. XXIII. Ildebad *aſſembles the Reſidue of the* Goths. *Beats* Vitalius *near* Trevigo. XXIV. Ildebad *is murder'd.* XXV. *The* Rugi *ſet up* Eraricus *for King:* Totilas *is elected by the* Goths. Eraricus *is murder'd.* XXVI. Childebert *and* Clotarius, *Kings of the* Franks, *go into* Spain *againſt the* Wiſi-Goths. XXVII. *Continuation of the* Gothick *War in* Italy. *The Deſign of the* Imperialiſts *on* Verona. Totilas *defeats them near* Foënza. XXVIII. *He ſends Troops into* Tuſcany. *The Siege of* Florence. *The* Goths *beat the* Imperialiſts *near* Mugello. XXIX. Totilas *paſſes the* Tyber. *Takes* Benevento. *Lays Siege to* Naples. *Recovers* Apulia *and* Calabria. XXX. Juſtinian *conſtitutes* Maximinus Præfectus Prætorii Italiæ. *His Expedition is fruitleſs.* Totilas *takes* Naples. XXXI. *The Emperor ſends* Beliſarius *a ſecond Time into* Italy. XXXII. Totilas *beſieges* Rome. Beliſarius *retreats to* Durazzo, *to be the ſooner re-inforc'd. A Famine in* Rome. XXXIII. Beliſarius's *Projects to relieve* Rome. John, *in the mean Time, conquers* Apulia, *&c.* XXXIV. Beliſarius *endeavours in vain to convey Proviſions into the City.* XXXV. Totilas *takes* Rome. *His Speech to the Senat.* XXXVI. *He propoſes an Accomodation to* Juſtinian: *Pulls down the Walls of* Rome. *Re-takes* Apulia. *Marches to* Ravenna. XXXVII. Beliſarius *enters* Rome, *and cauſes the Walls to be rebuilt.* Totilas *is forc'd to retreat.* XXXVIII. Beliſarius *recall'd from* Italy. *His farther Adventures.* XXXIX. Totilas *takes* Rome *a ſecond Time.* XL. Theodebert, *in the mean Time, takes ſome Places in* Italy. XLI. *His Deſign againſt the Emperor. Particular Medals of him. His Death. He is ſucceeded by his Son* Theodebald. XLII. *The* Bavarians *extend themſelves in* Noricum. *Of their Deſcent, and when they became ſubject to the* Franks?

Theodebert, King of Auſtraſia.

§ I. IN the mean Time, *Theoderic*, King of *Auſtraſia*, died about the Year 534 (1). To what I mention'd before of his ſucceſsful Wars, I muſt here add, that he reduc'd a Part of thoſe *Saxons*, who border'd on the Dominions of the *Franks*, to be tributary to him (*). He was ſuc-

(1) *This Computation is confirm'd by* Pagius ad A. 530. n. 16. *See, towards the Concluſion, Annot.* XXIII.

(*) *This is concluded from a Paſſage in* Gregory: *Lib.* 4. *c.* 14.

ceeded

ceeded by *Theodebert*, his only Son by his firſt Wife. His Kinſmen *Childebert* and *Clotarius* immediately took to Arms, in Hopes of excluding him from the Succeſſion, and dividing *Auſtraſia* betwixt themſelves: But the People adher'd firmly to *Theodebert*, and when he march'd againſt them, with a powerful Army, they left him in the uninterrupted Poſſeſſion of his Father's Kingdom. *Childebert*, in particular, expreſs'd ſoon after ſo tender a Regard for him, that, having no Children himſelf, he promis'd to adopt him as his Son (2). *Theodebert*'s Reign in *Auſtraſia* was as glorious, as that of his Father, and he abundantly recompens'd the Fidelity of his Subjects. The moſt ancient Hiſtorian of the *Franks* ſpeaks as much in Praiſe of his Lenity, and Love of Juſtice (3), as the Wars, he carried on, bear Teſtimony of his Valour.

§ II. CHILDEBERT, *Clotarius*, and *Theodebert* made, the ſame Year †, an entire Conqueſt of *Burgundy* (1). King *Godomar* himſelf was taken Priſoner, and oblig'd to end his Days in that Condition. The Kings of the *Franks* ſhar'd *Burgundy* among them, but ſuffer'd the *Burgundians* to enjoy their Properties, their Laws and Cuſtoms, on Condition, that they ſhould aſſiſt them, for the future, in their Wars, and pay a certain Contribution (2): And indeed the Name, as well as the ancient Cuſtoms, of the *Burgundians* were retain'd in thoſe Countries. The Death of *Athalaric*, King of *Italy*, gave the *Franks*, ſoon after, Occaſion to employ their Arms elſewhere.

The Kings of the *Franks* wholly reduce *Burgundy*, under their Power.
† 534.

(2) GREGOR. *Lib.* 3. *cap.* 23. Conſurgentes Childebertus & Chlotarius, contra Theodebertum regnum ei auferre voluerunt. Sed ille muneribus placatis, a LEUDIBUS ſuis defenſatus eſt, & in regnum ſtabilitus. Videns autem Childebertus, quod ei prævalere non potuiſſet, legationem ad eum miſit, & ad ſe venire præcipit, dicens: Filios non habeo, te tanquam filium habere deſidero. Quo veniente tantis eum muneribus ditavit, ut ab omnibus miraretur. Nam de rebus bonis, tam de armis, quam de veſtibus, vel reliquis ornamentis, quod Regem habere decet, trina ei paria condonavit, ſimiliter & de equis, atque catinis.

(3) GREGORIUS, *L.* 3. *cap.* 25. *Speaks thus in Praiſe of* Theodebert: At ille in Regno firmatus, magnum ſe atque in omni bonitate præcipuum reddidit. Erat enim Regnum cum juſtitia regens, ſacerdotes venerans, Eccleſias munerans, pauperes relevans, & multa multis beneficia, pia ac dulciſſima accommodans voluntate.

§ II. (1) MARIUS *in chron.* PAULINO JUN. Coss. (534) Reges Francorum Childebertus, Clotarius & Theudebertus Burgundiam obtinuerunt, fugato Godomaro Rege, regnum ipſius diviſerunt. Marius's *Computation is confirm'd by* Pagius *ad A.* 532. *n.* 17.

(2) PROCOP. *de Bello Goth. Lib.* 1. *cap.* 13. Deinde Germani cum Burgundionibus, qui ſupererant armis congreſſi, adeptique victoriam, eorum Regem, in caſtellum quoddam regionis illius conjectum, aſſervarunt cuſtodiis: ipſos vero ad obſequium redactos, ſecum in poſterum militare coegerunt, ut bello captorum conditio poſtulabat, & locis omnibus quæ Burgundiones ante coluerant, vectigal impoſuerunt.

The Reign and Death of *Athalaric*.

§ III. Athalaric's Mother had administred the Government to the best of her Power. Pope *Boniface* II, attempted to free the Church of *Rome* from the Necessity of obtaining the Consent of the *Gothick* Kings, at the Papal Elections; and, at a Synod, nominated *Vigilius*, Deacon of the *Roman* Church, for his Successor: But the Court asserted its Prerogative; *Boniface* was oblig'd to ask Pardon; and his Nomination was annull'd at another Synod (1). *Amalaswinth* was greatly perplex'd, when she plainly perceiv'd her Son would not be long liv'd; and that a powerful Faction, among the *Goths*, were disaffected to her. *Procopius* relates, that she enter'd into a Treaty with *Justinian*, in Order to retire into the Imperial Dominions (2). The Emperor treated, at the same Time, with *Theodehat*, a Son of *Amalaberg*, *Theoderic*'s Sister, who possess'd great Estates in *Tuscany*, to assist him in his Design of possessing that Province: For this Prince was disaffected to the Court, because the Queen-Regent insisted upon his restoring certain Lands, which he had, by Oppression, taken from his Neighbours. *Athalaric* died during these Negotiations, A, 534. His Memory is preserv'd by the following Inscription in *Pavia* (3):

† DN. ATALARICUS REX †
GLORIOSISSIMUS HAS
SEDIS SPECTACULI ANNO
REGNI SUI TERTIO FIERI
FELICITER PRÆCEPIT.

Amalaswinth makes *Theodehat* her Partner in the *Gothick* Throne.

§ IV. Amalaswinth was now accustom'd to rule, and desirous of keeping the Helm in her Hands. She was qualify'd for it, in every Respect, and, among other Commendations, is said to have been a perfect Mistress of the *Greek* and *Latin* Tongues. She was, nevertheless, diffident of her Capacity to sway the Scepter alone: She fear'd, the disaffected Party might find it easy to render a female Government odious to the *Goths*, and resolv'd to admit her Kinsman *Theodehat*, whom I have just mention'd, to be her Assistant in the Government; hoping, he would be satisfied with that Honour, and leave her the Sovereign Power. He was advanc'd in Years, and had Children at their full Growth. His natural Temper was more bent on Study, than War: And he was not only acquainted with the *Platonick* Philosophy, but even conversant in Theology. But how expert soever he may perhaps have been in discoursing on the Duty of a Man, and the Art of governing; yet his Philosophy

§ III (1) *See the 9th Annot.*

(2) Procop. *de Bel. Goth. Lib.* 1. *cap.* 3.

(3) *Ap* Gruter. *p.* 168. *n.* 9.

must

muſt have been but weakly grounded in his own Heart. It was but a very bad Preſage of it, that he was ſeveral Times, in the Reign of *Theoderic*, and afterwards in that of *Athalaric*, oblig'd to reſtore the Properties of others, which he had unjuſtly appropriated to his own Uſe. She ſent for him to *Ravenna*, and bound him under an Oath, that, tho' he bore the Title of King, he ſhould do nothing without her. Both *Amalaſwinth* and *Theodehat* notified this Election to the Emperor and Senat at *Rome*: But many, even among the *Goths*, were diſſatisfied with it. The Queen herſelf had ſooneſt Cauſe to repent of her Error, in thinking, by her Benefactions, to amend an evil Diſpoſition. *Theodehat* gain'd all the *Goths*, who had been diſcontented in the late Reign, and made himſelf ſole Maſter of the Adminiſtration, caus'd his Benefactreſs to be impriſon'd, to be carried to an Iſle in the *Lago di Bolſena*, and there, ſome Time after, to be ſtrangled, in her Bath. He ſent *Liberius* and *Opilio*, two Senators, to the Emperor, to juſtify his Proceeding: Tho' *Procopius* ſays, in another Place, that the Empreſs *Theodora* privately inſtigated *Theodehat* to this cruel Act, becauſe the Excellencies, this *Gothick* Princeſs poſſeſs'd, both in Body and Mind, her Extraction, and Deſign of coming to the *Eaſt*, awaked in her too great a Jealouſy with Regard to her Husband (*)

And is murder'd by him.

§ V. JUSTINIAN, who had long form'd a Deſign of recovering *Italy* for the Empire, and had now concluded his War with the *Vandals*, was reſolv'd not to loſe ſo fair an Opportunity. He pretended, that he was oblig'd to revenge the Death of Queen *Amalaſwinth*. *Mundus*, *Magiſter Militiæ per Illyricum*, was order'd to invade *Dalmatia*, and immediately took *Salona* (1): And *Beliſarius*, who was *Conſul*, the ſame Year, ſet Sail with a Fleet. On this Fleet, were no more than ſeven thouſand Men (2): And almoſt three thouſand of theſe were enliſted in *Iſauria*, two hundred were *Hunns*, and three hundred *Mauri*. It was reported, that he was ſent to *Carthage*: But his Orders were to land in *Sicily*, and,

Juſtinian takes, from thence, a Pretence for a War with the *Goths*.

§ IV. (*) *See, towards the Concluſion, the 22d Annot.*

§ V. (1) *The Beginning of the* Gothick *War muſt be plac'd in the Year* 535, *which* Pagius *demonſtrates againſt* Baronius ad A. 535. n. 1-5.

(2) PROCOP. *deſcribes* Beliſarius's *Army, loc. cit. L.* 1. *cap.* 5. Beliſarium quoque Auguſtus cum claſſe miſit, agentem ſecum quatuor militum millia ex numeris militaribus & fœderatis, & Iſauros ter fere mille. Præcipui Duces erant Conſtantinus & Beſſas Thraces; Peranius in Iberia, quæ Medis vicina eſt, e domo Regis Iberum ortus, & ad Romanos jam pridem transfuga, propter inviſos Perſarum mores. Equeſtribus numeris præerant Valentinus, Magnus, & Innocentius: pedeſtribus, Herodianus, Paulus, Demetrius, & Urſicinus: Iſauros ducebat Ennis: Hunni ſocii ſequebantur bis centum, Mauri trecenti.

if

if he met with a ſuitable Opportunity, to conquer that Iſle; but if not, to conceal the Deſign; and continue his Voyage actually to *Africa*.

For this Purpoſe, he enters into a League with the Kings of the *Franks*.

§ VI. JUSTINIAN ſent, at the ſame Time, an Ambaſſy to the Kings of the *Franks*. He intimated to them, that the *Goths* not only took *Italy* by Force from the Empire, but had likewiſe again dealt ſo injuriouſly by him, that he was neceſſitated to take up Arms againſt them: He hop'd, the Kings of the *Franks*, being Princes of the *Orthodox* Church, would not refuſe to join their Force with his, againſt the *Arians*. The Ambaſſadors paid them, at the ſame Time, a Subſidy in Mony, and promis'd to ſecond it with another (1). The Kings of the *Franks* actually declar'd War againſt *Theodehat*, and made Uſe of the ſame Pretence, that they were oblig'd to revenge the Death of *Amalaſwinth*, their near Relation (ſhe being the Daughter of *Clovis*'s Siſter) (2). They might have been apprehenſive, that the Extirpation of the *Goths* would pave a Way for the Emperor into *Gaul*, as the Conqueſt of *Africa* had excited him to an Attempt on *Italy*: But by the Event we ſhall find, that their principal View was to make the beſt Advantage to themſelves of the War they were going to engage in.

Theodehat's Negociations with *Juſtinian*.

§ VII. THEODEHAT endeavour'd, at firſt, to avoid the War, by propoſing amicable Treaties. Pope *Agapetus* was even ſent to *Conſtantinople*

§ VI. (1) PROCOP. *L.* 1. *cap.* 5. *p.* 319. *D. Tum quoque ad Francorum Principes legationem his literis miſit:* Quoniam Gothi non modo Italiam, quam habent, ditioni noſtræ ereptam vi, reſtituere nolunt, ſed injurias etiam nobis nec tolerabiles, impoſuerunt, non laceſſiti; ipſis bellum inferre coacti ſumus. Nobiſcum vos id ſuſcipere convenit, quod commune facit cum germana religio, erroris Ariani expultrix, tum odium, quo æque ut nos diffidetis a Gothis. Hæc ſcripſit Imperator, quibus amplum pecuniæ munus addidit, plura pollicitus daturum ſe, rem aggreſſis. Illi ſocia arma lubentiſſime promiſerunt.

(2) GREGORIUS *ſays, Lib.* 3. *cap.* 31. *that the Kings of the* Franks *only threaten'd a War with* Theodehat. Quod cognoſcentes hi Reges Childebertus & Chlotarius, conſobrini ejus, nec non & Theodebertus, quod ſcilicet tam turpi fuerat interfecta ſupplicio, ad Theodehatum legationem dirigunt, exprobantes de morte ejus, atque dicentes: Si hæc, quæ egiſti, nobiſcum non compoſueris, Regnum Tuum auferemus, & ſimili pœna te damnabimus. *But it actually enſued.* Vitiges, *immediately after his Election, ſpeaks thus,* Procopius *L.* 1. *cap.* 2. Certe ſcitis, Gothorum quam plurimos, ac fere omnem armorum apparatum, in Galliis, Venetiis, & regionibus remotiſſimis eſſe. Præterea cum Francis non leviuſ iſto ſuſceptum habemus bellum: quo non bene compoſito extremæ dementiæ fuerit aliud inchoare. *The Hoſtilities probably began in* Provence. *A Letter in* Caſſiodori Var. XII. 28, *which ſeems to have been written* A. 537, *intimates, that likewiſe ſome Troops of* Burgundians *and* Alemanni *invaded* Liguria, *but were beaten by the* Goths.

§ VIII.

for

for that Purpoſe (1), who to defray the Expences of his Journy, pawn'd ſome of the Plate belonging to St. *Peter's* Church (2). The Senat wrote likewiſe to the Emperor, and begg'd he would not diſtreſs *Italy* with a War. *Theodehat* himſelf made advantageous Propoſals to the Emperor's Ambaſſador at his Court (3), and had almoſt reſolv'd to reſign his Throne voluntarily †: But the *Goths* being in the mean Time, ſucceſsful in *Dalmatia*, he took Heart, and refus'd to give any farther Ear to his own Propoſals. *Beliſarius* landed, on the other Hand, at *Catanea*, and the Cities of that Iſland open'd their Gates to him, with joyful Acclamations: For *Theoderic*, to oblige the *Romans*, had ſtation'd but few *Goths* in *Sicily*, which was ſtill regarded as the Granary of *Italy* (4). The *Goths*, in *Palermo*, attempted to oppoſe him; but were ſoon oblig'd to ſurrender. *Theodehat* had ſent *Ebremuth*, his Son in Law, to *Reggio*, on the Streight of *Sicily*, to keep *Beliſarius* from landing in *Italy*. He likewiſe offer'd to the Kings of the *Franks* that Country

§ VII. (1) LIBERATUS DIACONUS *in Breviario, cap.* 21. Quo tempore Theodatus Rex Gothorum ſcribens ipſi Papæ, & Senatui Romano interminatus non ſolum Senatores, ſed & uxores, & filios, filiaſque, ſe gladio interemturum, niſi egiſſent apud Imperatorem, ut deſtinatum exercitum ſuum de Italia ſubmoveret. Sed Papa pro eadem cauſa Conſtantinopolin profectus eſt. *In* Caſſiodori Var. L. 11. cap. 13. *we find a Memorial, which was about this Time ſent to the Emperor, in the Name of the* Roman *Senat, about obtaining a Peace with the* Goths, *and was, it ſeems, ſent by the Hands of Pope* Agapetus.

(2) VAR. *Lib.* 12. *ep.* 20.

(3) *It may be worth while to quote from* Procopius l. c. *the Offers* Theodehat *at firſt made.* Tandem convenit, ut omni Sicilia Theodatus Juſtiniano Aug. cederet: ad ipſum quotannis, coronam mitteret auream, trecentum pondo, ac ter mille bellatores Gothos, quando collibitum eidem eſſet: ne liceret Theodato Sacerdotum quemquam, aut Senatorum, privare vita, vel ejus bona publicare, niſi de Imperatoris ſententia: Si quos e ſubditis ad Patriciatum provehere vel in Senatum legere vellet: id illis ne daret ipſe; verum peteret ab Imperatore: in ſpectaculis ac ludis Circenſibus, & ubicunque fauſtis populi Romani acclamationibus locus eſt, primum Juſtiniano Aug. ſemper acclamaretur, deinde Theodato; huic nunquam ſoli ſtatua ex ære aliave materia poneretur, at utrique ſemper, & eo quidem ordine, ut quæ exprimeret Imperatorem, dexteram; quæ Theodatum, ſiniſtram obtineret.

† IDEM *L. c. Among* Caſſiodorus's *Letters, we likewiſe find many, which were wrote to the Emperor and Empreſs by* Theodehat *and* Gudelinda, *his Conſort.*

(4) Totilas *afterwards reproaches the* Romans *with this; in Procopius loc. cit. Lib.* 3. 16. Quamobrem Romani Theodericum ipſo initio rogarunt, inſulæ frequens Gothorum præſidium imponere nollet, ne ipſorum libertati felicitatique officeret. Eo loci res erat, quando hoſtilis exercitus in Siciliam appulit numero rebuſque omnibus nobis impar. Siculi, conſpecta claſſe, non id Gothis renunciarunt, non ſe commiſerunt munitionibus, non hoſtem repellere decreverunt: ſed promptiſſime, patefactis urbium portis, inimicas nobis copias porrectis manibus acceperunt; jamdiu, infideliſſimorum mancipiorum ritu, aucupati, ut opinor, occaſionem, evadendi fuga ex herili manu, & novos ignotoſque ſibi Dominos nanciſcendi. Inde hoſtes, tanquam ex propugnaculo erumpentes, univerſam labore nullo occuparunt Italiam, & hac potiti urbe, tantum ex Sicilia advexerunt frumenti numerum, ut Romanis omnibus anno integro, quo obſeſſi fuere, ſuffecerit.

which

which the *Goths* poſſeſs'd in *Gaul*, together with a conſiderable Sum of Mony, if they would quit the *Imperial* Party and enter into Alliance with him (5): But his Son-in-Law himſelf join'd the *Græcians*, and was created *Patricius* by the Emperor (6). *Beliſarius* therefore landed
A. 536. in *Italy* without Reſiſtance †, after having left a Garriſon in *Palermo* and *Syracuſa*; and boaſted, in every Place, that he came to free *Italy* (7). He met with good Succeſs in *Calabria* and *Apulia*, where the *Goths* had no Garriſon: Upon which he march'd into *Campania*. The *Goths* were pretty numerous in *Naples*, and had many Adherents among the Citizens. They depended therefore on a Siege: But *Beliſarius* took the Place by Storm, and gave it a Prey to the Soldiers, the more to terrify thoſe Cities which perhaps intended to adhere firmly to the *Goths*.

The *Goths* revolt from *Theodehat*, &c.

§ VIII. THEODEHAT had before incurr'd the Odium of the People, and, now that his Son-in-Law had aſſociated himſelf to the *Greeks*, was ſuſpected of carrying on a private Intelligence with the Enemy. The Chiefs of the Army aſſembled near *Terracina*, declar'd him unworthy of the Throne, and, in his Room, elected *Vitiges* (1), their principal Field-Officer, who had formerly acquir'd great Renown in War. They immediately plac'd him, according to ancient Cuſtom, on a Shield, and proclaim'd him King (2). *Theodehat* no ſooner heard this News, than he fled from *Rome* towards *Ravenna*; but was overtaken and kill'd by ſome of

(5) PROCOP. *Lib.* 1. *c.* 13. *p.* 345. *C.*

(6) IDEM, *Lib.* 1. *c.* 8. *p.* 326. *D.* E Gothis Ehrimuth, gener Theodati, cujus filiam Theodenantham uxorem duxerat, cum omni ſuo comitatu ad Beliſarium transfugit, & ſtatim ad Imperatorem profectus, præter honores alios, Patritii dignitatem obtinuit.

(7) IDEM, *Lib.* 1. *c.* 8. p. 327. *D.* Ergo miſſum ad vos, ceteroſque Italos in libertatem vindicandos, exercitum Imperatoris accipite.

§ VIII (1) *Of this ſee Annot.* 22.

(2) *In* CASSIODORI VARIAR. *Lib.* 10. *ep.* 31. *We find the* Manifeſto, *wherein* Vitiges *notifies to the* Gothick *Nation his Promotion to the Throne. The Compariſon he makes of his Promotion with the Proceedings, when* Athalaric *and* Theodehat *were nominated Kings, ſufficiently ſhews, that he diſapproved thereof.* Unde auctori noſtro Chriſto gratias humillima ſatisfactione referentes, indicamus, parentes noſtros Gothos inter procinctuales gladios, more majorum ſcuto ſuppoſito, regalem nobis contuliſſe, præſtante Deo, dignitatem; ut honorem arma darent, cujus opinionem bella pepererant. Non enim in cubilis auguſtiis, ſed in campis late patentibus electum me eſſe noveritis: nec inter blandientium delicata colloquia, ſed tubis concrepantibus ſum quæſitus: ut tali fremitu concitatus, deſiderio virtutis ingenitæ, Regem ſibi Martium Geticus populus inveniret. Quamdiu enim fortes viri, inter bella ferventia nutriti, Principem ferre poterant non probatum, ut de ejus fama laborarent, quamvis de propria virtute præſumerent? Neceſſe eſt enim, talem de cunctis opinionem currere, qualem gens meruit habere rectorem. Nam ſicut audire potuiſtis, parentum periculis evocatus adveneram, communem cum omnibus ſubire fortunam: Sed illi ducem me ſibi eſſe

of *Vitiges*'s Men (3). The new King haſtned to *Rome*, where *Theodegiſclus*, *Theodehat*'s Son, fell into his Hands: He then went to *Ravenna*, to regulate the new Government. He left *Leuderis*, a valiant Commander, in whoſe Experience he greatly confided, with four thouſand *Goths*, in Garriſon at *Rome*. Pope *Sylverius*, the Senat and Citizens were oblig'd to ſwear Allegiance to him (4), and many Senators were fore'd to attend him, as Hoſtages, to *Ravenna*. Here he put away his former Wife, and oblig'd the Princeſs *Mataſwinth*, *Amalaſwinth*'s Daughter, to ſupply her Place (5), that, by this Alliance to *Theoderic*'s Family, he might render his Government more agreable to the *Goths* in general: But the Princeſs herſelf, for what Reaſon does not appear, ſhew'd a perpetual Averſion to him. The Treaſures, which *Theoderic* had amaſs'd in the Iſle in the *Lago di Bolſena*, and in *Orvieto*, were by him expended in putting his Nation into a vigorous Poſture of Defence: But he, however, ſent an Ambaſſy to *Juſtinian*, with whom he had been well acquainted, before his Acceſſion to the Imperial Throne. He entreated him, ſince *Amalaſwinth*'s Death was reveng'd on *Theodehat*, and her Daughter was plac'd on the *Gothick* Throne, to lay down his Arms, and to reſtore the good Underſtanding, that had before ſubſiſted betwixt the two States (6).

§. IX.

eſſe non paſſi ſunt, qui exercitatum Regem quærere videbantur. Quapropter primum divinæ gratia, deinde Gothorum favete judiciis: qui me Regem omnes facitis, qui unanimiter vota confertis.

(3) Theodehat *was murder'd*, A. 536, *and, at ſooneſt, after the Expiration of* June. Pagius *ad n.* 11. *Of the Place ſee* Cont. Marcellini, *ad A. Poſt Conſul. Beliſarii*: (536) In loco, qui dicitur Quintus, juxta Santernum fluvium.

(4) Procop. *L.* 1. *cap.* 11. *p.* 339. Deinde Sylverium, urbis antiſtitem, Senatum populumque Romanum multis idem commonefecit, reductoque in memoriam regno Theoderici omnes hortatus eſt, ut Gothorum genti præſtarent, benevolentiam ſibique eorum fidem graviſſimo Sacramento devinxit.

(5) Idem *Lib.* 1. *cap.* 11. *p.* 339. Eo cum perveniſſet, Mathaſunthàm, Amalaſunthæ filiam, maturam jam viro virginem, invitam duxit in matrimonium, ut certius ſibi regnum aſſereret hoc intimo nexu cum ſtirpe Theoderici.

(6) *This the Letter directed to* Juſtinian, *in* Caſſiodor. Var. X. 22. *ſhews*: Nam ſi vindicta Regis Theobaldi quæritur, mereor diligi: ſi commendatio divæ memoriæ Amalaſuenthæ Reginæ præ oculis habetur, ejus debet filia cogitari, quam niſus veſtrorum omnium perducere decuiſſet ad regnum: ut cunctæ gentes potuiſſent agnoſcere, vicifſitudinem vos gratiæ tanto pignori reddidiſſe. Illud etiam vos debuit permovere, quod diſtributione mirabili ante regni faſtigia invicem nos divinitas veſtra fecit habere notitiam, ut amoris cauſam tribueret, quibus aſpectus gratia contuliſſet. Quali enim reverentia Principem colere potui, quem adhuc in illâ fortuna poſitum ſuſpexi?

And to the Magiſter officiorum *at the Imperial Court, he writes in the following Letter*: Refugere vos enim potuiſſet ignotus: ego autem, qui ornatum Reipublicæ veſtræ vidi, qui tot nobilium corda procerum cognovi, non me deſidero a piiſſimi

He resigns, to the *Franks*, the Country, which the *Ostro-Goths* possess'd in *Gaul*, &c.

§ IX. And as he found, that the *Goths* in *Provence* would be of no Service to him in *Italy*, and unable to resist the *Franks*, he concluded the Treaty, begun by *Theodebat*; and, besides the Payment of the Sum stipulated, resign'd to the *Franks* whatever the *Ostro-Goths* had till then possess'd in *Gaul*, between the *Alps*, the *Rhone*, and the *Mediterranean* (1), together with that Part of *Rætia* (2), which *Theoderic*, King of the *Goths*, had granted to those *Alemanni*, who, after having been defeated by *Clovis*, took their Refuge to him (3). The three Kings, *Theoderic*, *Childebert*, and *Clotharius*, divided these Countries among themselves: and promis'd, in Return, to send him Auxiliaries of the *German* Nations under their Dominion, since they could not themselves appear publickly in the Field, by Reason of their Alliance with the Emperor. *Procopius* relates, that *Justinian* confirm'd this Grant to the Kings of the *Franks*; and adds several other Circumstances, that require farther Examination (4). We may, with most Probability, conclude; that *Childebert* and *Clotharius* had their Share in *Provence*. Medals are extant of *Clotharius*, which were struck at *Arles*, and others of *Childebert*, coin'd

simi Principis gratia dividere, si me velit, quæ sunt justa cogitare. Nam si alter offensam meruit, ego debeo gratissimus haberi, qui odioso cum vindicta successi. Vestros animos sum secutus, præmia mihi fuerant reddenda, non læsio. Ep. 24. *and* 25. *relate likewise to this Ambassy.*

§ IX. (1) Procop. *Lib.* 1. *c.* 13. *p.* 346. *C.* Ergo mittuntur statim ad Germanos Legati, qui illis Gallia cedant, datoque auro componant societatem. Tunc Reges Francorum erant Childebertus, Theodebertus, & Chlotharius: qui traditam sibi Galliam, ac pecuniam, inter se pro cujuscunque Regni proportione diviserunt, promiserunque, se Gothis amicissimos fore, & auxilia missuros clam, non Francorum, sed nationum quibus imperarent. Nec vero poterant adversus Romanos societatem coire palam, Imperatori in hoc bello operam paulo ante polliciti.

(2) *To* Procopius's *Account we must add a Passage in* Agathias, *relating to the giving up of* Rætia, *and the Surrender made to the* Alemanni: *He says, Lib.* 1. *p.* 17. *D.* Gothi Francorum captantes gratiam, ut quorum amicitiam summe expeterent, tum alia loca deservere, tum etiam Alemannis abstiterunt, &c. *And soon after:* Hunc in modum desertam gentem Alemannorum sibi subdidit Theodebertus, eoque mortuo ad filium ejus cum cæteris populis hi quoque pervenerunt. *This Passage of* Agathias *is illustrated by* F. Daniel, *T.* 1. *p.* 90.

(3) *See above L.* 11. § VIII. *not.* 6.

(4) Procop. *Lib.* 3. *cap.* 33. *D.* Belli hujus initio, Gothi, ut in libris dixi superioribus, tota Galliæ parte sibi subdita, Germanis cesserant, illis ac Romanis resistere, si simul non posse rati. Quod ne fieret, adeo non impedire Romani potuerunt; ut Justinianus Augustus id confirmaverit; ne ab his Barbaris, si hostiles animos induerent, turbaretur. Nec vero Franci Galliarum possessionem sibi certam ac stabilem fore putabant, nisi illam Imperator suis literis comprobavisset. Ex eo tempore Germanorum Reges Massiliam, Phocensium coloniam, ac maritima loca omnia, adeoque illius maris imperium, obtinuerunt. Jamque Arelate Circensibus præsident, & nummos cudunt ex auro Gallico, non Imperatoris, ut fieri solet, sed sua impressos effigie. Monetam quidem argenteam Persarum Rex arbitratu suo cudere consuevit: auream vero, neque ipsi, neque alii cuipiam Barbarorum Regi, quamvis auri domino, vultu proprio signare licet: quippe ejusmodi moneta commercio vel ipsorum Barbarorum excluditur.

at

at *Marſeilles*. *Theodebert* obtain'd that Part of *Rætia* which the *Goths* reſign'd. Thus the *Franks* became Maſters of the whole Nation of the *Alemanni*. The two valiant Commanders and Brothers, *Leuthairis* and *Bucelinus* ſoon after reviv'd the Name of their warlike Country-Men in *Italy* (5). *Leuthairis*, in particular, merits our Notice; as the ſucceeding Dukes of *Alemannia*, who gave Riſe to the illuſtrious Houſe of *Habſburg-Auſtria* (6), were deſcended from him.

§ X. BELISARIUS left Garriſons in *Naples* and *Cuma*, the two only fortify'd Places in *Campania* (1), and march'd directly towards *Rome*. The *Romans* perhaps fear'd the ſame Fate with the Inhabitants of *Naples*, or many might be diſguſted with the *Gothick* Dominion, and therefore reſolv'd to ſurrender to the *Imperialiſts*. To this the urgent Perſuaſions of *Sylverius* greatly contributed. A Deputation was therefore ſent to meet *Beliſarius*, and to treat about the Surrender (2). The *Goths*, whom *Vitiges* had left at *Rome*, could not, under theſe Circumſtances, pretend to defend the City, and ſo capitulated only for a ſafe Retreat. Thus *Beliſarius* enter'd *Rome*, on the 9th of *December*, A. 536, at the *Porta-Aſinaria*, and the *Goths* march'd out, the ſame Day, at the *Porta Flaminia* (3). *Leuderis*, their Commander, imagining the *Gothick* State to be totally ſubverted, remain'd there, and was oblig'd to go to *Conſtantinople*, when *Beliſarius* ſent the Keys of the City to the Emperor. This General now ſent *Conſtantinus* to *Toſcana*: But *Beſſas*, one of thoſe *Goths* (4) who

Rome ſurrenders to *Beliſarius*.

(5) AGATHIAS: Fratres hi erant gente Alemanni, ſed apud Francos eximie honorati, quippe & ſuæ nationis Duces pridem facti, Theudeberto volente.

(6) ECKARD. *Hiſt. Fr. Or. p.* 68. *& in Originibus Habsburgo-Auſtriacis.*

§ X. (1) PROCOP. *L.* 1. *c.* 14. *p.* 347. *A.* Dum hæc agit Vitigis, interea Beliſarius, Romam cogitans, profectionem parat. Itaque trecentis militibus, e peditatu delectis, præfectoque Herodiano, Neapolin credidit. Quot etiam Cumanæ arci cuſtodiendæ ſuffecturos putavit, tot eo miſit: cum in Campania, præter Cumas & Neapolim, nullus eſſet munitus locus.

(2) PROCOPIUS, *L.* 1. *c.* 14. *p.* 347. *B.* Interea exercitum Beliſario, Romani, calamitatem Neapolitanæ ſimilem veriti, re perpenſa, ſatius eſſe judicarunt Imperatoris copias in urbem accipere: eos ad id maxime impellente Sylverio, Civitatis Pontifice. Mox Fidelium, Mediolano, urbe Liguriæ oriundum, qui prius Atalarici Aſſeſſor fuerat, (hæc dignitas lingua Romana dicitur Quæſtor) ad Beliſarium legant, eumque Romam hoc invitant promiſſo, citra pugnam ſe urbem ſe dedituros.

(3) IDEM, *p.* 348. *M.* Gothi vero, qui Romæ præſidium agitabant, cum adventare hoſtem audiſſent; nec lateret eos Romanorum conſilium, ex eo valde erant ſolliciti, quod urbem tueri, & accedentibus repugnare minime poterant. Inde poſtmodum, cum bona Romanorum venia, profecti, conceſſerunt omnes Ravennam; excepto Leuderi ipſorum Duce; quem, ut opinor, præſentis fortunæ timor ibi tenuit. Illa die evenit,

(4) who remain'd in *Thrace* when *Theoderic* went to *Italy*, took *Narni*. The *Goths* were likewiſe overcome in a Battle near *Peruſia*. *Vitiges* now repented his Departure from *Rome*: He diſpatch'd *Aſinarius*, and *Uligiſalus* to *Dalmatia*, to oppoſe the *Imperialiſts* there, and with the whole Remainder of his Force, which, according to *Procopius*, conſiſted of 150,000 Men, march'd thro' the Country of *Sabina* towards *Rome*.

Vitiges beſieges *Rome*.

§ XI. THE Soldiers, who were to cover the Bridge over the *Tyber*, were ſo terrified, that they fled, and ſuffer'd the *Goths* to paſs unmoleſted over the River. *Vitiges* could not inveſt the whole City, and therefore divided his Army into ſix Bodies, and encamp'd them (1) round that Part of it which reaches from the *Porta Præneſtina* to the *Porta Flaminia*; and likewiſe block'd up the Bridge, which is there laid over the *Tyber* †; ſo that the *Goths* could ſend out Parties, unmoleſted, as far as the *Porta Aurelia*, now St. *Peter*'s (2). They had Recourſe to all the Arts, then made Uſe of in Sieges; they cut off the Aqueducts, and erected Towers and battering Rams againſt the Walls: But *Beliſarius*, on his Part, had provided every Inſtrument of Defence, ſuch as Croſs-Bows, Slings, and whatever could reſiſt a Storm: When the *Goths* approach'd with their Towers, the Bullocks, which drew them, were kill'd with Arrows, and thoſe Preparations thereby render'd uſeleſs. The *Goths* tried all poſſible Stratagems and Force, to ſcale ſometimes one Gate, ſometimes another. *Procopius* relates, that the *Imperialiſts* and *Goths* encounter'd 69 ſeveral Times during this Siege (3); chiefly, indeed, only in Skirmiſhes, but ſometimes in capital Engagements. The *Imperialiſts* had this great Advantage, that as well *Beliſarius*'s Cavalry, as the *Hunns*, were excellent Archers: Whereas the *Gothick* Archers were all Infantry, and the Troopers bore only a Spear and Sword, and were conſequently of no Service, unleſs they came to a cloſe Engagement (4): But a Want of Proviſions, on the

† *Ponte mole.*

ut quo tempore Romam Beliſarius cum Imperatoris exercitu per portam, quam Aſinariam vocant, intrabat, eodem inde Gothi per aliam, quæ Flaminia appellatur, exceſſerint. Atque ita recepta eſt Roma die IX Decembris, anno poſtquam capta fuerat ſexageſimo, qui fuit XI imperii Juſtiniani. Tum Leuderin, Gothorum Ducem, & portarum claves, ad Imperatorem Beliſarius miſit.

(4) IDEM *L.* 1. *c.* 16. *p.* 351. *C.* Erat hic Beſſas natione Gothus, ex eorum ſtirpe, qui in Thracia jam diu habitabant, nec Theodoricum ſecuti fuerunt, inde Gothos in Italiam ducentem. Animo impigro ac bellica virtute præditus, optime ductabat milites, & res dextere per ſe ipſe agebat.

§ XI. (1) *The Siege was begun in* March 537. *Conf.* PAGIUS *ad A.* 538. *n.* 2. *ſeq.*

(2) PROCOPIUS, *L.* 1. *c.* 19. *p.* 358.

(3) IDEM *L.* 2. *c.* 2. *p.* 393. *A.* Sunt autem patrata in hac obſidione certamina LXVII. aliaque poſtrema duo, de quibus dicam poſtea.

(4) PROCOP. *L.* 1. *c.* 27. *A.* Hoc demum differre, quod Romani ferme omnes, Hunnique, eorum

the other Hand, was a great Diſcouragement to the *Romans*, eſpecially after the *Goths* were Maſters of *Porta*. The People, and many of the Senators, made publick Complaints of the Emperor's Neglect (5), in making no better Preparations.

Beliſarius depoſes Pope *Sylverius*.

§ XII. ABOUT the ſame Time, an odd Revolution happen'd at *Rome*. *Vigilius*, a *Roman* by Birth, who had already, in the Time of *Boniface*, diſcover'd his Ambition for the Papal Chair, was at the Imperial Court at *Conſtantinople*, in the Quality of *Sylverius*'s Surrogate. He offer'd the Empreſs, *Theodora*, two hundred Pounds of Gold, if ſhe would aſſiſt in raiſing him to that Dignity; and promis'd, with Regard to the religious Controverſies of thoſe Times, to enter into Meaſures with the Court for bringing them to an immediate Determination. *Theodora* employ'd *Beliſarius* in this Affair, who under the Pretence, that *Sylverius* ſided with the *Goths*, depos'd and baniſh'd him into the Iſle of *Patara*: And *Vigilius* was nominated his Succeſſor (1). *Antonina*, *Beliſarius*'s Wife, not only receiv'd the promis'd Sum of Mony, but likewiſe engag'd *Vigilius* to grant a Brief to the Patriarchs of *Alexandria*, *Conſtantinople*, and *Antioch*, in ſuch Terms as the Empreſs required (2). It is uncertain, whether *Sylverius* really bore an Affection to the *Goths*: He gave at leaſt no Proofs of it at firſt, when, as *Procopius* relates, he was the Chief to excite the *Romans* to open their Gates to the *Imperialiſts*. Several Senators were likewiſe baniſh'd the City, on Suſpicion of holding a ſecret Intelligence

rum ſocii, equites, ſagittarii ſint peritiſſimi; huic autem arti Gothorum nemo operam dederit. Sed horum equites haſtis tantum & gladiis uti ſolent: ſagittarii vero pedibus pugnant, ordinibus protecti militum gravioris armaturæ. Quamobrem equites, niſi pugnetur cominus, quoniam armis carent, quæ adverſus hoſtes ſagittarios valeant, facile confixi cadunt: nec pedites unquam in equites incurſiones facere poſſunt. Propterea Beliſarius a Romanis victos in his congreſſibus Barbaros affirmabat.

(5) IDEM, *L.* 1. *c.* 19. *p.* 365. *D.* Populus vero Romanus, incommodorum belli obſidioniſque omnino inſolens, cum & illuvie & annonæ penuria premeretur, atque in muris cogeretur excubare pervigil, ac venturam brevi urbem putaret in poteſtate hoſtium, a quibus interea agros cæteraque omnia vaſtari videbat; graviter commotus indignabatur, quod immerens obſideretur, & in tantum diſcrimen veniret. Quare collecti cives, aperte Beliſario maledicebant; quod ab Imperatore minoribus, quam per eſſet, copiis inſtructus, non dubitaſſet bellum ſuſcipere Gothicum, &c.

§ XII. (1) Vigilius *was ordain'd*, Nov. 22. A. 537. Pagius ad A. 538. n. 6. *And* Sylverius *died thereupon* June 20. 538. Idem ad A. 539. n. 3. *What I have here obſerv'd concerning him, is more circumſtantially related by* Card. Noriſius in Hiſt. Synodi, &c; *and by* F. Pagius.

(2) *This Brief is met with in* Liberatus. Baronius *imagines it to be fictitious*; *which* Pagius *refutes*, ad A. 538. n. 7. ſeq.

gence

gence with the *Goths* (3). *Vigilius* found his new Pontificat a very arduous Office, as well with Regard to the Church, as to the State of *Italy*, and of the City of *Rome*, in particular.

He receives Succours, &c.

§ XIII. Some Succours arriv'd, at length, at *Naples*: And *Beliſarius* manag'd Matters ſo well, that he got them ſafely into *Rome*, partly by the Way of *Oſtia*, on the *Tyber*, and partly by Land (1). The *Goths*, on the contrary, were diſtreſs'd by Famine, which ſoon produc'd various Diſeaſes. That Year prov'd a barren one, throughout all *Italy* †: And the *Goths* had beſides no Force at Sea, ſo that when the Fleet arriv'd at *Naples*, the *Imperialiſts* became Maſters of the Gulph, and cut off all the Avenues to their Camp (2). *Vitiges* enter'd into Negociations with *Beliſarius*. The Death of the Queen *Amalaſwinth* was now no longer mention'd on the Imperial Part; they only pleaded, that the *Goths* had, by unjuſt Means, obtain'd the Poſſeſſion of *Italy*. *Vitiges* offer'd to leave *Sicily*, the *Bruttii* and *Napoli* to the Emperor, and even to pay a Tribute: But *Beliſarius* rejected all Propoſals, unleſs the *Goths* entirely quited *Italy*. They concluded, at Length, that *Vitiges* might ſend Ambaſſadors to *Conſtantinople*, to negociate with the Emperor himſelf, and a Truce of three Months was, for that Purpoſe, agreed on. During this Time, the Famine encreas'd among the *Goths*, inſomuch that, for Want of Proviſions, they were oblig'd to quit *Porto*, *Centum Cellæ* (now *Civita Vecchia*) and *Alba*. The three Months expir'd, without any Anſwer from *Conſtantinople*. Now *Vitiges* indeed redoubled his Vigour and Cunning, to make himſelf at laſt Maſter of *Rome*: But an unexpected Diverſion oblig'd him even to raiſe the Siege (*).

The *Imperialiſts* take *Rimini*, &c.

§ XIV. *BELISARIUS* had ſent an Order to General *John*, a Siſter's Son of *Vitalian*, who, in former Times, had been in great Renown, to make an Incurſion into *Picenum*, with two thouſand ſelect Horſemen,

(3) Procop. *L.* 1. *c.* 25. *p.* 374. *C.* Cum autem eſſet ſuſpicio, Sylverium, Urbis Antiſtitem, cum Gothis proditionem moliri; confeſtim eum relegavit in Græciam, ac Vigilium paulo poſt ad Pontificatum provexit. Quoſdam etiam Senatores eandem ob cauſam in exilium miſſos, deinde poſt ſolutam obſidionem, diſceſſumque hoſtium, reſtituit. In eo fuit numero Maximus, cujus progenitor Maximus, Valentiniano Aug. interitum attulit. *The Fidelity of this* Maximus *to the* Goths *is commended by* Theodehat, Var. *L.* 10. *ep.* 2.

§ XIII. (1) Procop. *L.* 2. *c.* 5. *and* 7.

† *This is confirm'd, by ſome Letters in* Caſſiodori Var. *L.* 12. *ep.* 26, 27, 28.

(2) Procop. *L.* 2. *c.* 7. *p.* 405. *A.* Barbaros ad victus penuriam redegerunt maxime Romani, qui ſic mari dominabantur, ut nihil annonæ ad ipſos inferri ſinerent.

* Procop. *L.* 2. *c.* 4. & 7.

after

after the Expiration of the Truce. Now when the Hoſtilities before *Rome* were renew'd, *John* defeated *Ulitheus*, the *Gothick* General, a Kinſman of *Vitiges*, who attempted to oppoſe his March, and proceeded, without making any Stay at *Oſimo* or *Urbino*, in both which Cities were Garriſons of *Goths*, directly for *Rimini*, but a Day's Journy diſtant from *Ravenna*: Foreſeing that, when the *Goths* ſhould find the Capital of their Kingdom in Danger, they would ſoon be glad to quit *Rome*. The *Goths*, who were at *Rimini*, found the ancient Inhabitants to be of the *Imperial* Party, and therefore retreated to *Ravenna*; whereupon the latter very readily ſubmitted to *John*. Even Queen *Mathaſwinth*, who yet bore a great ill Will to her Husband, enter'd privately into very remarkable Negociations with him (1). *Vitiges*, in this Extremity, having no Anſwer from the Ambaſſadors in the *Eaſt*, and the Famine becoming daily more and more inſupportable, rais'd the Siege, in the Month of *March*, A. 538, after it had laſted a Year and nine Days. *Beliſarius* made a Sally upon them on their Retreat, in which many were cut in Pieces, and many driven into the *Tyber*. *Vitiges* was now ſollicitous how to prevent *Beliſarius* and *John* from joining: And in Order thereto, he plac'd Garriſons in *Orvieto*, *Chiuſi*, *Ceſena*, *Monteferetro*, and other Places, re-inforc'd thoſe of *Oſimo* and *Urbino*, and went himſelf to *Rimini* (2).

§ XV. But a freſh Flame aroſe, at the ſame Time, on the other Side of the *Po*: *Datius*, Biſhop of *Milan*, and ſome of the moſt eminent Perſons of that City, had, during the Truce, been at *Rome*, and intimated to *Beliſarius*, that at the firſt Appearance of the *Imperial* Arms they could not only cauſe the Capital, but likewiſe all *Liguria* to ſubmit to the Emperor (1). The *Goths* had no ſooner quitted *Rome*, than *Beliſarius* ſent *Mundila*, a valiant Officer, with about 1000 Men, thither. They went by Sea from *Porto* to *Genua*; and from thence to *Pavia*, which Place being fortified by Nature, many of the *Goths* had depoſited their beſt Effects there. This City they did not venture to attack: But *Milan* readily ſurrender'd, and was follow'd by *Bergamo*, *Como*, *Novara* and other Cities. *Vitiges* ſent *Uraja*, his Siſter's Son, with a conſider-

Milan revolts from the *Goths*.

§ XIV. (1) PROCOP. *L.* 2 *c.* 10. *p.* 411. *B.* Mathaſuntha vero Vitigis uxor, cum graviter eſſet marito infenſa, quod principio per vim ei juncta tori conſortio fuiſſet, ut Joannem Ariminum veniſſe reſciit, gaudio cumulata, per occultum internuntium de nuptiis & proditione colloqui cum eo cœpit.

(2) IDEM, *L.* 2. *c.* 10 & 11.

§ XV. (1) PROCOP. *L.* 2. *c.* 7. *p.* 406. *B.* Sub idem tempus Mediolanenſis Antiſtes Datius, ac cives primarii, cum Romam veniſſent, a Beliſario modicum petiere præſidium, ſatis virium ſibi fore aſſeverantes ad eripiendum Gothis nullo negotio, vindicandumque Imperatori non modo Mediolanum, ſed Liguriam quoque univerſam. Pagius ad A. 538. n. 22. *endeavours to fix the Time when* Datius *went to* Rome.

able

able Number of Troops to *Liguria*. The *Franks* could likewiſe no longer behold the Succeſs of the *Imperial* Arms, with Indifference, but began to think, at laſt, of performing their Engagements with *Vitiges*. *Theodebert*, King of *Auſtraſia* (2), ſuffer'd therefore 10,000 *Burgundians* to march into *Italy* *, (as it were of their own Accord, for he was ſtill unwilling to come to a Rupture) where they aſſiſted the *Goths* in beſieging *Milan*.

* *A.* 538.

Beliſarius purſues *Vitiges*.
† *A.* 538.

§ XVI. *BELISARIUS* had left *Rome*, about the End of *June* †, with the Reſolution of purſuing *Vitiges* and relieving *Rimini*. *Todi* and *Chiuſi* ſurrender'd without Oppoſition; and the *Gothick* Garriſons were tranſported to *Sicily* and *Napoli* (1). He was join'd at *Firmo* by an Eunuch, nam'd *Narſes*, who, by his Magnanimity and Valour, acquir'd a Renown, equal to that of the moſt famous Heroes. He was the Emperor's Chief-Treaſurer and particular Confident. He had brought 5000 Men to *Italy*, 2000 of which were *Heruli*. *Vitiges* did not, however, wait for *Beliſarius*, but retreated to *Ravenna*. *Beliſarius* thereupon beſieg'd *Urbino*. The Garriſon was oblig'd, towards the Concluſion of the Year, to capitulate, and enter into the *Imperial* Service (2). *John* took *Forum Cornelii*, (now *Imole*), and reduc'd the whole Province of *Æmilia* *, as far as *Ceſena*, to the Emperor's Dominion. But *Uraja* was more ſucceſsful in *Liguria*. *Beliſarius* had, indeed, order'd the General *Martin* to relieve *Milan*: But, when he found the *Burgundians* and *Goths* ſo numerous, he durſt not venture to paſs the *Po*; and could not be re-inforc'd in due Time: For *Beliſarius* and *Narſes* were at Variance; the latter was unwilling to allow the ſupreme Command to *Beliſarius*, who on the other Hand refus'd to let him have any Share in it: Which Difference produc'd likewiſe its Effect on the reſt of the Officers. The Garriſon of *Milan* was, at Length, oblig'd, by a violent Famine, to ſurrender, at the Beginning of the Year 539, and were made Priſoners of War. The *Goths* exerted their Fury, in a terrible Manner, on that City, which was, next to *Rome*, the greateſt and moſt populous in *Italy*. They pillag'd and diſmantled it, and cut to Pieces all the Males that were in

(2) IDEM, *L.* 2. *c.* 12. *p.* 417. *A.* A Theodeberto, Francorum Rege, decem millia auxiliariorum impetraverat, Burgundionum utique, non Francorum, ne videretur Auguſti rebus injuriam facere.

§ XVI. (1) PROCOP. *L.* 2. *c.* 13. *p.* 417. *D.* Tum ipſe Gothos inde omnes in Siciliam ac Neapolin migrare juſſit.

(2) PROCOP. *L.* 2. *c.* 19. Gothi Beliſario ea lege ſe permiſerunt, ut retenta incolumitate, in ditionem Imperatoris, & militiam Romanam, jure cæteris communi, & æquali conditione, tranſirent.

* *The Province* Æmilia *ſuppos'd to have contain'd the following Cities*, Rimini, Bononia, Faenza, Forli, Modena, Reggio, Placentia, *and* Ravenna.

it.

it (3). The *Greek* Hiſtorian obſerves in particular, that *Reparatus*, the Brother of Pope *Vigilius*, whom the Emperor had created *Præfectus Prætorio Italiæ*, was cut to Pieces, and thrown to the Dogs. They gave the Women to the *Burgundians*, as a Reward for their Aſſiſtance, who carried them into Captivity. Moſt of the Cities of *Liguria* were now obliged again to ſubmit to the *Gothick* Dominion.

§ XVII. WHEN *Vitiges* found, that the *Goths* of themſelves were unable to reſiſt the Emperor, and that the Aid of the *Franks* was very precarious, he ſent Ambaſſadors to *Vaces*, King of the *Longobards*, and offer'd him a large Sum of Mony, to enter into a Treaty with him, and declare War againſt the Emperor (1). The *Longobards* dwelt, at that Time, on the *Danube*, and might eaſily have raiſed a Commotion in *Illyricum*: But they were in a ſtrict Alliance with the Emperor, and ſtood themſelves in Need of his Friendſhip and Aſſiſtance, againſt their Neighbours, the *Gepidæ*. Neceſſity directed him, at laſt, to *Coſroes*, King of the *Perſians*, who was the moſt dangerous Neighbour of the *Grecian* Empire. *Vitiges* employed two *Italian* Divines in this Ambaſſy, who were ſo far ſucceſsful, that *Coſroes* broke the Peace with *Juſtinian*, at the Concluſion of the Year 539. The Emperor, who was beſides engaged in a vexatious War with the *Mauri* in *Africa*, was in a great Conſternation at this Rupture. The Ambaſſadors which *Vitiges* had ſent from the Camp before *Rome*, had 'till then been detain'd in vain: But the Emperor now diſpatch'd them, with this Comfort, that he would himſelf ſend an Ambaſſy to *Ravenna*, with ſufficient Power, to conclude an equitable Peace. Thus he gain'd Time, and open'd a Way for an Accommodation, if Fortune ſhould happen to forſake his Arms; or even if he ſhould be oblig'd to recall his Troops from *Italy*, to employ them elſewhere (2). *Vitiges* in vain demands the Aid of the *Longobards*.

§ XVIII. WHILST the *Goths* were reduced to theſe Streights, the Emperor likewiſe, by that Means, ſuſtained great Loſſes, and was alſo *Theodebert*'s Expedition to *Italy*.

(3) PROCOPIUS *deſcribes the Siege of* Milan L. 2. c. 2. *and ſays, of the Deſtruction of that City:* Urbem ſolo æquarunt, viris omnibus, ſine ullo ætatis diſcrimine, ad trecenta minimum millia, peremtis, & multatis libertate fœminis, quas Burgundionibus donarunt, præſtitum auxilium remunerantes. *The* Continuator Chron. Marcellini *mentions theſe Circumſtances* ad Coſſ: Appionis (539) Gothi Mediolanum ingreſſi muros diruunt, prædamque potiti, omnes Romanos interficiunt. *According to this Account, the* Goths *did not demoliſh the whole City, but only raz'd the Walls. As for the Time,* Pagius ad h. a. n. 7. *proves this City to have been taken in the Beginning of the Year* 539.

§ XVII. (1) PROCOPIUS *L. 2. c. 22.* Tum ad Vacin, Longobardorum regem, Legatione miſſa, grandique oblata pecunia, ad ſocietatem invitant. Ubi vero illum arcto amicitiæ & fœderis vinculo Imperatori conjunctum eſſe perſpexerunt legati, re infecta redierunt.

(2) IBID. *He treats in particular of* Vitiges's *Ambaſſy to* Coſroës, de Bell. Perſ. L. 2. c. 2.

ſufficiently embroil'd in other Places: And *Theodebert*, King of *Auſtraſia*, thereupon form'd the Reſolution of making ſome Attempt in *Italy*. He paſs'd the *Alps* with a large Army; *Procopius* ſays of 100,000 Men; but *Jornandes* and *Frecvlphus* mention even 200,000; And how little we can depend on the Hiſtorians of this Time, when ſo large Numbers are treated on, is very well known. He kept his Men in good Diſcipline in *Liguria*, that the *Goths* might ſuffer him to paſs unmoleſted over the *Po*: And they even rejoic'd, at firſt, at his Arrival, imagining that he was come to their Aſſiſtance. *Beliſarius* beſieg'd, at that very Time, *Oſimo*, the Capital of *Picenum*, with 11,000 Men. *Juſtin* and *Cyprian* lay before *Feſoli*, in *Toſcana*; and the two Imperial Generals, *Martin* and *John*, were encamp'd near *Dertona*, to prevent *Uraja* from attempting to relieve *Feſoli*. This General was at a ſmall Diſtance from them, with all the Soldiers he could raiſe in *Liguria*, and one Party waited for the other to begin Hoſtilities, when *Theodebert* croſs'd the *Po*. He now, by Degrees, diſcover'd his Deſign. He begun to treat the *Goths* like Enemies, which ſo ſurpriz'd them, that they left their Camp and fled to *Ravenna*: But, at the ſame Time, he likewiſe attack'd the *Imperialiſts*, near *Dertona*, who retreated into *Toſcana*. *Theodebert* almoſt conquer'd the Province of *Æmilia*: But the Country was laid waſte, and a great Part of his Army was deſtroy'd by Diſeaſes, occaſion'd for Want of Proviſions. *Beliſarius*, who was ſtill employ'd in the Siege of *Oſimo*, wrote a very warm Letter to the King of the *Franks*, about this Procedure, which he threaten'd to revenge. The *Franks* themſelves begun to murmur at this Expedition into *Italy*: inſomuch that *Theodebert* found it moſt adviſeable to haſten home (1). It appears, that, in this Expedition, he took and pillag'd *Genua*, which muſt have been done on his Return (2). Now as the *Franks* thus made a fruitleſs Attempt againſt *Juſtinian*, *Theodebert*'s Retreat may be aſcrib'd as a Victory to the Emperor; and, on this Account, he perhaps aſſum'd the Surname of *Francicus*: But other Hiſtorians mention, in the following Years, a Battle, wherein the *Imperialiſts* defeated the *Franks*, which may have occaſion'd *Juſtinian*'s glorying in this Title.

§ XVIII. (1) PROCOPIUS *L.* 2. *c.* 25. *p.* 447. *ſeq.* MARIUS *in Chron* APPIONE Cos. *(A.* 539.) Hoc Conſule, Theodebertus, Rex Francorum Italiam ingreſſus, Liguriam, Æmiliamque devaſtavit, ejuſque exercitus loci infirmitate gravatus, valde contribulatus eſt. PAGIUS ad A. n. 9. *demonſtrates, that* Theodebert's *Expedition was in the Year* 532.

(2) CONTIN. MARCELLINI *ad h. a.* Theudibertus, Francorum Rex, cum magno exercitu adveniens, Liguriam totamque deprædat Æmiliam. Genuam, oppidum in littore Tyrreni maris ſitum, evertit, ac prædat. Exercitu dein ſuo morbo laborante, ut ſubveniat, paſciſcens cum Beliſario, ad Gallos revertitur.

§ XIX

§ XIX. *Fesole* was soon after oblig'd to surrender; and *Osimo* underwent the same Fate, when it lost all Hopes of a Relief. The *Goths* in the City, were obliged to enter into the Imperial Service (1). *Belisarius* resolved now to besiege *Vitiges* himself in *Ravenna* †, in order to conclude the War, before the *Franks* might interpose in it (2). *Vitiges* had caused a large Quantity of Provisions to be brought into *Liguria*, which was to be conveyed on the *Po*, to *Ravenna*. But the Water became so low, that the Vessels stuck fast on the Ground, and all the Provisions fell thus into the Hands of the *Imperialists*. *Vitiges* receiv'd, about this Time, an Ambassy from the Kings of the *Franks*, who offer'd to fit out a prodigious Army against *Belisarius*, if he would suffer them to rule jointly with him in *Italy*. The Imperial General no sooner heard of the Ambassy of the *Franks*, than he likewise sent a Deputy to *Ravenna*, and remonstrated to *Vitiges*, that if he would wait the Event of the Negotiations with the Emperor, he would find more Security and Advantage in them, than in any League with the *Franks*; since he might easily conclude, from the Fate of the Kings of *Thuringia* and *Burgundy*, and from the late Attempt of *Theodebert*, how precarious their Friendship was. This Remonstrance prevail'd on the *Goths*: *Vitiges* declined the Offer of the *Franconian* Kings (3), who hereby in Fact experienc'd, that those, who once falsify their Word, meet afterwards with no Credit, when they most desire it.

Belisarius lays Siege to *Ravenna*. † *A.* 539.

§ XX. Immediately after, arriv'd two Senators, named *Domnicus* and *Maximinus*, whom the Emperor sent to negotiate the Peace. As he was involv'd in a War in *Africa*, and foresaw a much greater with *Persia*, he offer'd to make Peace with the *Goths*, on Condition that *Vitiges* should retain that Part of *Italy*, situate on the left Side of the *Po*, that he should leave the Rest to the Emperor, and share the Royal Treasure with him. *Vitiges*, and his faithful Adherents, rejoic'd to see this War concluded without the total Subversion of their Kingdom: But *Belisarius* made publick Complaints, that the Emperor had been wrongly advis'd: Because, by this Peace, he lost the Dominion of all *Italy*, which he had before, in a Manner gain'd. Many in the Army no sooner heard, that *Belisarius* was averse to the Peace, than they murmur'd, and suspected, that some private Views induc'd this General to desire the Continuance of the War: But the *Goths*, for their farther Security, insisted on *Belisarius*'s signing the Treaty of Peace. Another Project was, in the mean Time, form'd

Justinian's Propofals for a Peace, &c.

§ XIX. (1) Procop. *L.* 2. *c.* 27.

(2) Procopius, *L.* 2. *c.* 26. *p.* 454. *C.* Ipsum enim sollicitum habebant Franci, quos Gothis propediem suppetias venturos erat opino.

(3) Idem, *l. c. c.* 28.

by ſome, who fear'd Nothing ſo much, as being oblig'd to leave *Italy*, and their Eſtates, and to go to *Conſtantinople*. They propos'd to *Beliſarius*, that if he would ſet up for Emperor in the *Weſt*, they were ready to pay Allegiance to him. *Vitiges*, for his Part, was oblig'd to put up with every Thing. His Adverſity render'd him now as contemptible, as he was before eſteem'd worthy of the Throne. This Propoſal did not indeed move *Beliſarius*: His Honour and Integrity was ſuch, that he could not prevail on himſelf to treat his Maſter with Treachery, tho' Fortune was ready to cover it with the Purple (1). He diſſembled, however, and ſeem'd to give Ear to thoſe who made the Offer; by which Stratagem he gain'd more than he could have done by a Battle. Now when the Famine increas'd in *Ravenna*, the *Goths* ſent Plenipotentiaries into the Camp, to conclude the Treaty enter'd upon with *Beliſarius*. They inſiſted upon his Swearing, that he would do no Wrong to any of the *Goths*, and that he would aſſume the Title of King of *Italy*; on which Conditions they promis'd to open the Gates of *Ravenna* to him. He ſwore to the former Point; but, for the latter, deſir'd it might be done in the Preſence of *Vitiges*, and the Chiefs of the *Goths*, at *Ravenna*. It is ſomewhat ſtrange, that the *Goths* ſhould acquieſce in this Aſſurance: But every Thing was ripe for their Perdition: Their King had loſt the Eſteem and Affection of his Subjects; the Nobles were divided among themſelves, and every one was ſollicitous, how to preſerve his own, in Caſe of the worſt. *Beliſarius* ſent away *Beſſa* and *John*, and ſome others of the Generals, who bore no great Affection to him, together with their Troops, under Pretence, that Proviſions would be more eaſily come at when the Army was diſpers'd: But his real Motive was, that he might, with leſs Oppoſition execute his Deſigns: He thereupon himſelf * accompany'd the *Gothick* Ambaſſadors to *Ravenna* (2). This Conduct of the General's appear'd very equivocal to many in the Army, and thoſe, who were diſaffected to him, put the worſt Conſtruction on it: But, on the other Hand, when the *Gothick* Women ſaw the *Imperaliſts* enter the City, they reproach'd their Husbands, for ſuffering themſelves to be ſubdu'd by Men, who were inferior to them, both in Stature and Number (3).

*A. 540. *Init.*

§ XXI.

§ XX. (1) PROCOPIUS, *p.* 459. *D.*

(2) IDEM *p.* 459. *and* 460. Pagius ad A. 540. n. 11. *proves, that he made his Entry into* Ravenna, *at the Beginning of the Year* 540.

(3) PROCOPIUS, *who was himſelf a Spectator, makes the following Reflections thereon, p.* 460. *D.*

Mihi vero tunc temporis Romanum exercitum Ravennam ingredientem ſpectanti inſidebat hæc cogitatio, non generoſitate hominum, non multitudine, non animi vi procedere proficique incepta: Sed Numen eſſe, quod eorum mentes ſic flectat, ut eo ſemper inducat, ubi nullus erit eventis obex. Cum enim Gothi & numero & viribus

§ XXI. *BELISARIUS*, indeed, ſecur'd the King's Perſon (1), but order'd him to be very reſpectfully treated: He oppreſs'd none of the *Goths*; and for thoſe whoſe Eſtates lay on the Right of the *Po*, he ſuffer'd them, without any Moleſtation, to go thither. As the *Romans* poſſeſs'd the fortify'd Places in thoſe Provinces, he had nothing to fear from them; and this Diviſion ſo leſſened the Number of *Goths* in *Ravenna*, that they did not exceed the *Imperialiſts*. He ſeiz'd the Royal Treaſure; and the Governors of thoſe Cities, which ſtill appertain'd to the *Goths*, endeavour'd to outvy each other, who ſhould firſt ſurrender themſelves, and the Places under their Command; on which Occaſion, he became Maſter of *Trevigo*, and other Towns in *Venetia* *. *Ceſena*, the only Place the *Goths* retain'd in *Æmilia*, ſurrender'd about the ſame Time that he enter'd *Ravenna*: But with Regard to the main Point, of his declaring his Intentions to aſſume the Dignity of Emperor in the *Weſt*, he ſtill fed the *Goths* with Hopes, till he receiv'd Orders from the Emperor to return to Court, in Order to take upon him the Command againſt the *Perſians*. When he prepar'd for his Departure, the *Goths* perceiv'd, tho' too late, that they were outwitted, and ought to have proceeded more cautiouſly in a Negociation of that Kind with an Enemy. The braveſt among thoſe, who dwelt on this Side of the *Po*, aſſembled at *Pavia*, and reſolv'd to try their utmoſt. They offer'd the Title of King to *Urajas*, *Vitiges*'s Siſter's Son, who had behav'd very gallantly in *Liguria*: But he declined it, and propoſed *Ildebad*, who commanded in *Verona*. He was Son to the Siſter of *Theudis*, King of the *Wiſi-Goths*, and they hop'd his Uncle would now, on this Account, the ſooner take Part in the War in *Italy*. *Ildebad* (2) no ſooner came to

Juſtinian recalls *Beliſarius*, &c.

viribus longe eſſent hoſtibus ſuperiores, neque armis decreviſſent, ex quo Ravennam intraverant, nihilque appareret, quod terrore diſtringeret eorum animos; jugum acceperunt a paucioribus, nec ſervitutis nomini infamiam ineſſe ullam duxerunt. Certe fœminæ, quæ a maritis audierant, Romanos mole corporis valere, & hoſtibus præſtare numero, cunctæ conſputabant virorum ora, quos omnes in urbe ſedere viderant, & victores monſtrantes manibus ignaviam exprobrabant.

§ XXI. (1) PROCOPIUS, *p.* 461. F. Montfaucon *ſays, in his* Iter Italicum, p. 79. *that he ſaw at* Rome, *in* Sig. Landi's *Cabinet, a Picture, which* Beliſarius *caus'd to be painted in Memory of this Surrender. His Words are theſe:* Beliſarii Clypeus votivus, ex ære, Vitigen Regem ſupplicem exhibens. *This Piece, if genuine, is an excellent Monument of theſe Times.*

* *The Province* Venetia *comprehended, at this Time, the Countries which we now diſtinguiſh by the Names of the* Marchia Treviſana, *the* Weſtern *Part of* Friuli, *the Cities and Territories of* Vicenza, Padua, Verona *and* Venice. *They were ſeparated from* Noricum *by the* Carnician Alps, *and from the* Carni, *in particular, by the River* Tagliamento (Tilavemphus).

(2) F. Banduri p. 646. *calls him* Hildebadus, *and ſays, that he met with no Medal of this King. I know not on what Information, the* Genealogiſts *derive the Houſe of* Pinelli, *in* Geneva, *from* Ildebad. *Vid.* GUALDI *in Vit. Pinelli.*

this

this Assembly, than they honour'd him with the Purple and proclaim'd him King (3). He first made one Attempt more to engage *Belisarius* to the Performance of his Promise, and the Ambassadors assured him, that *Ildebad* would then be the first to throw himself at his Feet.

Belisarius's Departure for Constantinople.

§ XXII. But *Belisarius* remained inflexible, and took *Vitiges*, with the Rest of the Royal Family, many of the Chief of the *Goths*, and, among others, the Children of *Ildebad*, whom he had secured at *Ravenna*, together with the Royal Treasure, with him to *Constantinople*. *Justinian* gave a kind Reception to *Vitiges* and his Consort; and, with Pleasure and Admiration, beheld those *Goths*, whose Conduct had till then render'd them so famous. He caus'd *Theoderic's* Treasure to be expos'd to the View of the Senat, in the Palace: But the Populace was not admitted, probably, lest the Sight should awake a Desire in them to partake of it. They were already discontented, because the Emperor did not allow *Belisarius* a Triumph. He enjoy'd, however, in some Measure, the Satisfaction of a Triumph, whenever he went abroad. His noble Appearance, his Retinue of *Goths*, *Vandals* and *Mauri*, drew upon him the Eye of all Mankind. The Hero, who had subverted the Kingdoms of *Genseric* and *Theoderic*, and had brought their Treasures and Successors to *Constantinople*, was the more eagerly admir'd, as his Moderation and Humanity had gain'd the Affection as well of the Peasant as the Soldier (1). He was attended, in his Expedition against *Cosroes*, by the *Goths*, who were brought to *Constantinople*: But *Vitiges* remain'd in that Residence (2). The Emperor dignify'd him with the Title of *Patricius*, and confer'd on him many other Favours. He died about two Years afterwards, and

(3) Procop. *p.* 463. *B.* Protinus Verona accitus Ildebadus affuit: quem, cum induissent purpura, Regem salutarunt.

§ XXII. (1) Procopius, *L.* 3. *c.* 1. *p.* 465. Ita Belisarius, rebus adhuc suspensis, Vitigim, Gothorum proceres, Ildibadi liberos, regiasque opes omnes Byzantium deportavit; nemine Ducum ipsum comitante, præter Ildigerem, Valerianum, Martinum & Herodianum. Vitigin cum uxore lætis placidisque aspexit oculis Justinianus Augustus, & Barbarorum agmen, corporis forma, ac mole præstantium, miratus est. Postquam Theoderici gazam, spectatu sane dignam, in palatium accepit, Senatui quidem contemplandam proposuit apud se, rerum gestarum magnitudine glorians: at neque illam exhibuit multitudini, nec triumphum Belisario decrevit, uti fecerat, cum ille ex Africa rediit, Gelimeris & Vandalorum Victor. Nihilominus tamen in ore omnium vigebat Belisarius, &c. *This happen'd in the Spring*, A. 540, *which* Procopius *reckons the sixth Year of the* Gothick *War*.

(2) Procop. *de Bel. Pers. L.* 2. *c.* 14. E Gothis unus Vittigis Byzantio substitit: cæteri expeditionem in Chosroem cum Belisario susceperunt.

his

his Widow married *Germanus*, Son of the Emperor's Brother (3), as I ſhall obſerve in the Sequel.

§ XXIII. *ILDEBAD*'s Forces conſiſted at firſt only in 1000 Men: But he drew, by Degrees, the Reſidue of the *Goths*, who dwelt in *Venetia* and *Liguria*, over to his Party (†). On the other Hand, the Thoughts of War were almoſt laid aſide on the Part of the *Imperialiſts*, after *Beliſarius's* Departure. The Generals, who remain'd there, were intent each on his private Advantage. *Juſtinian* himſelf endeavour'd too ſoon to reap the Fruits of his Conqueſt of *Italy*. He ſent one of his Treaſurers, nam'd *Alexander*, who had rais'd himſelf at Court, by a ſuperior Capacity in levying Mony without any Regard to Juſtice or Compaſſion, to *Ravenna*; where he made new Regulations in the Treaſury, and enter'd upon Enquiries, whereby he oppreſs'd not only ſeveral eminent Officers in the Army, but likewiſe many, who never had the fingering of any of the Royal Revenue. This diſquieted the Minds of the People, and the few *Goths*, who ſtill kept the Field, were hardly thought worth regarding. *Vitalius*, who was ſtation'd in *Venetia*, alone undertook to reduce *Ildebad*, before he could be re-inforc'd. A hot Engagement enſu'd, near *Trevigo*, when *Vitalius* loſt the Day, after a bloody Overthrow, which in particular prov'd fatal to the *Heruli*, in his Army, and to *Viſandus* their Prince *. *Ildebad* aſſembles the Reſidue of the *Goths*, &c.

§ XXIV. THIS Victory caus'd the *Imperialiſts* no longer to regard *Ildebad*, as contemptible, and rais'd in the *Goths* that Confidence, which is ſo requiſite in a Nation, that is to retrieve itſelf from the utmoſt Perdition. *Ildebad* himſelf, who ought now to have had no other View, but that important One of preſerving the *Gothick* State, was ſeduc'd by a female Contention. His Revenues were not large enough to ſupport a Royal Grandeur. His Conſort perpetually remonſtrated to him, how much more ſplendid than ſhe, the Wife of *Urajas* appear'd; and when the latter treated her very coldly at a Bath, *Ildebad* interfer'd, and expreſs'd *Ildebad* is murder'd.

(3) JORNANDES *de Reb. Get.* Perductum Vitigem Conſtantinopolim Patritii honore donavit, ubi plus biennio demoratus, Imperatoriſque in affectu convictus, rebus exceſſit humanis. Mataſuentham vero jugalem ejus, fratri ſuo, Germano, Patritio, conjunxit Imperator. De quibus poſthumus patris Germani natus eſt filius, item Germanus, in quo conjuncta Aniciorum gens, cum Amala ſtirpe, ſpem adhuc utriuſque generis, domino præſtante, promittit.

§ XXIII. † *The Name* Liguria *was, at this Time, of great Extent.* Liguria maritima, *which was by the Ancients properly call'd* Liguria, *comprehended what is now nam'd* La Riviera di Genova. Liguria Mediterranea *contain'd the preſent* Montferrat, *a Part of* Piedmont, *and the* South *Part of the Duchy of* Milan, *with its Capital, which elſe properly belongs to* Inſubria.

* PROCOPIUS, *L.* 3. *p.* 467. *ſeq.*

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his Reſentment againſt *Urajas*, who had been the chief Inſtrument of his Promotion, and at laſt even caus'd him to be privately put to Death. The *Goths* were almoſt univerſally enrag'd at the Murder of ſo worthy and eminent a Perſon. *Vilas*, a *Gepider* by Birth, took Occaſion from thence, to revenge an Injury he had receiv'd, from the King, who, while he was in the Field, had given his Bride in Marriage to another (1). He was one of the King's Life Guards, and being in waiting at a Banquet, where he ſtood behind the King, he cut off his Head while he was ſtooping to take Meat out of a Diſh (2).

Eraric is elected King by the *Rugi*: *Totilas* by the *Goths*.

§ XXV. The Reſidue of the *Goths* almoſt wholly deſtroy'd one another, by an inteſtine Diviſion, after *Ildebad*'s Death. A Body of *Rugi*, which had been in their Army from the Time of *Theoderic*, had remain'd ſo ſeparate, that they would not even intermarry with other Nations. Theſe diſtinguiſh'd themſelves now, and choſe *Eraric*, one of their Country-Men, for King (1): But the *Goths* could not bear the Thoughts of being, as it were, ſubject to the *Rugi*. *Totilas*, the Son of *Ildebad*'s Brother, who commanded at *Trevigo*, had already intimated privately at *Ravenna*, that he intended to ſubmit to the Emperor, when his Friends excited him, rather to think of retrieving the *Gothick* State. *Eraric* was more intent in the Purſuit of his own Ends, than in the Preſervation of the State entruſted to his Care. With the Conſent of his own Nation, he ſent an Ambaſſy to *Conſtantinople*, to renew the Propoſals of Peace, which had already been accepted of in the Time of *Vitiges*, *viz.* that the Emperor ſhould relinquiſh to the *Goths* the Countries on the left Side of the *Po*: But the Ambaſſadors were privately inſtructed to propoſe, that if the Emperor would pay a conſiderable Sum of Mony to *Eraric*, and declare him *Patricius*, he would renounce the Royal Title, and reſign to *Juſtinian* all the Dominions he poſſeſs'd in *Italy*. But *Eraric* was

§. XXIV. (1) Procopius, *l. c. p.* 469.

(2) Procop. l. c. *deſcribes, in the following Words, the Manner, how* Vilas *murder'd* Ildebad. Cogitatum facinus aggreſſus eſt die quodam, quo apparebat Ildibado, cum Gothorum proceribus epulanti. Etenim prandenti regi cum alii multi aſtare ſolent, tum protectores. Ergo ille manu dapibus admota, toro pronus incumbebat; cum Vilas repente gladio cervicem ejus percuſſit; ita, ut cibum, tenentibus adhuc digitis, demeſſum, lapſumque in menſam caput, omnes qui aderant, magno ſtupore defixerit. Sic demum Ildibadus Urajæ necem luit, hyemiſque exitus annum ſextum clauſit iſtius belli. *The ſixth Year of the* Gothick *War ends in the Winter*, A. 541.

§ XXV. (1) Procop. *L.* 3. *c.* 2. *p.* 470. *B. The Paſſage is remarkable on Account of the Hiſtory of the* Rugi. Quidam erat in Gothorum exercitu, Eraricus, natione Rugus, inter hos Barbaros præpotens. Rugi autem, gens Gothica, ſuis olim vivebant legibus. Aggregati vero cum nonnullis aliis populis ad Theodericum ipſius regni primordio,

was unexpectedly put to Death by the *Goths*, and *Totilas* (2) proclaim'd King in his Room (3).

§ XXVI. *CHILDEBERT* and *Clotarius*, Kings of the *Franks*, made an Expedition into *Spain*, as far as *Saragoſa*, in the Year 542 (1). But, on their Return, they were defeated, by *Theudiſclus*, the *Gothick* General, who was afterwards made King. To this War, is applied a Medal of King *Clotarius* with the Reverſe *VICTORIA GOTHICA*. Some more modern *French* Writers pretend to affirm (2), that the *Franks*, at that Time, took Part of *Gaſcogne* and *Cantabria*. We need not, in the mean Time, wonder, that the *Wiſi-Goths* refus'd their Interpoſition in the *Italian* War, if we conſider the Fate of their own Kings. *Theudis* was murder'd, A. 548, and *Theudiſcus* (3), his Succeſſor, the following Year. *Agila* had enough to do, in his own Kingdom, with *Athanagild*, who contended with him for the Crown, and was ſupported by *Juſtinian*, the Emperor.

An Expedition of *Childebert* and *Clotarius* againſt the *Wiſi-Goths*.

§ XXVII. THE *Imperial* Generals, in *Italy*, reſolv'd, in a Council of War, at *Ravenna*, to lay Siege to *Verona*. Their Army, which conſiſted of 12000 Men, was commanded by eleven ſuperiour Officers. The City was betray'd into the Hands of *Artabaces*, an *Armenian* by Birth, who had acquir'd great Renown by his Valour, in the Emperor's Service, but he could not maintain his Ground. When this prov'd a fruitleſs Attempt, the Army return'd over the *Po* to *Faenza* (1). *Totilas* purſu'd them, with 5000 Men, which were all the Forces he had (2). He paſs'd the *Po* unmoleſted;

Continuation of the *Gothick* War in *Italy*, &c.

mordio, in unum corpus coaluerunt, atque ex eo rem bellicam in commune ſemper tractarunt. Vitatis tamen mulierum alienarum connubiis, nationis ſuæ nomen pura ſobolis ſucceſſione apud ſe conſervarunt. Ildibadi nece turbatis rebus, Eraricum hunc Rugi declararunt ſubito Regem.

(2) *On the Medals in* Du Cange, in Familiis Auguſtus Byzantinis, *and in* E. Banduri, *he is call'd* Baduela *or* Baduila, *but in* Procopius *always* Totilas. Juſtinian *likewiſe names him ſo in the* Sanctio Pragmatica de Statu Italiæ.

(3) A. 541. *About the Mouth of* Auguſt. Pagius ad A. 542. n. 2.

§ XXVI. (1) *This Computation is confirmed by* F. Pagius ad A. 542. n. 6.

(2) PETR. de MARCA in Hiſtor. Bearniæ *L.* 1. *c.* 19. *ſeq.* Le Cointe *ad A.* 542. *n.* 33.

(3) MARIANA *ſays L.* 5. *c.* 8. *that* Theudiſclus *was Son to the Siſter of* Totilas.

§ XXVII. (1) PROCOP. *L.* 3. *c.* 3.

(2) PROCOP. *ibid c.* 4. *p.* 474. *A.* De his, quæ Veronæ contigerant, certior factus Totilas, Gothorum, qui in illa urbe erant, magnam partem arceſſit, atque, ubi adfuere, copias omnes, ad quina millia collectas, in hoſtem duxit. *Here he introduces him ſpeaking, and exciting the* Goths, *in the following Words, among others*: *p.* 475. *A.* Ecce enim ad quina millia ex ducentis millibus redacti ſumus. Addo aliud, quod in memoriam reducere

unmoleſted; but order'd 300 Men to croſs in another Place, to take a By-Way, and in Caſe of an Engagement, to attack the Enemy, in the Rear. The two Armies were already in Battle Array, oppoſite to each other, when *Viliaris*, a valiant *Goth*, came forth, arm'd Cap-a-pee, and dared any one Man among the *Imperialiſts* to engage with him, in ſingle Combat. *Artabaces* alone ventur'd to accept of the Challenge. The Manner of this ſingle Combat, as related by *Procopius*, appears to be the ſame, as we find recorded of the Turnaments in ſucceeding Times. They ſpurr'd their Horſes, and ran at each other. *Artabaces* firſt threw the *Goth*; but the latter's Spear happen'd at the ſame Time, to hit an Opening in the other's Armour, and cut a Vein in his Neck. The *Goth* was kill'd on the Spot, but the *Armenian* died three Days afterwards (3). In the Battle, which enſued, the 300 Men plac'd in Ambuſh by *Totilas*, prov'd highly ſerviceable. The Conſternation the *Greeks* were in, at the firſt Sight of them, caus'd the Number to appear much greater than it was, inſomuch that they fear'd being beſet in the Rear. They therefore took to the Flight immediately, every Man his own Way. The *Goths* kill'd Numbers of them in the Purſuit, made many Priſoners, and took, in the Camp, among other Booty, all the Enſigns of the *Greeks*.

Totilas ſends Troops into *Tuſcany*, &c.

§ XXVIII. *TOTILAS* thereupon ſent Part of his Troops into *Tuſcany*, under the Command of *Bleda*, *Roderick* and *Uliaris*, three brave and experienc'd Officers. Theſe beſieged *Florence*, where *Juſtin*, *Magiſter Militiæ per Illyricum*, was ſtation'd, who being in Want of Proviſions, was diſcourag'd from ſtanding the Siege. Of this he made ſuch preſſing Remonſtrances at *Ravenna*, that *Cyprian*, *John*, and *Beſſas* march'd to his Aſſiſtance. When the *Goths* were appriz'd of this, they retreated to *Mugello*, and the *Imperialiſts* arriv'd in Safety at *Florence*, were they thought it adviſeable to attack the *Goths*. The latter quitted their Camp in haſte, and drew up on an adjoining Eminence. The *Greeks*, on the other Hand, ſo diſpos'd their Army, that *John* was to attack the Enemy in their advantageous Situation, while the other Generals were to keep their Station in the Plain, and, as Occaſion might require, come to his Aſſiſtance: But the *Goths* behav'd ſo bravely, that *John*'s People begun to retreat: And a Report being, at the ſame Time, ſpread, that *John* was murder'd by his own Soldiers, the others were ſo terrified, that they diſpers'd, and

reducere non alienum eſſe judico. Quando in Imperatorem arma cum Ildibado tollere decreviſtis, non amplius mille eratis convictu juncti, omniſque veſtra ditio unius urbis Ticini ambitu claudebatur.

(3) PROCOPIUS *deſcribes this ſingle Combat, L.* 3. *c.* 4. *p.* 475. *D. See the Paſſage in the* XIII. *Annot. at the End of this Volume.*

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fled in Diſorder different Ways, *John* to *Rome*, *Cyprian* to *Peruſia*, *Beſſas* to *Spoleto*, and *Juſtin* to *Florence* *.

§ XXIX. *TOTILAS*, in the mean Time, had taken *Ceſena* and *Petra*, and came himſelf into *Tuſcany*. But as the Garriſons in the Cities were ſtrong, and Sieges might prove too tedious, he proceeded over the *Tyber*. He paſs'd by the Precincts of *Rome*, and took *Benevento* †, with little Oppoſition. He cauſed the Walls to be demoliſh'd, that the *Goths* might receive no Damage from thence, in Caſe the Recruits, that were expected from *Conſtantinople*, ſhould recover the Place. He himſelf placed all his Hopes in a Battle. Hereupon he beſieged *Naples*, in which City he found a Garriſon of 1000 Men, and detach'd, in the mean Time, ſeveral Parties, which took *Cuma*, and oblig'd all this upper Part of *Italy* again to acknowledge the Sovereignty of the *Goths*: The Royal *Gothick* Treaſury now received all the Taxes and other Royal Revenues, which 'till then had been levied by *Juſtinian*; and thereby deprived the *Imperial* Troops of their Pay. Theſe begun now to ſtand in Fear of the *Goths*, and, at the ſame Time, were ſo inſolent, in the Cities, where they were garriſon'd, that the unfortunate Inhabitants of *Italy* had Reaſon to lament the Emperor's Neglect or Impotency, and to wiſh he had never moleſted the *Goths* *.

Totilas paſſes the *Tyber*. Takes *Benevento*, &c.

§ XXX. *JUSTINIAN* found it at laſt requiſite to ſend a proper Perſon to *Italy*, to take the ſuperiour Command over the other Generals; and, in Order thereto, *Maximinus*, who had before been Ambaſſador to *Vitiges*, was appointed *Præfectus Prætorii Italiæ*, and *Demetrius* was created *Magiſter Militum*. *Maximinus* embark'd ſome Troops, at *Conſtantinople*, which had been levied in *Thrace* and *Armenia*, to re-inforce the Army in *Italy*. *Demetrius* brought a great Number of Veſſels together in *Sicily*, but wanted Soldiers ſufficient to fill them. *Totilas* endeavour'd to remedy the Error of *Vitiges*, who had no naval Force, and equipp'd ſeveral ſtout Ships for that Service. He ventur'd to encounter *Maximinus*; and with Eaſe diſpers'd his Squadron, and took the beſt Ships. *Maximinus* had lain long in *Epirus*, and at laſt indeed run into *Syracuſa*, in *Sicily*; but again made Delays, 'till the Time of being at Sea was paſt; and when, at Length, he attempted to relieve *Naples*, a Tempeſt diſpers'd the Ships, and thoſe that were drove on the Shoar fell into the

Maximinus is appointed, by *Juſtinian*, *Præfectus Prætorii Italiæ*, &c.

§ XXVIII. * Procop. *L.* 3. *c.* 5.

§ XXIX. † *At the Concluſion of the Year* 542. Pagius ad A. 543. n. 2. 3.

* Procop. L. 3. c. 6. *He deſcribes yet more at large*, c. 9. *how far* Italy *ſuffer'd by this.*

Hands of the *Goths*. Upon this, *Naples*, being diſtreſs'd by extream Famine, and deſtitute of all Hopes of a Relief, was forc'd to ſurrender †. *Totilas* allow'd the Soldiers, who on that Occaſion experienc'd his Magnanimity, as the Inhabitants did his Benevolence, the Liberty of departing: But cauſed the City-Walls to be almoſt demoliſh'd, for the ſame Reaſon as he had done thoſe at *Benevento* (1). *Procopius* relates the following Inſtance, among others, of the rigid Diſcipline, he obſerv'd in the Army: An Inhabitant complain'd that one of his Life-Guards had deflour'd his Daughter, whereupon the King, deaf to all Interceſſions, caus'd him to be puniſh'd with Death, and his Effects to be given to the injur'd Woman.

The Emperor ſends *Beliſarius*, a ſecond Time, into *Italy*. † *A.* 543.

§ XXXI. *TOTILAS* begun now to turn his Eyes towards *Rome*: He wrote to the Senat, reminded them of the Behaviour of the *Goths* towards them, together with the Oppreſſions they had met with from the *Greeks*, and admoniſh'd them to revolt in Time †. He likewiſe cauſed publick Letters to be fixed up by ſome Perſons he could confide in, in thoſe Places in the City, that were moſt frequented; in which he aſſured the *Romans*, that they need not be apprehenſive of the leaſt Oppreſſion: But *John*, the *Imperial* General, who was at *Rome*, uſed his utmoſt Endeavours to prevent a Conſpiracy; and in Order thereto baniſh'd all the *Arian* Prieſts from the City (1). In the mean Time, *Juſtinian*,

§ XXX. † A. 543. *towards the Spring.* Conf. Pagius ad A. 543. n. 3.

(1) Procop. *L.* 3. *c.* 6. 7.

§ XXXI. (1) Procopius L. 3. c. 9. *aſcribes the following Manifeſto to* Totilas: Quicunque vel per imprudentiam, vel ex oblivione vicinos lædunt, læſos decet illis ignoſcere: Siquidem culpæ cauſa ab ipſis partem maximam reprehenſionis amolitur. At ſi quis ſolum ex præparato injuriam facit, ei nullus relinquetur locus defendendi commiſſa: quippe cum non modo factum, ſed voluntas etiam in eo culpanda ſit. Quæ cum ita ſint, videte jam, quo pacto excuſaturi ſitis, quæ admiſiſtis in Gothos. Parumne vobis cognita dicetis Theodorici & Amalaſunthæ beneficia? an temporis longinquitate & oblivione deleta ex animis? Neutrum ſane verum. Neque enim eorum beneficentia in rebus quibuſdam levibus ac mediocribus patuit, idque prioribus ſeculis, ſed nuper ac recenti memoria apud vos, Romani chariſſimi, in iis eluxit, quæ ad vitæ ſummam pertinent. Græcorum egregiam in ſubditos voluntatem vel fama cognoſcetis, vel uſu ipſo: at jam noſtis, quid Gothi cum Italis egerint. Præclare Græcos, ut opinor, excepiſtis hoſpitio, quales autem nacti ſitis hoſpites, & amicos non ignoratis, ſi qua manet memoria rationum, quas Alexander inſtituit. Silentio milites prætermitto, ac militum Duces; quorum ſcilicet benignitas & animi magnitudo, cum vos juvere plurimum, tum ipſos in hunc rerum ſtatum adduxere. Hæc autem nemo veſtrum exiſtimet illis exprobrari juvenili ambitione, & me, tanquam Barbarorum Regem, arrogantius loqui. Quod enim hanc nationem hominum profligavimus, non id virtuti adſcribo noſtræ: verum illos injuriarum, quibus nos affecerunt, dare pœnas affirmo. Proinde, an non per abſurdum videbitur, ſi dum ipſos perſequitur veſtræ ultor calamitatis Deus, eorum apud vos inſolentiam

tinian, having no other Remedy, was forc'd to ſend *Beliſarius* again into *Italy*; tho' he ſtood in Need of his Aid againſt the *Perſians*. *Vitalius*, *Magiſter Militiæ per Illyricum*, ſet out to meet him, and with much Difficulty they rais'd an Army of 4000 Men in *Thrace*. They went together to *Salona*. The firſt Thing *Beliſarius* did, after his Arrival there, was to provide for *Otranto*, which the *Goths* continued to beſiege. *Totilas*, on the other Hand, took *Tivoli*, and caus'd the Inhabitants to be put to the Sword, from thence he made Irruptions as far as the *Tyber*, and cut off all the Avenues to *Rome*, on that Side. *Belliſarius* arriv'd at *Ravenna*, in the Spring, *A.* 544, and did what he could to revive the drooping Spirits of the Inhabitants, both *Goths* and *Romans*. His firſt Care was to keep *Totilas* from *Rome*: For this Purpoſe he order'd *Vitalius* to enter into Action, in *Æmilia*, in Order to draw the Enemy that Way: But *Vitalius* no ſooner reach'd *Bologna*, than the *Imperialiſts* deſerted in Shoals, for Want of Pay. *Totilas* took Advantage of this Opportunity to make himſelf Maſter of ſome fortify'd Places. He did not indeed ſucceed at *Oſimo* and *Petaro*; but *Fermo* and *Aſcoli*, in *Picenum*, and *Aſſiſi* and *Spoleto* in *Tuſcany*, were oblig'd to ſurrender. He hoped likewiſe to have ſurpriz'd *Peruſia*, in the ſame Manner: But when the Garriſon appear'd in a Poſture of Defence, he thought it would not be adviſeable to ſpend his Time in a long Siege (2).

§ XXXII. *BELISARIUS* not being in a Condition to relieve *Rome*, *Totilas* choſe rather to try his Fortune there. His Army was now become very numerous: For as ſo great Devaſtations had been made in *Italy*, and the *Imperialiſts* were ſo poorly ſupported, they almoſt all took their Refuge to him. Many Bondſmen, in particular, who eſteem'd

Totilas beſieges *Rome*. *Beliſarius* retreats to *Durazzo*, &c.

ſolentiam libenter patiamini, nec malis velitis eximi, quæ illam conſequuntur? Vobis igitur locum purgandi vos apud Gothos, & nobis cauſam aliquam date parcendi vobis. Dabitis autem, ſi non expectato belli exitu, dum vobis exigua ac vana ſpes quædam ſupereſt, conſilia referatis in melius, & quæ peccaſtis in nos, emendetis *Sententia hæc erat epiſtolæ, quam Totilas captivis quibuſdam Romam ad ſenatum perferendam dedit. Quo ab ipſis præſtito, prohibuit Johannes, ne quid Totilæ reſcriberent, qui illam legerant. Quo circa Totilas, ſcriptis compluribus literis, inſertiſque graviſſimis juramentis, diſerte promiſit, nihil mali Gothos Romano cuiquam irrogaturos. Quinam eas literas Romam tulerint, haud poſſum dicere. Omnes enim nocte intempeſta in celeberrimis urbis partibus affixæ, in publicam notitiam venerunt. Mox Romani Duces ſuſpectos ſibi Arianos ſacerdotes omnes urbe exterminarunt.*

(2) PROCOP. L. 3. c. 11. *and* 12. *To keep up a Chronological Order we muſt obſerve, that* Beliſarius *came into* Italy, *when the ninth Year of the* Gothick *War was ended, and conſequently* A. 544. Fermo *and* Aſcoli *were taken towards the Concluſion of the* 10*th Year, and therefore, at the Beginning of the Year* 545, Aſſiſi *and* Spoleto *ſurrender'd in the* 11*th Year, which concludes with the Winter,* A. 546.

their

their Liberty the beſt Reward, liſted themſelves under his Banner †. He detach'd, at the ſame Time, ſome Troops to beſiege *Placentia*, the only Place the *Imperialiſts* now poſſeſs'd in *Æmilia*, which, for want of Proviſions, was ſoon oblig'd to ſurrender. This was the Fate of the *Romans*, at firſt. The *Goths* after they had taken *Naples*, became powerful at Sea, and ſo block'd up the Coaſts, as well as the neighbouring Iſles, that nothing could enter *Porto* (1). *Cethegus* the *Patricius*, who was then the Chief of the Senat, was ſuſpected of an Intelligence with the *Goths*, on which Account he was baniſh'd the City (2). *Beliſarius* ſeing himſelf incapable of doing any Service, and being loth to remain an idle Spectator of the *Gothick* Succeſs, retreated to *Durazzo*, that he might the ſooner obtain the neceſſary Succours. The Emperor deſirous of ſeing the fatal Diviſions terminated, which then perplex'd the Church, on Occaſion of the ſo call'd *Tria Capitula*, had ſent for Pope *Vigilius* to come to *Conſtantinople*: But *Vigilius*, who choſe rather to have a Council appointed ſomewhere in the *Weſt*, did not make the greateſt Expedition on his Journy, but was ſtill in *Sicily*. From thence he diſpatch'd ſome Ships † to *Rome* with Corn; but they fell into the Hands of the *Goths* (3). *Rome* was in the utmoſt Diſtreſs with Famine, when *Pelagius*, Deacon of the *Roman* Church, undertook an Ambaſſy to *Totilas*; and entreated him to make a Truce for a certain Time, on Condition that, if the City was not reliev'd during that Space, it ſhould be ſurrender'd. But *Totilas* was reſolv'd not to loſe the Advantage of the preſent Circumſtances (4). The People preſs'd the two Generals, *Beſſas* and *Cono*, to furniſh them with Proviſions, or ſuffer them to depart the City. *Beſſas* had ſo divided the Stores he found in *Rome*, that the greateſt Share fell to the Soldiers, who ſold the *Romans* at a dear Rate, what they could ſpare of their Allowance. He himſelf drove the like ſhameful Trade, whilſt thoſe, who could not pay his Price, periſh'd in Miſery, after having ſupported Life, for a Time, with Horſes, Dogs, Nettles, and whatſoever elſe Hunger had reduc'd them to eat. The two Generals declar'd, indeed, at laſt, that thoſe who would might depart; but even in this they exercis'd their Avarice: For thoſe who would take the Advantage of this Permiſſion, were oblig'd to buy it at a Price. Moſt of the Inhabitants however de-

† *A.* 546.

§ XXXII. † *Theſe Bondſmen are particularly mentioned in* Procop. L. 3. c. 16.

(1) Procop. *L.* 3. *c.* 13.

(2) Ibid, *p.* 494. *D.* Tunc Cethegus, Patricius, idemque Senatus Romani Princeps, a Cæſarianis Ducibus, qui Romæ erant, ſuſpicione proditionis aſperſus, centum cellas conceſſit.

(3) Ibid. c. 15. Vigilius *ſet out from* Rome *towards the Concluſion of* A. 544, *and arriv'd at* Conſtantinople *in* January, A. 547.

(4) Ibid. *c.* 16.

parted;

parted; but in ſo feeble a Condition, that many expir'd on their Journy; while others fell into the Hands of the Enemy (3).

§ XXXIII. *BELISARIUS*, in the mean Time, was reinforc'd at *Durazzo*, by Recruits brought by the before-mention'd General *John*, and *Iſaac* an *Armenian*. He himſelf went by Sea to *Porto*. *John* was to go by the Way of *Calabria*, and join him at *Rome*. *Totilas* reſolv'd to reduce *Rome* by Famine. The Garriſon of *Tivoli* prevented the Paſſage of any Thing from the Countries above the City, by Means of the *Tyber*; and he himſelf cauſed Rafters to be laid acroſs the River, below the City, ſecuring them with a Chain, and Turrets were erected on the Banks, on both Sides, in which he plac'd a ſtrong Guard, that no Ships might paſs from *Porto*. *John* landed at *Brindiſi*, which was then an open Place, and met with no Oppoſition in *Calabria*. But, as *Totilas* had a Garriſon in *Capua*, leaving the Road to *Rome*, he march'd againſt the *Bruvii* and *Lucani*, and again reduc'd all the upper Part, of *Italy* to the Emperor's Dominion. For tho' the People had been greatly oppreſs'd by the *Imperialiſts*, yet they were averſe to the *Goths*, becauſe they profeſs'd *Arianiſm* (1). How conſiderable ſoever this Service would, at another Time, have been, yet, as it now obſtructed the main Deſign, it was highly unſeaſonable. *Beliſarius*, in the mean Time, notwithſtanding his reiterated Commands, could not engage *Beſſas* to make a Sally, and thereby give him an Opportunity of attacking the *Goths* in the Rear. *Beſſas* was quite blinded by his Avarice. He did not deſire to have the Siege rais'd, as long as he had any Proviſions left, and there were ſome Families in *Rome*, who could pay him ſeven *Roman* Pieces of Gold for a Quarter of Corn (2).

Beliſarius's Projects to relieve *Rome*.

(3) IBID. c. 17. *He deſcribes in particular the miſerable Condition of the* Romans, *at their Departure*, p. 506. A. Deinde Cæſariani Duces, alia pro abitu expreſſa pecunia, Romanos omnes, quibus migrare placuit, dimiſerunt. Paucis in urbe relictis, cæteri, quo cuique licuit, ſe proripuere. Plurimos, vigore corporis abſumpto fame in ipſa navigatione, vel terreſtri itinere, mors oppreſſit: multi in via ab hoſtibus comprehenſi cæſique ſunt. En quo fortuna Senatum populumque Romanum adduxerat!

§ XXXIII. (1) PROCOP. *L.* 3. *c.* 18. *p.* 508. *A.* Hic Venantii filius Tullianus, Romanus genere, inter Brutios ac Lucanos plurimum pollens, Joannem adiit, deque facinoribus in Italos a Cæſariano exercitu ante admiſſis queſtus, recepit, ſi quid clementiæ illis in poſterum exiberetur, ſe ita Brutios Lucanoſque in jus ac ditionem Imperatoris revocaturum, ut ei vectigalia, perinde ac prius penderent: quippe qui Barbaris, iiſque Arianis, non ſponte ſe dedidiſſent; at cum hoſtium vi, tum maxime Cæſarianorum militum injuriis, adacti. Ubi Joannes omni aſſeveratione affirmavit, illos deinceps benefacturos Italis: Tullianus ei comitem ſeſe addidit. Ex illo ab Italis timere ſibi milites deſierunt, ac fere omnia citra ſinum Jonium habuerunt amica, ſubditaque Imperatori.

(2) IBID. *p.* 505. *A.* Medimnus frumenti ſeptem conſtabat aureos.

§ XXXIV.

He attempts in vain to convey Provisions into the City.

§ XXXIV. *BELISARIUS* resolv'd, at least, to open the Passage of the *Tyber*, in Order to carry Provisions into the City: He caused two broad Vessels to be fasten'd together, and a Turret to be erected on them, higher than both those which were raised by *Totilas*. These were followed by 200 Vessels laden with Provisions, the Sides of which were so rais'd with Boards, that their Archers could annoy the Enemy, and yet be cover'd themselves. He plac'd some Troops in a Readiness, to prevent the Enemy from making any Attempt on *Porto*: And all the Rest of the Infantry stood near that Place, in Case *Bessas* should think fit to make a Sally. The Design succeeded to his Wish at first. *Belisarius* approach'd so near, that, from the Top of his Turret, he could throw combustible Matters, of all Kinds, into that of the *Goths*, which stood on the Road to *Porto*, and thereby burnt it, together with 100 Men, who were in it. The *Imperialists* had began to attempt the Boom, when they were interrupted by an unexpected Alarm. *Belisarius* had left his Consort, with the Treasury of the Army, and his own Effects, of great Value, at *Porto*, in the Care of *Isaac*, the before-mention'd *Armenian* General. The Safety of his Retreat was so very important, that he had order'd him not to move, whatever Advices he might receive: But when the Report of this successful Beginning reach'd *Porto*, with this Addition, that the *Imperialists* had already broken the Chain, and were advancing without Molestation to *Rome*, Vanity so gain'd the Ascendant over the *Armenian*, as to aim at the Honour of having contributed something to the Delivery of the City. He hasten'd out of *Porto*, took with him some of those Men, whom *Belisarius* had posted on the Way, and attack'd *Rudericus*, the *Gothick* General; but with so little Success that he himself was taken Prisoner. Some of the Cavalry, who had escap'd from Battle, rode in full Gallop to *Belisarius*, and call'd to him that *Isaac* was taken Prisoner by the *Goths*. That Equanimity and Presence of Mind, which *Belisarius* had 'till then been so famous for, now forsook him; and, as *Procopius* observes, for the very first Time of all his Life. He was so seiz'd with the Apprehension of *Porto*'s being lost, and himself cut off, that he did not take Time to enquire into the real Circumstances of Things, but immediately quitted his Design and turn'd back, in Hopes of being the sooner able to drive out the *Goths* in their first Confusion *.

Totilas takes *Rome*. &c. † *A.* 546.

§ XXXV. *BESSAS* continu'd so to indulge his Avarice, and relied so securely on the Walls of *Rome*, that he hardly ever caus'd the Posts to be visited. By this Neglect, four *Isauri* †, who were on Guard at

§ XXXIV. * PROCOPIUS *L.* 3. *c.* 19.

the

the *Porta Aſinaria*, to betray the City into the Hands of the *Goths*. They drew four Men, in the Night Time, over the Wall, who, making themſelves Maſters of the Gate, on the Inſide, open'd it to their King. *Totilas* kept his Troops together, during the Night, being apprehenſive of Treachery, and Ambuſhes: but *Beſſas* was not prepar'd for a Defenſe. He no ſooner hear'd that the *Goths* were in the City, than he made his Eſcape thro' another Gate. His Troops, and ſome of the *Patricii*, who had Horſes, fled whither their Inclination led them; but they were oblig'd to leave the Women behind them. The Relation of *Procopius*, that not above 500 Men, of the common People, were left, and that they were ſo worn out, as to be hardly able to take Sanctuary in the Churches, is ſcarce credible. As ſoon as the † Day broke, and † Dec. 17. *Totilas* ſaw that his Apprehenſions were groundleſs, he repair'd to the Church of *St. Peter's*, to perform his Devotion. At firſt, the *Goths* cut in Pieces all that came in their Way: But the Deſolation of the City itſelf put a Stop to this Cruelty. Six and twenty Soldiers, and ſixty of the Inhabitants, made up the Number of the Slain: For when *Totilas* enter'd the Church, *Pelagius*, whom I mention'd above, came to meet him, having the Goſpels carried before him, and entreated he would ſpare the Vanquiſh'd, who were now become his Subjects. The King therefore commanded, that no Injury ſhould be offer'd to the Perſon of any one. The Women in particular, were not only ſcreen'd from all indecent Uſage; but *Totilas* did not even ſuffer them to be married againſt their Wills: No Interceptions could, however, prevent the Plunder of the City; and the Mony *Beſſas* had heap'd up fell now a Prey to the *Goths*. Some Senators were ſo impoveriſh'd by theſe Ravages, that they were forc'd to beg their Bread from Door to Door. *Ruſticiana*, the Widow of *Boetius*, and Daughter of *Symmachus*, among others, was reduc'd to this calamitous State. This Lady was accus'd of having prevail'd on the *Imperial* Generals, by bribing them with large Sums of Mony, to throw down the Statues, that had been erected in Honour of *Theodorick*, in Order to revenge the Death of her Father and Husband, on that Prince's Memory. Some urg'd, that ſhe deſerv'd to expiate that Crime with the Loſs of her Life; but to this *Totilas* would give no Ear *,

§ XXXVI.

§ XXXV. * Procop. *L.* 3. *c.* 20. Contin. Chron. Marcellini *ad A. Poſt Coſ.* Baſilii VI. *Ind.* X. (547). Totila, dolo Iſaurorum, ingreditur Romam, die XVI. Kal. Januarias, acevertit muros, domos aliquantas igni comburens, ac omnes Romanorum res in prædam accepit, hos ipſos Romanos in Campaniam captivos abduxit. Poſt quam devaſtationem, per XL. aut amplius dies, Roma fuit ita deſolata, ut nemo ibi hominum, niſi beſtiæ, morarentur. Marius *ad A.* VI. *poſt Coſ.* Baſilii *Ind.*

He propoſes an Accomodation to *Juſtinian.*

§ XXXVI. *TOTILAS* made a Speech to his *Goths*, and admoniſh'd them, for the future, to have a conſtant Regard to Juſtice and Equity, as the ſureſt Means of ſupporting themſelves in their now more fortunate State (1). He likewiſe caus'd thoſe few Members of the Senat, who were yet left in the City, to be brought before him, and reproach'd them with their Infidelity to the *Goths*, and the fatal Conſequences of it: He threaten'd to puniſh them with the Loſs of the Liberty they had hitherto enjoy'd, but this Menace was ſoon after mitigated, at the Mediation, in particular, of *Pelagius* (2). He then delegated *Pelagius* and *Theodorus*, a *Roman* Ad-

Ind. X. (547). Eo anno Baduila, Rex Gothorum, Romam captam depopulavit, dejectiſque muris partem Civitatis incendit. *Both indeed aſſign the Year* 547; *but* Pagius ad h. a. N. 2. ſequ. *proves, againſt* Baronius *and* Noriſius, *that it happen'd* A. 546.

§ XXXVI. (1) PROCOPIUS, *L.* 3. *c.* 21. *p.* 514. *ſeq. He introduces him ſpeaking, among others, theſe Words:* Aio agitur, nos antea, cum ducenta fortiſſimorum militum millia conſcripta haberemus, ingentes poſſideremus divitias, equorum, cæterarumque rerum vim maximam, ac prudentiſſimos oſtentaremus ſenes quam plurimos; quo juvari ſingulariter videntur, qui in dimicationem veniunt; a ſeptem millibus Græcorum victos, & regno rebuſque omnibus fœdiſſime ſpoliatos fuiſſe. Nunc autem ad paucos redacti, nudi, miſeri, omnino rudes, hoſtium amplius viginti millia vicimus. Ac res quidem geſtæ, ut in ſumma dicam, ejuſmodi ſunt. Horum vero eventuum cauſas vobis, probe licet cognitas, modo referam. Ante hac Gothi æquitate cunctis poſthabita, inter ſe, & in Romanos ſubditos ſcelera committebant: quibus Deus, ut par erat, commotus, adverſus illos una cum hoſtibus bellavit. Quamobrem numero licet, virtute, bellico apparatu adverſariis longe ſuperiores, occulta quadam ac minime perſpecta vi fracti ſuccubuimus. Ergo ſitum in vobis erit, ut bona jam parta tueamini, nimirum cultu juſtitiæ: unde, ſi deflectatis illico Deus contra vos ſtabit. Neque enim certo cuidam hominum generi, nec naturæ gentium auxiliari in bello ſolet; ſed iis, qui jus faſque impenſius colunt. Neque ipſi difficile eſt ad alios bona transferre; cum arbitrii quidem humani ſit ſolum abſtinere injuria; at Deus omnia in ſua ditione habeat, ac poteſtate. Quare dandam eſſe operam dico, ut inter vos atque ſubditos æquitatis officia ſervetis.

(2) PROCOP. *L.* 3, *c.* 21. *has recorded the following Contents of this Speech to the* Romans: Coacto etiam Senatui Romano multa exprobavit, & cavillando objecit, quod pluribus a Theoderico & Athalarico affecti beneficiis, omnibus ſemper ornati magiſtratibus, ad Reipublicæ adminiſtrationem adhibiti, opibuſque aucti ingentibus, animo in Gothos tam beneficos ingratiſſimo, ſummaque injuria cum exitio ſuo conjuncta deſeciſſent, & Græcos induxiſſent in patriam, ſui proditores repente facti. Tum quærere, quid mali unquam Gothi ipſis irrogaſſent? inſtare ut dicerent, num quid boni a Juſtiniano Aug. accepiſſent? ac ſingula recenſendo, commemore, honores fere omnes illis ereptos; a Logothetis, quos vocant, impoſitam verberum vi neceſſitatem rationes eorum reddendi, quæ rem gerendo publicam in Gothos admiſiſſent; ſæviente bello, æque ut in pace, veſtigalia a Græcis exacta: alia multa orationi intexuit, quæ infenſo Domino, carpenti ſervos, convenirent. Denique Herodianum ipſis oſtendens atque Iſauros, quorum proditione urbem ceperat, Vos quidem, inquit, cum Gothis educati, nullum nobis locum, vel deſolatum, voluiſtis ad hanc diem concedere; hi vero nos ipſius Romæ, & Spoleti fecerunt compotes. Quare vos ſervi eſtote; dum hi Gothis amicitia ac neceſſitudine juncti, magiſtratus veſtros merito obtinebunt. *Hæc audita Patritii ferebant ſilentio: at Pelagius lapſos infelices a Totila deprecari non abſtitit, donec ille eos remiſit, promiſſa clementia erectos.*

vocate,

vocate, to the Emperor, to try if they could obtain a Peace; but on no other Footing, than as it had been ſettled in the Times of *Anaſtaſius* and *Theodorick* (3). But *Juſtinian* referred this Treaty to *Beliſarius*. In the mean Time, a Body of *Goths*, who attempted to make an Irruption into *Lucania*, being repuls'd, *Totilas* reſolv'd to go thither himſelf: But to be the more ſecure of a Retreat, and to remove all Apprehenſions from the Side of *Rome*, he caus'd all the Gates to be taken off, and ſo much of the Walls, in ſeveral Places, to be thrown down, as amounted to a third Part of the Circumference. Some Edifices had perhaps likewiſe been ſet on Fire during the Siege (4). The enraged Conqueror would probably have proceeded farther, and there were not thoſe wanting, who wiſh'd to ſee the City level'd with the Ground (5): But *Beliſarius* himſelf wrote to him, and interceded for the Place (6). He

(3) PROCOP. *p.* 516. *C.* Petimus ut pacis commoda & amplectaris ipſe, & nobis concedas. Quoniam monumenta atque exempla præclariſſima nobis ſuppeditant Anaſtaſius ac Theodericus, qui nuper ita regnarunt, ut pace & felicitate ætatem ſuam impleverint. Hoc tibi ſi collibitum erit, merito Pater meus vocaberis; ac nos deinceps, in quemcunque voles, habebis armorum ſocios.

(4) PROCOP. *l. c. c.* 22. *p.* 517. *B.* Cujus allato nuntio, ſtatuit Romam ſolo æquare Totilas, ibique relicta majori parte exercitus, cum altera Johannem & Lucanos petere. Ergo muros diverſis in locis diruit; ita, ut ruinæ tertiam fere totius ambitus partem efficerent. Ædificia quoque pulcherrima, ac magnificentiſſima delere flammis parabat, & mutare Romam in gregum paſcua. *What is mentioned above concerning ſome Buildings being ſet on Fire, is illuſtrated in the Paſſages quoted* § XXXIX. *not.* 3.

(5) Ataulph, *King of the* Wiſi-Goths, *once intended this, as I obſerv'd* B. VIII. § 30. not. 3. *And that many of the* Goths *now deſign'd the ſame appears from the following* § 38.

(6) PROCOPIUS, *L.* 3. *c.* 22, *quotes the Contents of* Beliſarius's *Letter, as follows:* Ut inventum virorum eſt cordatorum, ac vitæ civilis intelligentium, ornamenta urbibus nova addere; ſic ea, quæ extant, abolere, nota eſt propri ſtultorum, quos non pudeat ejuſmodi monumentum naturæ ſuæ poſteritati relinquere. Romam autem cunctis urbibus, quæ ſub ſole ſunt, magnitudine & dignitate præſtare in confeſſo eſt. Haud enim unius viri opibus extructa fuit, nec brevis temporis beneficio tam ampla ſplendidaque evaſit: ſed multi Imperatores, & præſtantiſſimorum virorum catervæ plurimæ, & longa dies, & immenſæ divitiæ, huc ex univerſo terrarum orbe cum alia quælibet, tum architectos atque opifices coegerunt. Itaque urbe, qualem vides, paulatim ædificata, virtutis omnium monumenta poſteris reliquerunt. Quare ſi quam acceperint hæc injuriam, ea graviter in ætates omnes redundare videbitur, nec immerito. Nam & majoribus virtutis memoriam, & poſteris voluptatem ea ſpectandi opera adimet. Quæ cum ita ſint, probe teneas velim, neceſſe eſſe horum alterum fiat: vel hujus belli victoriam, tibi præripiat Imperator, vel eam forte adipiſcaris. Si viceris; Roma exciſa, non alienam urbem perdideris, præclare vir, ſed tuam: eadem ſervata, augeberis procul dubio poſſeſſione omnium præſtantiſſima. Sin deterior fortuna tibi inciderit; manente Roma, non parva tibi gratia apud victorem manebit: ea deleta, nullus erit reliquus clementiæ locus. Præterea nihil emolumenti ceperis ex tali facto. Huic demum conſentanea de te erit apud mortales omnes opinio; quæ jam tibi impendet in utramque parata partem. Etenim qualia ſunt acta Principum, tale ipſi nomen ex iis ferant neceſſe eſt.

remonſtrated, among other Particulars, that if he hop'd to continue Maſter of *Italy*, it would be inconſiſtent to deſtroy the greateſt Ornament thereof; but if not, he would do well to conſider in what Light his Name would be tranſmitted to Poſterity, if he ſhould demoliſh the Monuments of ſo many great Men, and of ſuch noble Exploits, and at the ſame Time, of ſo many Maſter-pieces of valuable Arts. He therefore was contented with taking the *Patricii*, and all the other Inhabitants, with him to *Campania*. Thus *Rome* indeed, at that Time, retain'd her coſtly Buildings (7), but was left open and deſolate. This City had, indeed, frequently, in former Days, ſuffer'd greater Evils, both with Regard to her Inhabitants, and Edifices. Rivers of Blood were ſhed by *Marius*, *Cinna* and *Sylla*. How fatal were not the Cruelties (8) of the *Triumviri*, *Antony*, *Lepidus*, and *Cæſar Octavianus*? *Nero* caus'd the City to be ſet on Fire, to pleaſe himſelf with a Repreſentation of *Troy* in Flames. Not to mention the ſevere Judgements, it afterwards underwent †. But this Humiliation was yet wanting; that this Miſtreſs of the World, whoſe Citizens were formerly counted by Hundreds of Thouſands, ſhould now become deſolate, and that her ſplendid Buildings ſhould ſerve, as it were, for her own Sepulchre. *Totilas* left a great Part of his Army in *Algido* (now *Cava dell Aglio*) leſt *Beliſarius* might fall upon his Rear. All thoſe who had taken up Arms in *Lucania*, and the adjacent Countries, were appeas'd at the Approach of *Totilas*: And he encamp'd on Mount *Gargano*, where *Hannibal* had, in former Times, pitch'd his Tents. *John* would not venture to keep the Field in *Apulia*, but retir'd into *Otranto*, and fortified the Place; in Order to keep *Calabria*, in ſome Meaſure in Aw. *Totilas*, on the other Hand, left a Garriſon in *Acerenza*, on the Borders of *Calabria*, and went back to *Ravenna*. He had not yet been at this Place ſince his Acceſſion to the Throne, and now hop'd, with

(7) Procop. p. 627. B. *Extols the Vigilance of the* Romans, *in preſerving the Embelliſhments of their City; and afterwards makes mention of the beautiful Edifices that were in it.* Supra omnes, quos equidem novimus, urbis ſtudioſi ſuæ Romani; res omnes patrias retinere & conſervare ſatagunt: ne quid antiqui decoris Romæ depereat. Et quamvis diu dominationem Barbaricam paſſi ſunt, urbis tamen ædificia ſervarunt, & quam plurima quoad ejus fieri potuit ornamenta. *He immediately after mentions the five ancient Statues, that ſtill ſubſiſted in* Rome.

(8) Procopius *l. c. p.* 518. *C.* Ipſe reliquum exercitum adverſus Joannem & Lucanos duxit, Romanos Senatores ſecum habens, cæteros cives omnes cum uxoribus liberiſque in Campaniam miſit, nec Romæ quemquam morari paſſus, urbem reliquit penitus vacuam.

† *How much more ſeverely* Italy *and* Rome *were viſited in former Times, than afterwards by the* Goths, *is deſcribed by* Thom. Bozius de Italiæ ſtatu L. 1. c. 7 *and* 8. *and throughout the whole ſecond Book.*

the

the greater Glory, to re-eſtabliſh the Reſidence of the *Gothick* Kingdom there (9).

§ XXXVII. But *Beliſarius*, by an unexpected Stratagem, defeated his Expectations. He went, unawares, with the greateſt Part of his Army, from *Porto* to the forſaken City of *Rome*, determining to reſtore it to its former State. In the Space of 25 Days, he ſtopp'd the Gaps in the Walls, as well as in Haſte he could, and caus'd the Outſide to be fenc'd with Paliſadoes. He had likewiſe caus'd large Quantities of Proviſions to be brought up along the *Tyber*. We may eaſily imagine with how much Reluctance the *Romans*, who were diſpers'd, had left the City. This News no ſooner reach'd their Ears, than they return'd in Shoals, and *Rome* was, in a Manner, founded a ſecond Time. *Totilas*, indeed, march'd with the whole Army to *Rome*, in Hopes of ſurpriſing *Beliſarius*, before he could finiſh the Walls and Gates: And this General had, indeed, for Want of a ſufficient Number of Workmen, not yet been able to put up the Gates (1). But he placed a Guard there of his moſt valiant Soldiers, and caus'd Stakes † to be drove on the Outſide, and a deep Ditch to be made. *Totilas* attack'd the City on that Side towards the *Tyber*: But he was vigorouſly repuls'd, and this Diſaſter prov'd doubly fatal to him: For beſides the ill Succeſs of his Attempt, the Heads of his Nation openly exclaim'd againſt him, for not having wholly demoliſh'd *Rome*, or plac'd a ſtrong Garriſon in it, and thereby ſecur'd it in his own Hands. The Soldiers almoſt made a God of him, ſo long as his Fortune anſwer'd their Wiſhes: But, after this Inadvertency, they complain'd, that, by the King's Indiſcretion, they were depriv'd of all their Victories (2). *Totilas* went to *Tivoli*, where he rebuilt the *Beliſarius* enters *Rome*.

(9) PROCOPIUS *c.* 22.

§ XXXVII. (1) *L.* 3. *c.* 24.

† PROCOPIUS *calls theſe Pales* Tribuli, *and gives the following Deſcription of them*, p. 552. Porro hæc tribulorum figura eſt. Extrema palorum quatuor, æqualis plane longitudinis, inter ſe ita committunt, ut radii ob omni latere formam triangularem efficiant: eos autem humi temere jaciunt. Itaque pali tres ſolo ſimul ſtant firmiſſime, quartus, qui unus eminet, viros equoſque præpedire ſolet. Et quoties quis tribulum voluit, tum qui erectus erat in cœlum palus, conſiſtit humi, & elatus alter in ejus locum, accedere volentibus infeſtus eſt.

(2) IBIDEM *p.* 523. Tum primores Gothorum omnes convenere Totilam, eique convitia ingerentes, ore duriſſimo, exprobrarunt imprudentiam: quod Roma potitus, nec ſolo totam æquaſſet, ne amplius ab hoſte poſſet occupari; neque ipſe retinuiſſet: ac temere corrupiſſet laboris ſui, ac diuturni temporis, fructum. Nimirum hoc ſunt homines ingenio: Sententiam eventis rerum ſemper accommodant, & mente ad fortunam fluctuantem appulſa, reciproco judiciorum æſtu jactantur. Itaque Gothi, quandiu Totilæ bene proceſſerunt incœpta, illum tanquam Deum ſuſpexerunt, invictum & inexpugnabilem prædicantes, cum urbes captas parte murorum aliqua nudari fineret. Semel autem re male geſta, eundem convitiis, ut dictum eſt, proſcindere non ſint veriti, paulo ante dictorum immemores, vel ea potius retexentes.

Fort

Fort. *Belisarius*, in the mean Time, compleated what was wanting of the Fortifications of *Rome*, and again sent the Keys of the City to the Emperor (3). *Totilas* had demanded the Daughter of a King of the *Franks* in Marriage; but met with a Refusal. It was alledg'd, that he could not yet be regarded as a King of *Italy*, and that his Throne did not appear sufficiently established, since he had not been able to maintain *Rome* (4).

Belisarius is recall'd from *Italy*.

§ XXXVIII. *TOTILAS* laid Siege to *Peruvia*, in Order to obliterate his Miscarriage by some brave Exploit (1). *John*, in the mean Time, broke up from *Taranto*, dispersed the *Goths*, and set the *Romans*, who were, in a Manner, their Prisoners, at Liberty. *Totilas* left some Troops before *Peruvia*, and march'd himself against *John*, whom he surprised unawares, and put him to Flight; whereupon, he retreated again to *Taranto*. *Belisarius* had, in the mean Time, left *Rome*; and intended to sail for *Taranto*, to wait there for the Succours, which *Justinian* had promised him; but was obliged to land at *Catrone*. His Men gained a small Advantage over the *Goths*, near *Rossano* (2): But *Totilas* fell upon them with 3000 Horse, and put them to Flight. The Consternation was greater than the Loss: But *Belisarius*, not thinking even his own Person safe at *Catrone*, retreated to *Messina*, which was regarded as little better than a Flight. He was quite tired with the War in *Italy*; because the Court so entirely neglected him. *Antonina*, his Wife, went to *Constantinople*, to represent to the Emperor, in Person, the Necessity of exerting himself: But she was informed, on her Journy, of the Death of † *Theodora*, over whom she had a great Influence, and now only entreated the Emperor to recall her Husband †† (3). The Memory of his former Victories occasioned no Notice to be taken, how little successful he had been during the last five Years, after his Return to *Italy* (4). *Justinian*

† *Jun.* 11, 548.

†† At the Beginning of the Year 549

(3) IBIDEM, *p.* 533. D.

(4) IBIDEM, *p.* 553. B. Non ita pridem Totilas missa ad Francorum Regem legatione, ejus filiam sibi petierat in matrimonium. Is vero abnuerat, negans, illum Italiæ regem esse, vel futurum unquam, qui Romam captam retinere nesciviset, ac parte ejus diruta illam iterum permisisset hostium potestati. *Each of the three Kings, who then reigned over the* Franks, *had Daughters. The modern Historians, as* Valerius, F. le Cointe, Pagius, *and* F. Daniel, *interpret this of* Theodebert; *because* Childebert *and* Clotarius *did not interfere in the Affairs of* Italy. *But this is not evident, for* Childebert *had certainly some Share therein, as appears from* Pope Vigilius's *Letters to* Aurelian, *Bishop of* Arles, *of which see a farther Account in* § 39. *below.*

§ XXXVIII. (1) PROCOPIUS, *L.* 3. 25.

(2) *Ruscia, Thurjorum Castellum.*

(3) PROCOPIUS, *L.* 3. *c.* 30.

(4) IDEM, *L.* 3. *c.* 35. Belisarius Byzantium indecore profectus est: cum Italia quinquennio sic fuisset excluſus, ut nequiviſſet certis itineribus progredi; sed toto hoc tempore fugitans clanculum, & ab uno maritimo præsidio ad aliud navigans, oram continenter legisset: unde factum, ut liberius hostes Romam ipsam, cæteraque omnia subege-

nian promoted him to the *Præfectura Prætorii Orientis*, and afterwards to the Command of his Life-Guards (5). He performed signal Service against the *Huns*, even in his advanced Years (6): But all the Laurels he had obtained in the Wars with the *Vandals*, *Goths*, *Persians* and *Huns*, could not shelter him from the Storms, which are frequently raised by Suspicion and Envy at Court. He was suspected of being too much puffed up by the Applause of the Populace, and of having a Share in a Conspiracy against the Emperor; insomuch, that he was confined to his House: But his Innocence was made manifest, and he died soon after †. His Goods were confiscated, which gave Rise to the Fiction, we find in some modern Writers, that he became blind, and was reduced to the Necessity of begging his Bread (7).

† Towards the Consulship of the Year 549.

† A. 565.

§ XXXIX. *JUSTINIAN*, in the mean Time, was so taken up with the religious Controversies, that the Affairs of State, and, in particular, the War with the *Goths*, were almost wholly neglected; notwithstanding he was often put in Mind of them, by Pope *Vigilius*, who was still detained at *Constantinople*, and several of the Temporal *Roman* Nobility (1). *Totilas*, in the mean While, besieged *Rome*. *Belisarius* had left a Garrison of 2000 Men, and Corn was now sown in several Places within the Walls, lest they should again be afflicted with Famine. The *Goths*, in the mean Time, took *Porta*. At Length, the *Isauri*, who murmured,

Totilas takes *Rome* a second Time.

subegerint. Tunc & Perusiam, urbem Tusciæ principem, dira obsidione cinctam reliquit: quæ, dum ille esset in via, vi capta est. Cum perveniisset Byzantium, ibi deinceps mansit, divitiis affluens, rebusque illustris antea feliciter gestis. Belisarius *returned to* Constantinople *towards the End of the 14th Year of the* Gothick *War, that is, at the Beginning of* 549.

(5) PROCOPIUS, *L.* 4. *c.* 21. *p.* 625. B. Cum, ut antea dixi, Belisarium Imperator Byzantium revocasset, eum habuit honorifice; haud tamen statuit in Italiam mittere post obitum Germani; sed ipsum, jam Præfectum Prætorio Orientis, corporis custodibus sui præposuit, tenuitque apud se. Dignitate præstabat Romanis omnibus Belisarius; etsi inter eos non deerant, qui ante ipsum adscripti fuissent Patritiis, & ad Sellam Consularem evecti. Nihilominus primas illi concedebant omnes prohibiti virtutis reverentia, quominus legis beneficio uterentur, suumque Jus retinerent; id quod valde Imperatori placebat. *Some Authors produce a Medal, said to have been struck in Honour of* Belisarius, *and refer to* Zonaras. *In him we find no such Account; and the whole Pretence is not consonant with the Customs of those Times.*

(6) AGATHIAS, *p.* 160--166.

(7) *See of this the* XXIV*th Annot. at the End of this Volume.*

§ XXXIX. (1) PROCOPIUS, *L.* 3. *c.* 35. Vigilius vero, Pontifex Romanus, cum Italis, qui ibi tunc aderant & plurimi & nobilissimi, non absistebat Imperatorem urgere, ut viribus omnibus Italiam sibi vindicaret. Imprimis stimulabat ipsum Gothigus, Patricius, ac jam diu Consularis, qui nuper ejus rei causa Byzantium venerat. At Imperator, se Italiæ prospecturum pollicitus, in Christianorum dogmata, maximam temporis partem conferebat, tollendis eorum controversiis intentissimus. *And* cap 36. *he says:* Justinianus vero Augustus, ut Belisarium reducem Byzantium vidit, Ducem alium adversus Gothos, ac Totilam

murmured, because they had, in so long Time, received no Pay, betray'd to them the Gate of S. *Paolo* †, where the *Goths* entered the City at the same Time, that the Garrison hasten'd out at the opposite Gate. They could retreat no where, but to *Centum-Cellæ Civita-Vecchia)* which was the only fortified Place remaining in the Hands of the *Imperialists* thereabouts: But *Totilas* had placed a large Number of Men in Ambush on that Road, by whom the most of them were taken. About 400 Horse made themselves Masters of the Bridge * over the *Tyber*,, and of the adjoining Sepulchre of the Emperor *Adrian*, which has served ever since for a Fort, and is now known by the Name of the Castle *di S. Angelo*. They resolved to hold out to the last Man: But *Totilas* allowed them a favorable Capitulation, and they even entered into the *Gothick* Service: For *Justinian*'s Army consisted chiefly of Foreigners, who were indifferent, by whom they were paid. He likewise gave Quarter to four Hundred *Imperial* Soldiers, who had taken Refuge here and there in the Churches (2). *Totilas* endeavoured now to re-people the City with *Romans* and *Goths*. He sent for the Senators, and all the other *Romans*, thither, that were in his Power, caused the Edifices that had been destroyed by Fire, to be rebuilt, and Plenty of Provisions to be brought thither (3): And in Order to blot out, as it were, the doleful Remembrance of past Evils, he instituted Turnaments, in which he was himself very expert (4). Pope *Vigilius*, who received this unhappy News at *Constantinople*, besought *Aurelian*, Bishop of *Arles*, to implore King *Childebert*'s Intercession with *Totilas*, for the Safety of the Church and Religion (5). *Totilas* is, therefore,

† Towards the Conclusion of the Year 549.

* Di S. Angelo.

Totilam, cum exercitu mittere constituit. Quod consilium, si executus esset, bello, ut equidem sentio, vicisset hostem, cum adhuc Romam haberet in sua ditione, & incolume illius Urbis præsidium, missis Byzantio auxiliis, misceri posset. Nunc autem delecto primum Liberio, Patritio Romano, injunxit, ut præsto esset: deinde negotio forte suborto aliquo, egregiam voluntatem deposuit.

(2) Procopius, *L.* 3. *c* 36. *That the City was taken, towards the Conclusion of the Year* 549, *is demonstrated by* Pagius, *ad A.* 550. *n.* 23.

(3) Procopius, *l. c. p.* 553. A. Porro Totilas, Romam nec delere, nec relinquere amplius voluit: Sed Gothis ac Romanis cum Senatorii, tum alias cujusque ordinis frequentare decrevit. *And cap.* 37. Quamobrem jam in urbem annonam invehere sategit Totilas, & propere instaurari jussit, quidquid ipse, cum Romam primum cepisset, ferro ac flamma corruperat. Romanos, non Senatores modo, sed alios etiam quoscunque in Campania asservabat, revocavit, cumque ludis equestribus interfuisset, universum exercitum accinxit, bellum Siculum meditans. *And p.* 627, A. Urbem pro virili parte curare jubet, præ se ferens pœnitentiam violatæ tum Romæ, cum ejus partem non exiguam, præsertim trans fluvium Tyberim, flamma deleviset.

(4) Procop. *p.* 553. B. *How expert* Totilas *was in Exercises of this Kind, appears from the Relation, which the Reader will find in the* XIIIth *Annot.*

(5) Vigilius's *Letter to* Aurelian, *Bishop of* Arles, *may be seen in* Baronius, *ad A.* 550, *n.* 8. *seq. The Words relating to our Subject are these:* Credimus sperandum, ut sit fraternitas Vestra sollicita, & Glorioso Filio nostro, Childeberto, Regi,

fore, unjuſtly accuſed of having deſtroyed the City, and of having then levelled with the Ground the Amphitheatre, Obelisks, Theatres, Baths, Aqueducts, and other ſplendid Edifices. They were not demoliſh'd 'till ſucceeding Times, when the *Chriſtians* would no longer ſuffer the Cruelty of Combats, nor the Effeminacy of Baths and Theatres, no more than they would the Monuments of Idolatry, in the Temples, and Obelisks. Pope *Gregory the Great* was particularly zealous herein. Many of theſe Edifices were afterwards dilapidated, when they were either no more regarded, or could, for Want of Inhabitants, not well be ſupported. Many were deſtroyed in the ſucceeding Wars, in the XIth Century, and, perhaps, in later Times, when the *Guelphs* and *Gibellines* were at Variance in this City (6). *Totilas* ſucceeded now to the utmoſt of his Wiſhes. *Peruſia*, on the other Side, had been forced to ſurrender: He reſolved, therefore, to paſs over into *Sicily*, and had got a conſiderable Fleet together, which chiefly conſiſted of Ships taken from the *Imperialiſts* (7). He detached, by the Way, ſome Troops to *Taranto*, who took the Caſtle. The Garriſon at *Reggio*, on the Streight, offered to reſiſt. He left ſome Troops to reduce them by Famine, and proceeded, without Moleſtation, to *Sicily*. He over-run, at Will, this whole Iſland †; † 550.
before *Juſtinian* could reſolve, whom to ſend thither. He, at firſt, had an Eye on *Liberius*, but ſoon altered his Reſolution (8).

§ XL. WHILST *Totilas* employed moſt of his Forces in the other Part of *Italy*, *Theodebert*, King of *Auſtraſia*, laid Hold of this Opportunity of taking ſome Countries and Cities, which bordered on *Burgundy* and *Rætia* (1). The unfortunate Expedition † of 539 had not deterr'd him

Theodebert, in the mean Time, takes ſome Places in *Italy*.

† Above, §. 18.

Regi, ſupplicare non deſinas, ut quia Gothi, cum Rege ſuo, in civitatem Romanam perhibentur ingreſſi, hoc ei dignetur ſcribere, ne ſe in Eccleſiæ noſtræ præjudicio immiſceat, & aliquid faciat, aut fieri qualibet ratione permittat, unde Catholica poſſit Eccleſia perturbari.

(6) *All this is circumſtantially related by* Pet. Angelus Bergæus, *in a learned Letter* de publicorum privatorumque Urbis Romæ ædificiorum everſoribus, *where he proves that Deſtruction to have been* falſely *imputed to* Totilas.

(7) PROCOP. *p.* 553. C. Eodem tempore minora navigia quadringenta, veluti ad navale certamen, expediit, ac numeroſam claſſem majorum navium, quas illuc ex Oriente ab Imperatore miſſas, toto eo tempore cum viris, & oneribus interceperat.

(8) IBID. *c.* 39.

§ XL. (1) PROCOP. *L.* 4. *c.* 24. *p.* 634. D. Paulo ante, Francorum Rex, Theodebertus, morbo obierat, cum ſibi nullo negotio tributaria feciſſet nonnulla Liguriæ loca, Alpes Cottias, agrique Veneti partem maximam. Etenim Franci, arrepta belli, quo Romani Gothique erant impliciti, opportunitate, ſine diſcrimine ditionem ſuam iis locis auxerunt, de quibus illi pugnabant. Venetorum pauca oppida Gothis ſupererant: nam

him from trying his Fate again in *Italy*. *Bucelinus*, Duke of *Alemannia*, performed the moſt eminent Services here (2); and, next to him, *Hamingus* and *Lanthacarius* two famous Generals (3). The *Iranks* took the *Cottian Alps*, which reach from *Monte-Viſo* to *Mont-Cenis*, and extended themſelves in *Liguria* and *Venetia*. The *Goths* retained only *Breſcia*, *Verona*, and a few other Places in *Venetia*. The *Imperialiſts* were poſſeſſed of the Sea-Port Towns. The latter were the leſs able to reſiſt the *Franks*, as they could not even carry on the War, to any Purpoſe, againſt the *Goths*. But we meet, nevertheleſs, with the Mention of a Battle, in which *Lanthacarius* was beaten by the *Imperialiſts* (4). *Totilas*, at that Time, allowed *Theodebert* the Poſſeſſion of his Conqueſts, and only made the Condition, That he ſhould proceed no farther; and promiſed, at the ſame Time, that when the War with the *Goths* was ended, he would come to an amicable Accommodation with the *Iranks* (5).

His Deſign againſt the Emperor, *&c.*

§ XLI. *AGATHIAS*, who wrote the Hiſtory of *Juſtinian*, from the Time where *Procopius* ceaſes, relates (1), that *Theodebert* was diſpleas'd

nam Romani maritima, Franci cætera occupaverant. Dum hoc bellum, ut dixi, Romani Gothique inter ſe gererent, nec novos hoſtes in ſe auderent excire, colloquio Gothos inter ac Francos inſtituto convenerat, ut quæ haberent utrique, his quiete potirentur, nec ſe invicem armis laceſſerent, quamdiu Romanis Gothi bellum inferrent: ac ſi bello vinceret Juſtinianum Auguſtum Totilas; tum Gothi & Franci tranſigerent, prout ere eſſe communi videretur.

(2) *That* Bucelinus *contributed moſt thereto, appears from* Paulus Diaconus, *Lib. 2. c. 2.* His temporibus Narſes etiam Bucelino, Duci, bellum intulit, quem Theodebertus, Rex Francorum, cum in Italiam introiiſſet, reverſus ad Gallias, cum Hamingo, alio Duce, ad ſubjiciendam Italiam dereliquerat. Gregory's *Relation*, L. 3, 32. *agrees with this.*

(3) Hamingus *is named by* Paulus Diaconus *in the foregoing* Not. 2. *We ſhall find him mentioned again in the next Book. Of* Lanthacarius, *See the following Note.*

(4) MARIUS *A. P. C. Baſil. VII. Ind. XI.* (548.) Eo anno Lanthacarius, Dux Francorum, in bello Romano transfoſſus obiit.

(5) *See* Procopius's *Words*, Not. 1. *In the next Book, I ſhall have frequent Occaſion to mention thoſe Places in* Italy, *which, about this Time, were taken by the* Franks.

§ XLI. (1) AGATHIAS *L. 1. p. 14. D.* Cum itaque Romanis bellum adverſus Totilam, Gothorum ducem, eſſet ortum, Theodebertus hoc animo agitabat, ſummaque diligentia procurabat, ut interea, dum in Italia Narſes pariter & exercitus laborarent occupatique eſſent, ipſe fortiſſimis validiſſimiſque copiis coactis in Thraciæ regionem penetraret, eaque tota vaſtata & ſubjugata, Byzantium regiam urbem bellum transferret. Hoc vero conſilium ſuum adeo graviter re ipſa tantoque apparatu eſt perſequutus, ut etiam ad Gipedas & Longobardos aliaſque nonnullas finitimas gentes legationem inſtituerit, ut & hi in ſocietatem belli venirent. Neque enim tolerandum eſſe cenſebat, quod Imperator Juſtinianus in Edictis Imperatoriis Francici & Alemanici, nec non Gepedici, & Longobardici, alioſque hujuſcemodi titulos ſibi vindicaret, perinde ac ſi omnes haſce gentes ſubjugaſſet.

pleas'd at the Emperor's aſſuming the Titles of *Francicus*, *Alemannicus*, *Germanicus* †, and form'd the Deſign of paſſing thro' *Pannonia* and *Moeſia*, when *Narſes* ſhould have carried away the Forces of the *Grecian* Empire into *Italy*, of invading *Thrace*, and of ſhewing the Emperor himſelf, at *Conſtantinople*, that he unjuſtly triumph'd, as it were, in his Titles, over the *Franks* and *Alemanni*, as if they had been conquer'd Nations. He had likewiſe ſent Ambaſſadors to the Kings of the *Gepidæ* and *Longobards*, and excited them to join him, when he was ſnatch'd away by Death. He died about the Year 548, and was ſucceeded by *Theodebald* his Son (2). Among the Medals of this King, we find one very remarkable. The *Buſto* is the ſame with that which commonly repreſents *Juſtinian*, and the Inſcription this: D. N. THEODEBERTI. P. P. AUG... On the Reverſe is the Figure of Victory, with the *Labarum*, as on the Medals of the Emperors, and this Circumſcription: VICTORIA AUCCCA. underneath CONOB. The Learned have been greatly perplex'd about the Explication of this Medal (3). *Theodebert*, perhaps, even aſſum'd the *Imperial* Title, in Hopes of reſtoring the Empire in the *Weſt*, and making himſelf the ſooner Maſter of *Italy*. This Project had before been form'd by the *Gauls* (4). But *Charlemaign*, and after him, *Otto* the Great, executed, in following Times, what neither the *Gauls*, in former Days, nor *Sylvianus*, a *Frank*, in the fourth Century, nor *Theodebert* now could ſucceed in.

ſet. Quo circa & ipſe graviter hanc injuriam ferebat, & alios, ut communi ſecum injuria contumeliaque affectos, ad indignationis ſocietatem ſollicitabat. Ego vero ita ſtatuo, ſi hanc ille expeditionem ſuſcepiſſet, audaciam ei ſuam nulli bono futuram fuiſſe; ſed ſive in Thraciam, ſive in Illyrios veniſſet, in præſidiarias iis in locis Romanorum legiones incidiſſet, turpiterque periiſſet. Sed hoc ipſum quod ejuſcemodi conſilium animo concepiſſet, & vellet & optaret; omnemque, quod ad ſe attinet, ad hoc lapidem moviſſet, evidentiſſimo argumento eſſe poteſt, qualis ille vir, quamque ferox & arrogans fuerit. Agathias *ſays indeed, that* Juſtinian *likewiſe aſſum'd the Titles of* Gepidicus *and* Longobardicus; *but theſe Titles are not met with on the Inſcriptions extant of him.*

† *The Title as plac'd before the Inſtitutes and* Novella, *runs thus:* Imperator Cæſar, Flavius, Juſtinianus, Alemanicus, Gothicus, Francicus, Germanicus, Anticus, Alanicus, Vandalicus, Africanus, pius, felix, inclytus, victor ac triumphator, ſemper Auguſtus. F. Montfaucon *repeats an Inſcription in Honour of* Juſtinian, *which* Tournefort *tranſcrib'd on his Travels, at* Trapezunt, *in the* Palæographia Græca, p. 174, *from whence* Banduri *copies it*, Numiſm. T. II. p. 637. *But it may not be improper here to obſerve, that both his Predeceſſor* Anaſtatius, *and his Succeſſor* Tiberius, *bore the ſame pompous Titles.*

(2) *According to* Marius's *Computation*, Theodebert *died* A. 548. *But* Pagius ad A. 552. n. 21, 22 *builds on* Gregorius's *Calculation, and affirms that he died* A. 547.

(3) *Conf.* F. DANIEL, *p.* 104. & 106. BANDURI, *T.* II. *p.* 648.

(4) *See* V. I. B. 4. § 46. ſeq. *Of* Silvanus *ſee* ibid. B. 6. § 42. ſeq.

The *Bavarians* extend their Dominions in *Noricum*, &c.

§ XLII. The *Bavarians* begin, about this Time, to be famous in the History of the *Franks*. They extended their Dominions in *Rætia*, and the adjoining Part of *Noricum*, and became one of the principal People, that compos'd the Kingdom of *Germania*. The Name of *Bojoarii* (1), is indeed not so very ancient: But the People themselves are generally derived from the ancient *Boji* (2). We cannot, with any Certainty, say, when or how they were first subdued by the *Franks*. Most Writers are of Opinion it was in the Times of *Clovis*, immediately after the Overthrow of the *Alemanni* (3): But this seems improbable. *Vindelicia*, at least, which is said to have been the Native Country of the *Bavarians*, appertain'd at that Time, to the *Gothick* Kingdom; and on this Side of the *Danube* dwelt the *Longobards*. We might conclude, from the Preface to their ancient Laws, that they were, at least, subject to *Theodoric*, King of the *Franks* (4). But at whatever Time it was, that the *Franks* became Masters of the *Bavarians*, it is certain, that *Rætia* and *Noricum* fell not into their Hands 'till the Decay of the *Gothick* Kingdom, in the Reign of *Vitiges* (5). We shall meet with more

§ XLII. (1) *The Name of this People is variously written.* Bodoarius, Bavocarius, Bajoarius, Bojoarius *or* Bajuarius, &c. *And the Names* Boji *and* Bojarii, *are used as synonimous by some Writers even of the middle Age.* Conf. Eckard. Res Franc. Or. T. 1. p. 193.

(2) *See the* XXV. *Annot. at the Conclusion.*

(3) Aventinus *goes certainly too far, when,* Lib. 3. *he even names the Conditions, on which the* Bavarians *surrender'd to* Clovis: Boji de corpore suo, ubi opus fuerit, Principem legant, ac Ducem non Regem appellent. Reges Francorum autores fiant: In bellis auxilio Francis sunt Boji, eosdem pro amicis & hostibus habeant, cæterum suis institutis, ac moribus liberi vivant.

(4) Prooem. Legis Bojoariorum. Theodericus, Rex Francorum, cum esset Catalaunis, elegit viros sapientes, qui in regno suo legibus antiquis eruditi erant. Ipso autem dictante juffit conscribere legem Francorum, & Alemannorum & Bajuvariorum, unicuique genti, quæ in ejus potestate erat, secundum consuetudinem suam. Addidit, quæ addenda erant, & improvisa & incomposita resecavit, & quæ erant secundum consuetudinem paganorum, mutavit secundum legem Christianorum. Et quidquid Theodericus Rex propter vetustissimam paganorum consuetudinem emendare non potuit, posthæc Childebertus Rex inchoavit, sed Chlotarius Rex perfecit. Hæc omnia Dagobertus, Rex glorioſissimus, per viros inlustres Claudium, Chadum, Indomagum, & Agilulfum renovavit, & omnia vetera legum in melius transtulit, & unicuique genti scripta tradidit, quæ usque hodie perseverunt. *But it appears from this very Passage, that this Preface was written long after* Theodoric's *Time.*

(5) *We meet with the most ancient Traces of the* Bojoarii *in* Venantius Fortunatus, *who came, in King* Sigebert's *Time, from* Italy *into* Germany. *In the Preface, which is address'd to* Gregory, *Bishop of* Tours, *and in which he describes his Journy, he places the* Bavarians *on the* Lech: Dravum Norico, Oenum Breonis, Liccam Bojoaria, Danubium Alemania, Rhenum Germania transiens, &c. *and* de Vit. S. Martini, Lib. 4.

Si tibi barbaricos conceditur per ire amnes,

Ut

more certain Accounts of their Dukes, and of the Wars, whereby they extended their Confines, in the Sequel of this Hiſtory.

Ut placide Rhenum tranſcendere poſſis & Hiſtrum,
Pergis ad Auguſtam, quam Vindo, Lycuſque fluentant,
Illic oſſa ſacræ venerabere Martyris Afræ,
Si vacat ire viam, neque te Bajoarius obſtat,
Qua vicina ſedent Breonum loca, perge, per Alpem,
Ingrediens rapido qua gurgite voluitur Oenus.
Inde Valentini benedicti templa require
Norica rura petens, ubi Byrrus vertitur undis,
Per Dravum itur iter, &c.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE *ANCIENT GERMANS.*

BOOK XIII.

To the YEAR DLXI.

SECT. I. *THE Wars and Devaſtations, which, about this Time, troubled the Provinces of* Illyricum. *The Hiſtory of the* Heruli *reſum'd.* II. *A Part of the Nation makes a League with* Juſtinian, *and embraces the* Chriſtian *Faith. The Emperor grants them a Tract of Land.* III. Todaſius *and* Suartuas *contend for the Kingdom. Whether the Inhabitants of* Lithuania *and* Livonia *are deſcended from them?* IV. *Continuation of the Hiſtory of the* Gepidæ. V. *Hiſtory of the* Longobards. *Of their Kings,* Waccho, Valtaris, Audoin. *The laſt invades* Pannonia. VI. *They are involv'd in a War with the* Gepidæ. Elemundus, *and after him* Thoriſinus, *King of the* Gepidæ. Juſtinian *ſends Succours to the* Longobards. *A Truce between the two Nations.* VII. *The* Gepidæ, *in the mean Time, ſtir up the* Hunns. *Of the* Cuthurgurian *and* Uthurgurian Hunns. VIII. *The War renewed:* Juſtinian *declares for the* Longobards. Audoin *defeats the* Gepidæ. Ildigiſal, *Prince of the* Longobards, *takes Refuge among the* Gepidæ: *And* Oſtrogoth, *the Son of* Elemund, *with the* Longobards. IX. *Of the* Sclaveni and Antæ. *An Account of their Origin, Stature, Language, Religion and Manners.* X. *Their Irruptions into the Provinces of* Illyricum. *Why* Juſtinian *was ſurnamed* Anticus. XI. *The Emperor makes great Preparations againſt the* Oſtro-Goths:

Goths: *And constitutes* Germanus *General*. XII. *Who by the Way diſperſes the* Sclavi: *But dies. The* Sclavi *defeat the Imperialiſts, near* Adrianople; *and ravage almoſt as far as* Conſtantinople. XIII. Juſtinian's *Treaties with* Theodebald, *King of* Auſtraſia. XIV. Totilas *ſends a Fleet againſt* Greece. *The Imperialiſts relieve* Ancona. Artabanes *conquers* Sicily; *and the* Goths Sardinia *and* Corſica. XV. Narſes *obtains the Command*; *and has* Longobards, Heruli, Gepidæ, Gepani, &c. *in his Army*. XVI. *The* Franconian *Troops in* Venetia *refuſe him a Paſſage: He takes another Rout to* Ravenna. Totilas *ſets out from* Rome. XVII. *A Battle between the* Imperialiſts *and* Goths *on the* Appennine Alps. Totilas *is kill'd*. XVIII. *The* Goths *chooſe* Tejas *for their King. He applies to* Theodebald *for Aid*. XIX. Narſes *takes* Rome. XX. *He cauſes* Cuma *to be beſieg'd*. Tejas *haſtens to relieve it: A Battle near* Dragone. Tejas *is ſlain. His Army capitulates*. XXI. *The* Goths *in vain require Succour of* Theodebald. Bucellinus *and* Leutharis, *Dukes of the* Alemanni, *enter into a League with them. Their firſt Exploits in Italy*. XXII. Narſes, *in the mean Time, reduces* Tuſcany *to Subjection*; Fridigern *ſurrenders* Cuma. *The Progreſs of the two* Alemannic *Princes*. XXIII. Leutharis *retreats*. Bucelinus *attempts to ſet up for King in* Italy. Leutharis *dies on his Retreat*. XXIV. Bucelinus *fights with* Narſes *on the River* Caſilino. *Overthrow of the* Alemanni *and* Franks. XXV. *The End of the* Oſtro-Gothick *War*. Narſes *entirely ſubdues the Reſidue of the* Goths. *Some Thouſands are carried to* Conſtantinople. *What Fate the Reſt met with? The* Franks *now loſe the Conqueſts they had gain'd in* Italy. XXVI. *Reflections on the Downfal and Subverſion of ſo many Kingdoms, particularly of that of the* Oſtro-Goths. XXVII. *The Declenſion of* Italy. Juſtinian's *new Regulations. Of the* Sanctio Pragmatica. XXVIII. *Illuſtration of the Controverſies on the ſo-call'd* Tria Capitula. Juſtinian *inſiſts upon their being rejected*. XXIX. *He ſecures the Aſſent of Pope* Vigilius; *who publiſhes a* Judicatum, *wherein he condemns the* Tria Capitula. *The Churches in the* Weſt *are diſpleaſed at this*. XXX. Vigilius *retracts this* Judicatum: *The Emperor perſiſts in his Deſign*. Vigilius *retires to* Chalcedon. XXXI. *A Council at* Conſtantinople: Vigilius's *Conſtitution. The Council rejects the* Tria Capitula. XXXII. Vigilius *ſubmits, and obtains Leave to return to* Rome. Pelagius, *his Succeſſor, likewiſe rejects the* Tria Capitula. *Other Churches in the* Weſt *do the ſame. The Biſhop of* Aquileia, *and the Biſhops in* Iſtria *and* Venetia, *firmly maintain them*. XXXIII. *The State of the Empire of the* Franks. Theodebald *King of* Auſtraſia *dies without Heirs. The* Franconian *Monarchy is re-united under* Clotarius. *His ſucceſsful Expeditions againſt the* Saxons. XXXIV.

The

The State of the Church under the Franks. *Of the Election and Induction of Biſhops. Of the Councils. Of the* Pallium. *Of a Monaſtick Life.* XXXV. *In particular, of thoſe Biſhopricks, which fell afterwards to the Kingdom of* Germania ; *thoſe of* Triers, Mentz, Cologn, *&c.* XXXVI. *Of the Biſhopricks in* Rætia, *at* Windiſch, Augsburg, *&c. As likewiſe in* Noricum, *at* Lorch, Paſſau, *and* Liburnia ; *of the* Metropolis Laureacenſis. XXXVII. *How far Chriſtianity prevail'd in* Germania Magna, *among the* Thuringians, Longobards, Gepidæ, Heruli, *&c.*

The Wars in *Illyricum*. The Hiſtory of the *Heruli*.

§ I. *JUSTINIAN* was, in the mean Time, greatly perplex'd, as well on Account of the Controverſies in Religion, which had produc'd Diſorders throughout the whole Empire, as of the Wars and Devaſtations in *Thrace* and the Provinces of *Illyricum*. Thoſe Countries had, for many Years, been expos'd to the Incurſions of the *Gepidæ*, *Hunns*, *Heruli*, *Longobards* and *Sclavi*. Theſe latter, in particular, had, as it were, paved the Way for the *Goths*. *Juſtinian* himſelf gave them the Opportunity, when he permitted the *Heruli*, *Gepidæ* and *Longobards* to gain a ſure Footing in thoſe Provinces, not conſidering, how fatal his Predeceſſors had found the Admiſſion of Foreigners into the *Roman* Dominions. I muſt here firſt reſume the Hiſtory of the *Heruli*. They had not been able to recover themſelves after their Overthrow by the *Longobards* †; but were forc'd to quit their Country. One Part of them travell'd farther *Northwards*, whoſe uncommon Adventures are related by *Procopius* (1). The Reſt drew nearer to the *Danube*, and fix'd their Habitations in that Country, where the *Rugi* dwelt, before they went with the *Goths* into *Italy*; but ſoon after, they remov'd to the *Gepidæ* (2), who dwelt farther *Eaſtwards*, in *Dacia*. But a War ſoon enſu'd betwixt theſe Neighbours, when the *Heruli* were again forc'd to purſue their March. They paſs'd over the *Danube* into the *Roman* Dominions, where the Emperor *Anaſtaſius* granted them a Habitation (3).

† See above, XI. 25.

§ II. *JUSTI-*

§ I. (1) Procopius *de Bello Goth. L. 2. c.* 15.

(2) Idem, *p.* 421. A. Quo factum, ut in patria amplius manere nequiverint: Sed illi quamprimum egreſſi, iter porro continuarint, cum liberis & uxoribus peragrando oras omnes, Iſtro fluvio ulteriores. Regionem ingreſſi, habitatam olim a Rugis, qui in Italiam cum Gothorum exercitu conceſſerant, ibi conſtitere. Sed cum inculta ſolitudo eſſet, paulo poſt exacti illinc ſtimulis famis, ad Gepædum fines accedunt. Ac primum quidem Gepædes illis ſupplicibus permiſerunt, ut cum vicini ſui eſſent, tum inquilini.

(3) Ibidem. Impatientia abrepti Eruli, Iſtrum amnem trajiciunt, & Romanorum, in illis partibus degentium, vicinitatem ambiunt, Anaſtaſio Imperatore. A quo benigniſſime accepti, ipſius

§ II. JUSTINIAN made a Treaty with them, such as the Emperors were usually engag'd in with the neighbouring foreign Nations, by Virtue of which he was to pay annually a certain Sum of Mony, and they were to assist him in his Wars (1). He likewise granted them a Tract of Land, in the Country now call'd *Servia*. On this Occasion, they, together with their King, embrac'd the *Christian* Faith (2), and they actually sent Auxiliaries to *Justinian*, in all his Wars with the *Persians*, *Vandals* and *Goths* (3). But they were not long quiet. Their Princes had more the Name, than the Power of Kings, and, under the Pretence of Liberty, the Subjects sometimes play'd the Master. They, at last, murder'd King *Ochos*, and resolv'd to be no longer under any Subjection; but they soon experienc'd, how easily Liberty, when accompany'd by boundless Passions, degenerates into Licentiousness, and how necessary it is for every one to give up some Part of his Freedom, that he may more securely enjoy the Rest. They were desirous of having a King, and to retain the former Royal Line. This was extinct with them, but flourish'd still among the *Heruli*, who, as I observed before,

The Rest enter into a Treaty with *Justinian*, &c.

ipsius permissu ibi sedes fixerunt. Aliquanto post, *the Plate; but it was rebuilt by* Justinian, *as we* offensus idem sceleribus, quæ in Romanos accolas *see by* Procop. de ædif. p. 80. Barbari illi perpetrabant, adversus eos exercitum misit. Acie victores Romani partem maximam interfecerunt, potueruntque ad internecionem cædere. Verum qui supererant, supplices fuere Ducibus, ut sibi in posterum vivere liceret in Romanorum societate, & fidam navare operam Imperatori. Hæc sibi renunciata probante Anastasio, data salus est Erulorum reliquiis. Nec tamen socii Romanorum fuere, neque ipsos ullo officio remunerarunt.

§ II. (1) PROCOPIUS, *de Bello Goth. L. 3. c.* 33. Alia quadam DACIÆ LOCA Erulis Imperator attribuit ad SINGEDONEM, ubi nunc habitant, Illyricum Thraciamque crebris populantes incursionibus. Ex his aliquot Romanæ militiæ dederunt nomina, fœderatorum, ut vocant, adscripti numero. Cum autem Byzantium veniunt Erulorum Legati, omnia stipendia, vel eorum, qui ditioni Romanæ subditos expilant, ab Imperatore facillime consecuti, redeunt. *He means here* Dacia Cis-Istriana. Singidon, *or* Singidunum *is the present* Semandria, *commonly call'd* Zenderow, *in* Servia. *The* Gepidæ *have demolish'd*

(2) EVAGRIUS, *L. 4. c. 19. Nicephor. XVII.* 13. AUT. HISTOR. MISCEL. *Lib. 16. in pr.* Interea Rex Erulorum, Gethes nomine, venit Constantinopolim cum populo, & petit Imperatorem, ut fieret Christianus. Qui baptizatum in Theophaniis suscepit eum ex baptismate, repromittentem auxiliari ei in quibuscunque voluisset. Procopius *mentions this Conversion*, p. 421. D. *as follows*; Postquam imperium Justinianus suscepit, illos agro donatos perbono, atque auctos largitione, ut & vicis Romanorum, & Christianis vellent omnes adscribi, perpulit. Ita ad mitius vitæ genus traducti, præclara quidem formula Christianam legem amplexi sunt, & sociali jure Romanas sæpe sequuntur acies. *Some* Heruli *were, likewise,* Arians, *as appears in* Procopius *pag.* 269, C. Erant forte in castris Romanis Ariani milites, saltem mille, quo in numero multi Barbari, inter hos Eruli aliquot.

(3) PROCOPIUS, de Bello Pers. *L. 1. cap.* 13 *and* 14, *extols the Services perform'd by the* Heruli *in this War.* Add. Lib. 2. cap. 24. & 28.

were removed farther *Northwards*. They therefore delegated some Persons to offer the Crown to one of those Princes (4).

Todasius and *Suartuas* contend for the Kingdom, &c.

§ III. ANOTHER Faction maintain'd, that the Emperor *Justinian* ought to appoint a King; and in Order thereto, an Ambassy was sent to *Constantinople*. The Emperor readily gave Ear to this Address, for the *Roman* Emperors always esteem'd it an Honour to have foreign Nations receive a King at their Hands, as those Medals demonstrate, that are stamp'd in Memory thereof *. He conferr'd this Dignity on *Suartuas*, an eminent *Herulus*, who had long resided at his Court. The *Heruli* appear'd well satisfy'd with the new Government, when they receiv'd Advices from the *North*, that *Todasius*, to whom the other Party had offer'd the Scepter, was coming to take Possession of it. *Aortus*, his Brother, accompanied him, with 200 select young Men. *Suartuas* set out to meet them, and to maintain the Kingdom by Force. When the two Armies were about a Day's Journy asunder, his Men left him, in the Night, and went over to the new Comer, and he himself was forc'd to go for Refuge to *Constantinople*. The Emperor threaten'd to restore him by Force; but *Todasius*, who knew him to be too formidable an Enemy, had again Recourse, with his Adherents, to the *Gepidæ* (1): Where they, soon after, partook of the same Fate, which hastened the Fall, even of the Kingdom of the *Gepidæ*. *Suartuas* continu'd to seek his Fortune in the *Imperial* Service; and we shall find him, some Years after, *Magister Militiæ in præsenti*, among those Troops, which *Justinian* sent to the *Longobards*, as Auxiliaries against the *Gepidæ* †. The Residue of the *Heruli*, who remain'd in the Emperor's Dominions, serv'd the Empire as Allies; but committed, likewise, frequent Depredations in the Provinces of *Illyricum*. *Philemuthus*, *Aruthus*, and some others, are particularly famous, for having signaliz'd their Valour and Fidelity in the War with the *Sclavi*, but especially in that under *Narses* in *Italy*, against the *Goths* ††. The Nation of the *Heruli* was, at last, wholly extinct; insomuch, that no certain Account can be given, what became of the Residue. Some of the Learned are of Opinion, that the People of *Lithuania*, and the ancient *Livonians* are descended from them (2). The Lan-

† See below, § 8.

†† See below, § 10.

(4) PROCOPIUS, *Lib. 2. cap. 14. pag. 422.*

§ III. * *We meet, likewise, with a Medal of* Antoninus Pius *with the Inscription,* REX QVADIS DATVS. *See* Vol. I. Lib. 5 § 11.

(1) PROCOP. *de Bello Goth. l. 2. c. 14. & 15. Conf. inf.* § 6. *not.* 3.

(2) *I took Notice before,* Lib. 11. § 23. not. 1. *of the Opinion of those, who derive the Inhabitants of* Lithuania, Livonia, Samogithia *and* Prussia *from the* Heruli.

guage of both Nations is the ſame, but entirely different from that of the *Æſtii*. Many Words are deriv'd from the *Latin*, which the *Heruli*, probably, learn'd in the *Roman* Service. But this Tradition needs farther Illuſtration; and it is not improbable, but thoſe People are a Compoſition of ſeveral Nations.

§ IV. AFTER *Ardaric*, King of the *Gepidæ*, had conquer'd *Dacia*, their Kingdom comprehended thoſe Countries, which at preſent are call'd *Tranſylvania*, *Wallachia*, and the *Upper-Hungary*: But we cannot exactly aſſign their Confines, eſpecially *North* and *Eaſtwards*, where the *Sclavi* and *Hunns* were their next Neighbours. The Emperor *Marcian* had made a Treaty with them, by Virtue of which, they received annually a certain Sum of Mony, that they might not moleſt the Provinces of the *Roman* Empire, which lay oppoſite to them (1). Notwithſtanding this, they paſs'd the *Danube*, and took a Part of *Pannonia*, and in particular the City of *Sirmium*. They fell, indeed, like other *Gothick* Nations, into the Errors of *Arius*; but never moleſted thoſe *Orthodox* Believers, who were ſubject to them (2). *Theodorick*, King of the *Oſtro-Goths*, was oblig'd to paſs their Dominions in his March to *Italy*, and bravely fought his Way thro' †: And as a Part of *Pannonia* appertain'd to the *Gothick* Kingdom in *Italy*, bloody Wars enſued on theſe Confines, betwixt the *Oſtro-Goths* and *Gepidæ* (3). *Juſtinian* having now taken from the *Goths* their Poſſeſſions in *Pannonia*, but not plac'd

Continuation of the Hiſtory of the *Gepidæ*.

§ IV. (1) *See* V. I. B. 10. § 6 *and* 7.

(2) PROCOPIUS *reckons them among the* Arians, de Bell. Vand. L. 1. c. 2. *And* p. 546. A. *where he introduces the* Longobards, *when they crav'd* Juſtinian's *Aid againſt the* Gepidæ, *ſpeaking thus:* Romanos jure coituros nobiſcum, qui de Deo ſentimus cum ipſis eadem, & Arianis vel eo nomine adverſaturos. *That they ſuffer'd the* Orthodox, *in their Countries, to retain their Privileges, appears from the Words of Pope* Eugene II, *wherein he declares* Urulphus *Archbiſhop of* Lorch. In quibus etiam *(ſcilicet partibus)* quondam Romanorum, Gepidarumque ætate, ut lectione certum eſt, in ſeptem Epiſcoporum parochias, Anteceſſores tui, jure Metropolitano obtinuerant diœceſin. V. PAGIUS *ad a.* 552. *n.* 7.

† *See above*, L. 11. § 3. n. 12, 13.

(3) *We find diverſe Traces of theſe Wars in* Pannonia, *betwixt the* Goths *and* Gepidæ, *in the Reigns of* Theodorick *and* Athalarick. *As for the latter eſpecially,* Juſtinian *complains to Queen* Amalaſwinth, *in* PROCOP. p. 315. A. Gothos, dum ad Sirmium cum Gepædibus bellum gererent, urbem Gratianam, in finibus Illyrici ſitam, hoſtiliter vaſtaſſe. *Here I muſt by the Way obſerve, that* Lazius *imagines* Gratiana *to be the preſent* Gradiſca. Vitiges *had diſtinguiſh'd himſelf in theſe very Wars, before he was elected King of the* Goths. PROCOP. p. 337. Gothi ſibi Italiſque Regem eligunt Vitigin, virum haud illuſtri quidem loco natum, ſed clariſſimum præliis ad Sirmium ante editis, cum adverſus Gepædas bellum gereret Theodericus. *To this relates the Paſſage in* CASSIODORI VAR. XI. ep. 1. *where he praiſes* Athalarick's *Reign:* In ipſis quoque primordiis (quando ſemper novitas incerta tentatur) contra Orientis Principis votum, Romanum fecit eſſe Danubium.

ſufficient Garriſons in the Towns, the *Gepidæ* extended their Dominions, and carried away many of the Inhabitants of the *Roman* Territories into Captivity. They maintain'd, at the ſame Time, a Friendſhip with the *Huns* and *Sclavi*, and permitted them ſeveral Times to paſs over the *Danube* into their Dominions, to the great Prejudice of the Empire. *Juſtinian* therefore kept back the Subſidies, which till then, had been annually paid them by the *Roman* Empire (4), and made Uſe of the *Longobards* to keep the *Gepidæ* in Aw: For the Emperors were now reduc'd to have Recourſe to one foreign Nation, to repel another: On which Occaſion the Provinces were generally as much oppreſs'd by the Conquerors, as by the conquer'd.

Hiſtory of the *Longobards*; their Kings, *Waccho*, &c.

§ V. AMONG the *Longobards*, we find *Vaces* or *Waccho*, their King, famous in the Beginning of this Century; and particularly on Account of an extraordinary Victory, which he gain'd over the *Swabians* (1). He kept up a good Underſtanding with the *Franks*; and one of his Daughters was married to *Theodebert*, King of *Auſtraſia*, as *Viſigard*, the other, was to *Theodebald* his Son. He had baniſh'd a Prince of the Royal Houſe, who perhaps had a better Claim to the Throne, and had taken Refuge among the *Varni*. *Ildigiſal*, his Son, employed afterwards his utmoſt Endeavours to recover the Crown; but experienc'd, that thoſe, whoſe Aid he implor'd, ſerv'd him only ſo long, as was conſiſtent with their own Utility, and then were as ready to forſake him. King *Waccho* was ſucceeded by *Valtaris*, his Son, who being yet an Infant, was left under the Care of *Audoin*; who made himſelf, with the more Eaſe, Maſter of the Kingdom, as the young King died a few Years after †. *Ildigiſal*, and his Adherents, being unſucceſsful, went over to the *Gepidæ*, and at Length to *Conſtantinople*. But the Emperor had more Inducements to prefer *Audoin's* Friendſhip. He gave him a *Thuringian* Princeſs in Marriage, a Daughter of King *Hermanfrid*, who came to *Conſtantinople* with *Vitiges*, and the Reſt of the Royal *Gothick* Family (2). He likewiſe transfer'd to him that Part of *Pannonia* ††, which he had taken from the *Goths*. *Audoin*, on the other Hand, aſſiſted the Emperor in his War with the *Goths* in *Italy*. As for their Religion, we may con-

† See the XVIII. Annot.

†† IBID.

(4) PROCOPIUS, *p.* 543. *B.* Gepædes, qui olim urbem Sirmium Daciamque omnem obtinuerant, ut primum Juſtinianus Auguſtus ditioni Gothicæ regionem illam eripuit, agentes ibi Romanos abduxerunt in ſervitutem, & continenter progreſſi, vim vaſtitatemque Imperio Romano attulerunt. Quare Imperator illis in poſterum ſtipendia negavit, quæ jam inde olim a Romanis accipere conſueverant.

§ V. (1) *Of theſe* Swabians *ſee the* XII. *Annot.*

(2) *See below* § VIII. Not. *.

clude

clude from *Procopius*, that *Audoin*, at least, profeſs'd the *Catholick* Faith (3): But *Alboin*, his Succeſſor, was certainly an *Arian*.

§ VI. WHEN the *Longobards* had gain'd a ſure Footing in *Pannonia*, a Peace could not long ſubſiſt betwixt them and the *Gepidæ*. *Thoriſmus* reign'd then over the latter, having, about this Time, ſucceeded *Elemundus*. The *Longobards* were, in particular, deſirous of being Maſters of *Sirmium* (1), which the *Gepidæ* poſſeſs'd. Both Parties crav'd *Juſtinian's* Aid. He declar'd for the *Longobards*, and ſent them 10,000 Horſe (2), among whom were 1500 *Heruli*, commanded by the before-mentioned *Philemuthus*. A Party of *Imperialiſts* attack'd by the Way, thoſe *Heruli*, who had fled for Protection to the *Gepidæ*; when, after a bloody Battle, *Aordus*, the Brother of *Todaſius*, their King, was kill'd on the Spot, with many of his Nation (3): But the *Gepidæ* and *Longobards*, of their own Accord, unexpectedly made a Truce for two Years (4). A War enſues between them and the *Gepidæ*, &c.

§ VII. WHEN, in the mean Time, the *Gepidæ* found, that the *Romans* ſided with the *Longobards*, they applied for Aſſiſtance to the *Hunns* (1). The Countries on both Sides the *Tanais*, where that River falls into the *Mœotick* Lake, and ſeparates *Europe* from *Aſia*, were about that Time, fill'd with *Hunnick* Nations. Theſe Countries are known in The *Gepidæ* have Recourſe to the *Hunns*.

(3) Audoin's *Ambaſſadors, in their Speech to* Juſtinian, *boaſt of their being of the ſame Religion with the* Romans. *See the Paſſage in the foregoing* § Not. 3.

§ VI. (1) *That the War betwixt the* Longobards *and* Gepidæ, *was chiefly concerning the City of* Sirmium, *appears from diverſe Paſſages in* PROCOP. Audoin's *Ambaſſadors ſay to* Juſtinian, p. 545. Sirmium Gepædes tenent, O Imperator, & Romanos abſtrahunt in ſervitutem, ſeque univerſa Dacia potiri jactant, &c. *And* Thoriſmus's *Ambaſſadors ſpeak thus:* p. 546. C. Jam, quo ingenio ſint Longobardi, perſpicite. Litem judicio componere, quamvis ad id ſæpe eos provocaverimus, recuſarunt, inconſideratæ pleni audaciæ. Nunc autem cum eſt bellum in manibus, infirmitatis ſuæ conſcientia ab incœpto retracti, vos adeunt, idque agunt, ut pro ipſis Romani, contra quam fas eſt, bellum ſuſcipiant: cujus CAUSAM EX SIRMIO, ALIISQUE NONULLIS DACIÆ LOCIS in nos conflatam, fures hi proferunt.

(2) PROCOPIUS, *L.* 3, *c.* 34.

(3) IBID. *p.* 547. *C.* Eos ſequebantur Eruli fœderati mille quingenti, quibus præter alios Philemuthus præerat. Nam cæteri omnes Eruli, ad tria millia, cum Gepædibus coierant, a Romanis non ita pridem defectione ſejuncti eam ob cauſam, quam ſupri commemoravi. Tunc pars Romanorum, ſocia arma Longobardis ferentium, in Erulorum catervam, & Aordum, Regis fratrem, inopinato incidit. Fervido commiſſo certamine, vincunt Romani, & cum Erulis multis Aordum ipſum conficiunt.

(4) *About* A. 548.

§ VII. (1) PROCOPIUS, *L.* 4. *c.* 18.

History by their many Revolutions. The moſt ancient Inhabitants were call'd *Tauri*, or *Tauro-Scythæ*; from whence the Country was call'd *Taurica*, and the *Peninſula* adjoining to it, *Cherſoneſus Taurica*. This Name is found even in the Fables of the *Greeks*, who had Colonies on thoſe Coaſts, and in the *Cherſoneſus Tauri*. As the Dominions of *Mithridates*, King of *Pontus*, reach'd thus far; ſo likewiſe, after he was conquer'd by the *Romans*, their victorious Arms became renown'd even to the *Tanais*. Theſe Countries were afterwards included in the *Regnum Boſphori*, whoſe Kings acknowleg'd the Supremacy of the *Roman* Emperors. When the *Goths* afterwards erected a formidable Monarchy in *Sarmatia*, they reign'd as far as the *Black Sea* and *Mœotick* Lake, which their Incurſions, and thoſe of other Nations, under their Dominion, ſufficiently demonſtrate. In the fourth Century, at the Time of *Valens*'s Reign, the *Goths* were overcome by the *Alani* and *Huns*. The Conſequences of this Diſſolution of the *Gothick* Monarchy were as great, as thoſe of its Foundation. The People, that appertain'd thereto, were diſpers'd, and an incredible Number of *Goths* paſs'd over the *Danube*, and left their Countries in the Hands of the *Huns* (2). In ſucceeding Times, the *Tartars* came thither; and thus one Devaſtation continued to follow upon the Back of another. We cannot even find the Situation of the many Cities that were ſo famous in ancient Geography. The only one is *Aſoph*; for there the Ancients place the City of *Tanais*, which was inhabited by the *Greeks*.

We find, about this Time, mention made of two Kinds of *Huns*. The *Hunni Cuthurguri* dwelt on this Side of the *Tanais*, and the *Hunni Uthurguri* on the other (3), about where we now find the Country of the *Coſſacks*, and *Tartary Minor*: But ſome Places on the Sea-Coaſts, and in *Cherſoneſus Taurica*, remain'd nevertheleſs in the Emperor's Poſſeſſion †. A Reſidue of the ancient *Goths* had kept their Ground among the *Uthurguri*; who had fix'd their Habitations on the Eaſt Side of the *Tanais*, along the Banks of the *Mœotick* Lake (4), in the Diſtrict

(2) *See* L. 8. § 15 & 16.

(3) Procop. *treats at large of theſe* Uthurguri *and* Cuthurguri, d. B. L. 4. c. 5.

† Procop. p. 576, *names the Cities of* Boſphorus *and* Cherſon. Boſphorus *is thought to be the preſent* Voſpero, *and* Cherſon *to be* Topetorken.

(4) Procop. L. 4. c. 2. & ſeq. *deſcribes the Nations along the* Pontus Euxinus, *and begins on the Side of* Aſia, *from* Chalcedon. *When he comes to the Banks of the* Mœotick *Lake*, p. 573, *he ſays:* Ubi ſe primum aperit alveus, qua palus effunditur, degunt Gothi, Tetraxitæ cognominati, qui, quamvis pauci numero, nihilominus Chriſtianorum leges & inſtituta religioſe ſervant. *In the following* p. 575. C. *he relates on what Occaſion the* Goths, *in the great Revolution, quitted their ancient Habitations, in the Countries on the other Side of the* Tanais, *and placed themſelves on theſe Coaſts.*

now

now call'd *Circassia*. These are mention'd *Gothi Tetraxitæ*. They were not indeed very numerous, but the more valiant (5), which we may conclude from their maintaining their Rights amidst the *Hunns*. From the Time of the first Conversion of the *Goths*, they had retain'd the *Christian* Faith, but in such Simplicity, that *Procopius* is at a Loss, whether to reckon them of the *Arian*, or *Orthodox* Profession, and, in Excuse, says, they themselves did not know. They entreated *Justinian*, *A.* 547, to appoint them a Bishop (6), and were in general pretty well affected to the *Grecian* Emperor (7); who gladly supported that Disposition, in Order to have the more Adherents, in Case of a Rupture with the *Hunns*. The *Cuthurguri* were in Friendship with *Justinian*, and *Simmo*, one of their Princes, serv'd in *Africa* against the *Vandals* *. But they now sent Auxiliaries to the *Gepidæ*. The Truce with the *Longobards* being not yet expir'd, the *Gepidæ* excited them, in the mean Time, to invade the *Roman* Provinces, and permitted them to pass over the *Danube*, into their Dominions, where they could do it with most Safety, for they possess'd Countries on both Sides this River. *Justinian*, on the other Hand, caus'd considerable Sums of Mony to be distributed among the *Uthurguri*. *Sandil*, one of their Princes, renown'd in the History of his Reign, for his Valour and Sagacity, took, besides the *Hunns* who were at his Command, 2000 *Gothi Tetraxitæ*, and pass'd over the *Don*, into the Country of the *Cuthurguri* (8). Those who had invaded the *Roman*

(5) Procop. p. 578. D. *says of these* Goths: Barbarorum, qui in illis partibus degunt, ipsi fortissimi sunt.

(6) Idem, p. 573. An vero Arii sectam Gothi isti, quemadmodum cæteræ gentes Gothicæ, aliamve secuti unquam fuerint, affirmare nequeo, quando nec ipsi id sciunt, sed pietate admodum credula, simplicique religionem colunt. Haud pridem, nimirum anno XXI. Imperii Justiniani Augusti, Legatos quatuor Byzantium miserunt, rogantes ut, Antistite suo recens mortuo, aliquem sibi episcopum daret. Audierant enim destinatum ab Imperatore fuisse Præsulem ad Abasgos. Eorum petitioni lubentissime concedens Justinianus Augustus eos remisit.

(7) *This latter is evident from* Procop. *who continues:* p. 573. C. Cum vero Hunnos Uthurguros hi Legati metuerent, palam quidem ac multis audientibus, legationis causam exponentes, de Præsule tantum mentionem fecerant Imperatori: at in arcano intimoque colloquio utilitates omnes declaraverant, quas Imperium Romanum capturum esset, si discordia inter vicinos sibi Barbaros aleretur.

* Ibid. p. 205. & 618.

(8) Procop. p. 616. D. Cum hæc Justinianus Augustis Uthurguris significasset, ac donando pecuniam revocasset in mentem, quot quantisque ipsos antea affecisset muneribus, demum pervicit, ut Cuthurguros refiduos bello protinus peterent. Ii vero, Gothorum Tetraxitarum, quorum fines contingunt, adjunctis sibi duobus millibus, fluvium Tanaim, cum omnibus copiis trajecere. Ipsis præerat Sandil, singulari prudentia vir, longo exercitus bellorum usu, & animo fortitudineque insigni. Sandil *supported the Friendship with* Justinian, *as appears from* Agathias, p. 156 *and* 171.

Domi-

Dominions were, hereupon, oblig'd to put a Stop to their Depredations; and *Juſtinian*, moreover, caus'd Mony to be paid them, to engage them the ſooner to return. In their Retreat, they were defeated by the *Uthurguri*: On which Occaſion, the Emperor receiv'd 2000 Men, with their Wives and Children, and aſſign'd them a Dwelling in *Thrace*, hoping to make Uſe of them in his Armies (9).

Juſtinian ſends Auxiliaries to the *Longobards*. *Audoin* beats *Thoriſinus*

§ VIII. *JUSTINIAN*, indeed, about this Time, renew'd likewiſe the ancient League with the *Gepidæ*, in Order to prevent their ſuffering the *Hunns* and *Sclavi* to paſs again over the *Danube*. He ſent, nevertheleſs, Auxiliaries to the *Longobards*, at the Expiration of the Truce; and when the *Gepidæ* made Complaints of it, he charg'd them with having firſt violated the Treaty, by ſuffering the *Sclavi*, after the Treaty, again to croſs the *Danube* (1). Among the Generals who commanded theſe Auxiliaries, was *Suartuas*, the before-mention'd Prince of the *Heruli*, who was, in the mean Time, become *Magiſter Militum in præſenti*, in the Emperor's Service, and *Amalafrid*, Prince of *Thuringia*, whoſe Siſter was *Audoin*'s Conſort. The Reſt remain'd at the City of *Ulpiana* *, where an unexpected Commotion aroſe, on Account of the Controverſies of thoſe Times, in Point of Religion. *Amalafrid* alone came to *Audoin*, and aſſiſted him

(9) Ibid.

§ VIII. (1) Procop. *p.* 638. A. Interea loci Gepædes & Longobardi inter ſe bellum reparabant. Tum Gepædes, nondum accepto nuntio jurati ab Auguſto cum Longobardis fœderis, Romanorum vires veriti, ad eorum amicitiam & ſocietatem aſpirabant enixe. Quamobrem miſſa confeſtim Byzantium legatione, rogatus Imperator, ut cum ipſis quoque fœdus pangeret, extemplo data fide illud percuſſit, idemque Senatores duodecim jurejurando firmarunt petentibus Legatis. Haud multo poſt, quæ adverſum Gepædes Longobardi ſociali jure poſtulabant, miſit auxilia Juſtinianus Auguſtus, Gepædes inſimulans, quod in Romanorum perniciem, poſt fœdus ictum, Sclavenorum agmen Iſtrum fluvium tranſportaſſent.

* Procop. 638. C. Copias illas ducebant Juſtinus ac Juſtinianus Germani filii, Aratius & Suartuas, cui quidem antea Juſtinianus principatum Erulorum decreverat; is vero, ut in ſuperioribus libris narravi, eorum, qui ex Inſula Thule venerant, rebellione pulſus, ad Imperatorem confugerat, ac ſubinde creatus fuerat Magiſter militum in præſenti. E numero Ducum erat Amalafridus, vir Gothus, ex filia nepos Amalafridæ, ſororis Theoderici Gothorum Regis, & filius Hermeneſridi Regis Thoringorum. Hunc Amalafridum cum Vittige Byzantium deportatum a Beliſario, Romanorum Ducem Imperator creavit, & ſororem ejus Audoino, Longobardorum Regi, collocavit. Illius exercitus nemo ad Longobardos pervenit, niſi Amalafridus cum ſuis. Nam cæteri in Illyrico ad urbem Ulpianam Imperatoris juſſu ſubſtiterunt, ob incolarum ſeditionem, ortam ex Chriſtianorum controverſiis de religione. Ulpiana *was in* Mœſia ſuperior, *in the Province of* Dardania. Juſtinian *caus'd it to be rebuilt, and nam'd it* Juſtiniana ſecunda. *It is ſituate in the preſent Kingdom of* Servia, *on the River* Drin, *and is, by the Inhabitants, call'd* Priſrendi, *and in* Italian, Preſereno.

him in gaining a glorious Victory over the *Gepidæ* (2). *Ildigiſal* Prince of the *Longobards*, immediately after (3), retired privately from *Conſtantinople* (4). *Audoin* had, indeed, entreated the Emperor to deliver him up; but met with a Refuſal: For *Juſtinian* kept him, as it were, an Hoſtage, to ſecure *Audoin*'s Friendſhip and Fidelity. *Ildigiſal* was diſcontented at not being advanced, and found, that his Hopes would be vain, as long as the Emperor was in a League with *Audoin*. He plac'd his Confidence in a valiant and intrepid *Goth*, named *Goar*, and, accompany'd by him, took, a ſecond Time, Refuge among the *Gepidæ*. Both *Juſtinian* and *Audoin*, ſoon after, concluded a Peace with the *Gepidæ*; and the Emperor appears to have been unwilling wholly to extirpate that Nation, leſt the *Longobards* ſhould become too powerful. *Juſtinian* and *Audoin* now both inſiſted, that *Thoriſinus* ſhould give up *Ildigiſal*: But this the *Gepidæ* would, by no Means, conſent to. Their King evaded this Demand by another of the ſame Nature. *Elemundus*, his Predeceſſor, had left a Son, nam'd *Uſtrogoth*, who, when *Thoriſinus* uſurp'd the Throne, fled for Refuge to the *Longobards*. He demanded, in Return, to have this Prince ſurrender'd up. Both Nations had ſo ſtrict a Regard to Honour, that they reſolv'd not to deliver up a young Prince, whom they had

(2) PROCOP. *L.* 4. *c.* 25. *p.* 638. D. Ergo Langobardi cum omnibus copiis, & Amalafrido, Gepædum fines ingreſſi, factos ſibi obvios acerrimo fundunt prælio, eorumque, ut perhibent, partem maximam cædunt. Tunc Audoinus, Langobardorum Rex, quoſdam e ſuis aſſeclis Byzantium deſtinat, lætum cladis hoſtilis nuntium Juſtiniano Auguſto allaturos; eum ſimul incuſans, quod non ex pacto fœderis affuiſſent ipſius copiæ: quamvis nuper tot numero Langobardi profecti eſſent, Narſeti in Totilam & Gothos militarem operam navaturi. Pagius ad a. 552. n. 6. *imagines this to be the Battle, wherein the* Longobards *entirely defeated the* Gepidæ, *and which is deſcrib'd by* Paulus Diaconus, *with other Circumſtances. But in this he is miſtaken: For* Procopius *expreſsly mentions, that* Juſtinian *and* Audoin *made Peace with the* Gepidæ. *In the next Book, I ſhall treat of the Deſtruction of the Kingdom of the* Gepidæ.

(3) A. 551, *or at the Beginning of* 552, Procopius *connects theſe Incidents with the XVIIth Year of the* Gothick *War*.

(4) PROCOP. *p.* 643. A. Ildigiſal, vir Langobardus, cujus antea memini, inimicitias habens cum Barbarorum, popularium ſuorum, Rege Audoino, qui regnum ipſi jure hereditario debitum vi occuparat; patria profugus, Byzantium ſe contulerat. Eo cum perveniſſet, humaniſſime illum acceperat Imperator, ac Ducem creaverat unius ſcholæ: Sic vocant catervas militum ad Palatii cuſtodiam deſtinatas. Langobardos ducebat minimum trecentos, bellica virtute præditos; qui una prius commorati in Thracia fuerant Ab Imperatore Juſtiniano petierat Audoinus, ut ſibi, utpote Romanorum amico & ſocio, traderetur Ildigiſal; & clientis proditionem exegerat in præmium amicitiæ. Verum Auguſtus abnuerat. Poſtea queri Ildigiſal cœpit, quod infra meritum ſuum, ac Romanum ſplendorem, ſtipendiis & honore afficeretur: ita ut graviter offenſum præ ſe animum ferret, &c.

had once promis'd to protect, into the Hands of his Enemies (5): But it bears a much worse Face, when, as *Procopius* relates, *Ildigisal* was, afterwards, clandestinely murder'd by the *Gepidæ*, and *Ustrogoth* by the *Longobards*, in Order to free themselves from the like Demands for the future (6).

The *Sclaveni* and *Antæ*: Their Origin, &c.

§ IX. *ILLYRICUM* suffer'd most by the Depredations of the *Sclaveni* and *Antæ*, whom I mention'd before, on Occasion of the Victories gain'd by *Hermanaric*, King of the *Goths*, over several Nations in *Sarmatia* (1): But as they become now more famous in History, it may not be amiss to hear how they are describ'd by *Procopius* (2). They were, indeed, two distinct Nations, but in their Origin, Language, Stature and Manners the same: They differ'd from the *Hunns*, as they were taller, and from the *Germans*, in their Skin and Hair, which were somewhat more of a reddish Hue. They worshipp'd chiefly the God of Thunder, as the Ruler of the World; and, next to him, the Rivers and some other, as it were, inferior Deities; and, at their Sacrifices, perform'd their Divinations. They had neither Kings nor Princes, but liv'd in a natural Equality, in small and single Cottages, which they changed, according as Circumstances requir'd. They had as little Regard to Cleanliness, as the *Hunns*. In their Wars, they generally fought on Foot, and were but slightly armed. Many of them encounter'd their Enemies half naked, as they usually went. But, when Conquerors, they behav'd most unmercifully. Cruelty had introduc'd the Custom of cutting Thongs out of the Hides of their Prisoners, of spitting them alive, and using other inhuman Tortures of the like Kind. Soldiers of both these Nations serv'd in *Justinian*'s Army in *Italy*: They were esteem'd serviceable in Parties,

(5) IDEM, *p.* 644. D. Elemundus Gepædum Rex morbo paulo ante extinctus, unigenam, filium reliquerat hunc Ustrigothum: quo facile exturbato (adhuc enim erat adolescentulus) regnum Thorisinus obtinuit. Ille, cum autorem injuriæ ulcisci non posset, e patria ad Langobardos, Gepædum hostes, concessit. Haud multo post, pepigere pacem Gepædes cum Justiniano Augusto, & Langobardis, sanctissime jurata utrinque perpetua amicitia. Postquam inter eos gratia firmissimo fœdere coiit, Justinianus Augustus, & Audoinus, Langobardorum Rex, ad Thorisinum, Gepædum Regem miserunt, qui Ildigisalem, communem hostem, deposcerent, ut amici erga se animi primum esset indicium proditio supplicis. Is vero, cum Gepædum proceribus communicato consilio, intente quæsivit, annuendum esset nec ne utriusque Principis postulatis? Aperte illi tum intercedere, satius esse asseverantes, momento interire Gepædes cum uxoribus, omnique sobole, quam tali piaculo inquinari.

(6) PROCOPIUS, *ibidem*.

§ IX. (1) *See* Vol. I. *L.* 6. § 43.

(2) *See the* 16th Annot. *of the* Sclavi.

and

and were made Uſe of in Mountains and Buſhes, where other Soldiers were not able to advance (3).

§ X. THE *Sclaveni* and *Antæ* had been prompted, at the Beginning of *Juſtinian*'s Reign, by the Succeſs of their Neighbours, the *Hunns* and *Gepidæ*, to attempt Depredations in the *Roman* Provinces: But they were vigorouſly repuls'd by *Chibulius* (1), whom the Emperor had, *A.* 530, conſtituted *Magiſter Militum per Thraciam*, and who, in Return, viſited them in their own Country. About the Year 533, his Death, in one of theſe Expeditions, open'd the Way for them to the *Danube*, for ſome Time: But *Germanus*, his Succeſſor, likewiſe vanquiſh'd the *Antæ* in a pitch'd Battle; and theſe Victories, perhaps, occaſion'd *Juſtinian* to aſſume the Surname of *Anticus* (2). The *Sclavi* ventur'd again to croſs the *Danube*, in the Year 545. *Narſes* had, at that very Time, agreed with ſome Princes of the *Heruli*, to aſſiſt *Beliſarius* againſt the *Goths*, and had aſſign'd them Winter-Quarters in *Thrace*. Theſe fell in with the *Sclavi* by the Way, and, notwithſtanding their ſuperior Number, took from them all the Priſoners they had made (3). *Juſtinian*, about the ſame

Their Irruptions into the Provinces of *Illyricum*, &c.

See below, § 12.

(3) PROCOPIUS *de Bello Goth. L.* 1. *c.* 27. *p.* 377. Advenere Martinus & Valerianus cum 1600 equitibus, quorum plerique Hunni erant, Sclaveni, & Antæ, qui trans fluvium Iſtrum, non procul a ripa ſedes habent. *In the following Paſſage, he makes particular Mention of the* Antæ, *p.* 517. Cuſtodiam conjuncte agebant Antæ 300, quos, Tulliani rogatu, ibi Joannes ante reliquerat. Etenim peritia pugnandi in ſalebris, anguſtiiſque, cunctos antecellunt hi Barbari.

§ X. (1) PROCOP. *L.* 3. *c.* 14. *p.* 496. B. Quidam erat Chilbudius inter Juſtiniani Auguſti Domeſticos, bellator acerrimus, adeoque egregius contemptor opum, ut magnæ loco poſſeſſionis duceret, nihil poſſidere. Hunc anno Imperii IV. militari Thraciæ magiſterio ornatum, Iſtri fluminis cuſtodiæ præfecit, atque operam dare juſſit, ut amnis tranſitu Barbari in poſterum prohiberentur. Jam enim ſæpe Hunni, Antæ, & Sclaveni, trajecto fluvio Romanos peſſime fœdiſſimeque vexaverant. Chilbudium Barbari adeo reformidarunt, ut toto triennio, quo ibi cum poteſtate fuit, fluvio adverſus Romanos evadere nemo quiverit; immo vero Romani in adverſam continentem cum Chilbudio ſæpe tranſgreſſi, illius oræ Barbaros affecerint ſtrage, & captivos inde abduxerint. Poſt annos tres, cum Iſtrum Chilbudius copias de more traduxiſſet, numero paucas, Sclaveni conflato ex tota gente exercitu venere obviam. Duro certamine inito, Romani multi cecidere, atque in his militum magiſter, Chilbudius: ex quo Barbaris libera ſemper fuit amnis tranſmiſſio, & Romana res incurſibus eorum patuit. Qua in parte univerſum Romanum Imperium virtutem adæquare non potuit unius viri.

(2) Baron Spanheim *imagines it rather to be* Ponticus, *which Name* Juſtinian *might aſſume, becauſe he conquer'd the* Lazi. *But, from what I have here quoted, it appears, that we may more ſafely read* Anticus.

(3) PROCOP. L. 3. *c.* 13. *p.* 495, C. Narſetem quoque Eunuchum ad Erulorum Principes deſtinavit, ut ad bellum Italicum eorum multos

ſame Time, propos'd an Alliance to the *Antæ*, and aſſign'd them a Tract of Land on the *Danube*, where they were to aſſiſt in repelling the *Hunns* (4). The *Sclavi* made Incurſions, about the Year 547, as far as *Durazzo*; and, *A.* 549, a Party of three Thouſand Men paſſed over the River *Hebrus* (5): The *Imperialiſts* were not able to ſtop them, and they even attack'd ſome fortified Places. Among the Reſt, they took *Toperus*, on the Sea-Coaſt of *Thrace*, and, at Length, return'd home with great Booty, and many Thouſands of Priſoners (6). In the Year 550, they even form'd the Project of invading *Greece*, and plundering *Theſſalonica*, which, after *Attila* had taken *Sirmium*, was regarded as the Capital of *Illyricum*. It was thought, that they were encouraged to it, by *Totilas*, in Order to put a Stop to the Army which the Emperor intended to ſend into *Italy*: And this had very near happen'd. They had reach'd *Niſſa* †, when *Germanus*, the new General, arriv'd at *Sophia* ††, to haſten the Preparations for the Expedition againſt the *Goths* (7).

† *Naiſſus.*
†† *Sardica.*

polliceret. Nec pauci ipſum Eruli ſecuti ſunt, Philemuthi, & aliorum ductu, & cum eo venerunt in Thraciam: ubi in hybernis collocati, ad Belliſarium ineunte vere profecturi erant. Una aderat Joannes, cui cognomen Helluo. Iter agendo, caſu quodam ac præter expectationem, magnum illi in Romanos contulerant beneficium. Cum enim Sclavenorum multitudo ingens, amne Iſtro nuper trajecto, partes illas vaſtaſſet, ac Romanos quam plurimos abripuiſſet in ſervitutem; hos Barbaros aggreſſi repente Eruli, ipſis, numero licet longe ſuperioribus, præter opinionem victis ſtragem dederunt, ac domum dimiſere captivos omnes.

(4) Procop. *L.* 3. *c.* 14. *p.* 498. Dum hæc ibi aguntur, interea Juſtinianus Auguſtus miſſa ad hos Barbaros (*ſcilicet Antas*) legatione, petit, ut commigrent omnes in antiquam urbem; Turrim appellant; quæ trans Iſtrum fluvium ſita, conditaque olim a Trajano, Romanorum Imperatore, multis ab hinc annis vacabat, a vicinis direpta Barbaris. Hanc ipſis urbem agroſque circumjacentes, pro jure veteri quo ad Romanos pertinerent, daturum ſe Juſtinianus Auguſtus ſpopondit, eorumque amicitiam alituum omni ſtudio, & pecuniam liberaliſſime largiturum, modo ut icto ſecum fœdere, Hunnis, Romanorum Imperium incurſare volentibus, ſeſe uſque opponerent, &c.

(5) Procop. *L.* 3. *c.* 29. *p.* 532. B. Sub idem tempus, Sclavenorum copiæ, trajecto Iſtro flumine totum Illyricum, Epidamnum uſque, fœde vaſtarunt: obvios quoſque, ſine ullo ætatis diſcrimine, partim mactantes morte; partim abducentes in ſervitutem, ac pecuniis ſpoliantes. Caſtella quoque regionis illius plurima, quæ firma prius videbantur, ceperunt, nemine reſiſtente, ita ut circumcurſando, impune quovis penetrarent: cum illorum Duces collecto ad XV. M. exercitu ſic ſequerentur, ut propius ad illos accedere non auderent.

(6) Proc. L. 3. c. 38. *He there calls this City* Toperus. Ptolemy *names it* Topirus, *and* Antonini Itinerarium, Topirum. *It lay in the Diſtrict of* Rhodope *in* Thrace, *on the Sea-Coaſt, not far from the Borders of* Macedonia. Juſtinian *caus'd it to be fortified again afterwards, of which ſee* Procop. de Aedif. p. 90. D. *It is now called* Puſio, *and has a Biſhop, who is Suffragan to the Archbiſhop of* Philippopoli.

(7) Idem. *L.* 3. *c.* 40.

§ XI. *JUSTINIAN*, at Length, reſolv'd vigorouſly to purſue the *Gothick* War, and wholly to extirpate the *Goths* (1). In Order thereto he prevail'd on *Coſroes*, King of *Perſia*, in Conſideration of 2000 Pounds of Gold, to protract the Truce for five Years. He ſent *Artabanes* into *Sicily*, to take the Command, inſtead of *Liberius*, and rais'd a freſh Army, which *Germanus*, his Brother's Son, was to lead into *Italy* by Land (2). This Prince, who would never enter into the Meaſures of the Empreſs *Theodora*, now gain'd the Admiration of the whole Court, by his great Wiſdom and Regard to Juſtice, and by his Hoſpitality and Complacency. His ſucceſsful Exploits againſt the *Antæ* on the *Danube*, and againſt the Rebels in *Africa*, caus'd great Hopes to be form'd of the enſuing Expedition: And as he added to the Sums, employ'd by the Emperor, a Part of his private Fortune; his Followers became the more numerous; not only of the Subjects of the *Roman* Empire, but likewiſe of foreign Nations, who dwelt along the *Danube*. *Audoin*, King of the *Longobards*, had, in particular, engaged to ſend 1000 *Curaſſiers* (3) to his Aid. This animated the ſmall Reſidue of *Imperial* Soldiers in *Italy*, and thoſe Inhabitants who had remained faithful to that Party. *Totilas*, on the other Hand, was greatly perplex'd; for *Germanus*, whoſe Wife died not long before, had marrid *Mataſwinth*, the Widow of *Vitiges* (4),

§ XI. (1) PROCOPIUS, 634. C. Gothorum nomen peroſus, & in animo habens, illos ex Romanorum Imperio prorſus exterminare. *See above*, B. 12. § 39.

(2) PROCOP. L. 3. c. 39. *He ſpeaks thus in Praiſe of* Germanus, *p.* 561; Singulari vir fortitudine præditus, ac ſtrenuitate: Dux idem optimus, & ad res per ſe agendas dexter: in pace ſecundiſque temporibus, legum inſtitutorumque civilium ſervantiſſimus, cauſas omnium æquiſſime judicabat: roganti cuilibet data mutuo pecunia, quamvis magna, a nemine uſuram, ne verbo quidem, unquam exigebat. In Palatio ac foro graviſſimus, & maxime ſerius, domi quotidie convivator erat ſuavis, liberalis, ac ſcitus. Ne quid in Palatio præter ſolitum peccaretur, quoad poterat, obſtabat. Ei nulla conſiliorum ſocietas, nulla erat conſuetudo, cum circi Byzantini factioſis, quamvis multi, qui honoribus utebantur, in abſurda illa ſtudia prolaborentur. *Of the Empreſs Theodora's Diſguſt to him, he treats in* Anecd. 16. B.

(3) IDEM, *p.* 559. A. Multi etiam Barbari, Iſtri fluminis accolæ, Germani illuſtri fama excitati, grandi accepta pecunia, ad Romanum exercitum ſe aggregarunt; & cum alii Barbari coacti undique confluxerunt, tum Longobardorum Rex milites cataphractos mille, quos paratos habebat, propediem ſe miſſurum recepit.

(4) IDEM, *p.* 558. C. Ac primum quidem, cum viduus, mortua pridem conjuge Paſſara, natam ex Amalaſuntha, Theoderici filia, Mataſuntham, poſt Vitigis obitum, uxorem duxiſſet, eam ſecum aſſumpſit. Sperabant enim fore, ut, ſi uxorem in caſtris haberet, Gothi, juſta prohibiti reverentia, in eam arma non tollerent, regni Theoderici, atque Atalarici memores. *The Paſſage in* Jornandes, *relating to this Marriage, was quoted*, B. 12. § 22. not. 3.

and

and the *Goths* begun to murmur at being forc'd to fight againſt *Theoderic*'s Houſe (5).

Germanus, by the Way, repels the *Sclavi*.

§ XII. WHEN he came to *Sophia*, he immediately caus'd the Cities in *Thrace* to be put in a Poſture of Defence againſt the *Sclavi*, who were terrified at the bare Rumour of his Arrival; becauſe he had before defeated the *Antæ*, when he was *Magiſter Militum Thraciæ* (1). They could neither venture to engage with him, nor to continue their *Route* to *Theſſalonica*, and therefore went into *Dalmatia*, over thoſe almoſt impaſſable Mountains, which divide *Illyricum*: But *Germanus* dying, amidſt theſe Preparations, they became but the more audacious. A freſh Swarm came over the *Danube*, and, dividing themſelves into three Bodies, overſpread *Thrace* and *Illyricum*. The Emperor detach'd an Eunuch, nam'd *Scholaſticus*, againſt them with a large Army, who attack'd one Part of the *Sclavi* near *Adrianople*, but was himſelf forc'd to retreat; and *Conſtantian*, the famous General, the Emperor's Maſter of the Horſe †, loſt his Standard on this Occaſion. They, hereupon, plunder'd the Diſtrict of *Aſtica* *, on the Coaſts of the *Boſphorus*, and came as far as the great Wall rais'd by *Anaſtaſius*, to keep the *Barbarians* from the Capital (2). Here the *Imperial* Army made a ſecond unexpected Attack, and reveng'd the late Overthrow: They retook many of the Priſoners, together with the Standard, which the *Sclavi* had taken; but were, nevertheleſs, oblig'd to let them return to their own Country with the Reſt of the Booty (3). In ſucceeding Times, they, at Length, gain'd a ſure Footing in *Illyricum*, whence aroſe the Kingdoms of *Sclavonia*, *Croatia*, *Dalmatia*, *Boſnia* and *Servia*. Many ſeparate Nations were comprehended under the general Denomination of *Sclavi*, which the different Dialects of their Language

† *S. Stabuli Comes.*

(5) IDEM, *p.* 559. A. Hiſque, aliiſque amplioribus in Italia nuntiatis, qualia inter homines efficere fama ſolet, eundo creſcens, Gothi ſimul timere, ſimul ambigere, num ſibi cum Theoderici ſtirpe bellandum eſſet.

§ XII. (1) PROCOP. L. 3. c. 43. *Of the Victory* Germanus *obtain'd over the* Antæ, *he ſays*, p. 560. C. Erat enim apud hos Barbaros Germani nomen ex hoc admodum celebre. Quo tempore Juſtinianus, Germani patruus, imperium obtinuit, Antæ, Sclavenorum accolæ, tranſito Iſtro, in Romanorum fines cum magno exercitu irruperunt. Germanus recens ab Imperatore creatus magiſter militum totius Thraciæ, inito cum hoſtium copiis prælio, vi illas profligavit, & fere ad internecionem cecidit: quo facto Germanus cum apud omnes clariſſimus evaſit, tum vero maxime apud hos Barbaros.

* Aſtica, *a Diſtrict, wherein is ſituate the City of* Bizya, *now* Vize, *the Reſidence of the ancient Kings of* Thrace.

(2) *Of theſe ſo call'd* muri longi, *ſee* Gyllius, in Topogr. Conſt. L. 1. c. 21.

(3) PROCOPIUS, *ibid.*

demonſtrate:

demonſtrate: For, beſides the *Sclavonian*, which is ſtill ſpoken in *Hungary*, and even in ſome Provinces of the *Turkiſh* Empire, it gave Riſe to the *Poliſh*, *Bohemian*, *Wendiſh* and *Ruſſian* Tongues.

§ XIII. *JUSTINIAN* endeavour'd, likewiſe, to re-eſtabliſh a good Underſtanding with the King of *Auſtraſia*. He ſent † *Leontius*, a Senator, to *Theodebald*, to demand a Reſtoration of thoſe Places to the Empire, which his Father had taken in *Italy* ††, and to invite the King to an Alliance againſt the *Goths*. But *Theodebald* refus'd both. We find, indeed, that he, in Return, ſent an Ambaſſy to *Conſtantinople*, of which *Leuthard*, a *Frank*, was the Chief; but the Subject of the Negotiation is uncertain (1). The Clergy in *Italy* had Recourſe to theſe Ambaſſadors; and begg'd they would interceed for Pope *Vigilius*, and *Datius*, Biſhop of *Milan*, whoſe Affairs at *Conſtantinople* were in a bad Situation, on Account of the ſo call'd *Tria Capitula*, and that they would entreat the Emperor to let them return to their Churches: But, as we ſhall find in the Sequel, this Interceſſion prov'd fruitleſs (2).

Juſtinian's Treaties with Theodebald.

† 551.

†† See B. xii. § 40.

§ XIV. *TOTILAS*, in the mean Time, likewiſe us'd his utmoſt Endeavours to eſtabliſh his Power. He ſtrove to gain the Affections of the *Romans* (1), and to find the Emperour Employment out of *Italy*. The *Sclavi* were thought to have been inſtigated by him. He equipp'd a Fleet of three hundred Ships. The Troops, that were embark'd thereon, ravag'd *Corfu*, with other adjacent Iſles, and ſeveral Cities on the Coaſts of *Epirus*, in particular *Nicopolis* †, and likewiſe took ſome Veſſels laden with Pro-

Totilas ſends out a Fleet againſt *Greece*, &c.

† *Preveza.*

§. XIII. (1) PROCOPIUS, *L.* 4. *c.* 24.

(2) *Vid.* Libellus Clericorum Italiæ, *&c.* Pagius, ad A. 551. N. 16 *and* 17, *affirms, that both this Writing, and the* Franconian *Ambaſſy, belong to the Year* 551.

§ XIV. (1) PROCOP. *L.* 4. *c.* 22. *p.* 627. *A.* Interea hæc agit Totilas, copias Narſetis expectans. Cum Romanos alios, tum Senatores nonnullos Romam revocat, relictis cæteris in Campania, atque urbem pro virili parte curare jubet, præ ſe ferens pœnitentiam violatæ tum Romæ, cum ejus partem non exiguam, præſertim trans fluvium Tyberim, flamma deleviſſet. Illi mancipiorum loco rituque habiti, & fortunis exuti omnibus, nullam rei nec publicæ, nec privatæ partem recuperare poterant; tametſi ſupra omnes, quos equidem novimus, urbis ſtudioſi ſuæ Romani, res omnes patrias retinere & conſervare ſatagunt; ne quid antiqui decoris Romæ depereat. Et quamvis dominationem Barbaricam paſſi ſunt, urbis tamen ædificia ſervarunt, & quam plurima, quoad ejus fieri potuit, ornamenta: quibus eam firmitatem induſtria artificum dedit, ut nec tanta ævi longinquitate, nec curæ intermiſſione delata fuerint.

viſions

visions for the *Imperial* Army (2). He was, on the other Hand, unfortunate at the Siege of *Ancona*; which City the *Goths* had block'd up both by Water and Land. *Valerian*, from *Ravenna*, excited *John*, the Son-in-Law of *Germanus*, who was garrison'd at *Salona*, to attempt, with him, the Relief of the City. They join'd at *Scardona*; *Valerian* had about twelve, and *John* thirty-eight Ships. They sail'd with a favourable
S. *Gundulphus*. Wind to *Senogallia*, and from thence to *Ancona*. *Giblas* and *Indulphus* *, the two *Gothick* Generals, encounter'd them with a Fleet of forty-seven Ships: And even ventur'd to make the first Attack: But the *Imperialists*, who were more expert at naval Combats, than the *Goths* (3), beat them, and destroy'd their Ships. *Indulphus*, with great Difficulty, brought off eleven, which so soon as he reach'd the Shore, he set Fire to himself, lest they should fall into the Enemy's Hands. The Troops, that besieg'd *Ancona* by Land, were so terrify'd at the Sight of the Fugitives, that they broke up, leaving their Camp behind them, and hastned with them to

Osimo.

(2) PROCOP. *l. c. p.* 629. *C.* Gothi appulsa in Corcyram classe, eam cursim, cæteraque omnes insulas adjacentes, quas appellant Sybothas, vastarunt, transvectique in continentem, circumjecta Dodonæ loca populati sunt subita vi, quam præcipue senserunt Nicopolis, & Anchises; ubi Anchisen, Æneæ patrem, capto ex Ilio consilio navigantem, vivere desiisse, & loco dedisse nomen, indigenæ memorant. Oram omnem maritimam legentes, in Græcorum naves inciderunt non paucas, & omnes cum oneribus ceperunt. In eo fuere numero naves aliquot, quæ cibaria Narsetis copiis e Græcia advehebant. *The* Geographers *mention only one Island, which was call'd* Sybotha, *now* Sivoda.

(3) PROCOP. *describes this Sea-Fight, in lively Terms*, p. 632. C. Erat navale certamen acerrimum, ac pedestri simile. Nam utrique, adversis inter se proris ac frontibus stantes, se se invicem sagittis petebant. Animosissimi quique cominus e foris miscebant prælium; & collato pede, non secus atque in campo, ensibus atque hastis pugnabant. Principium hoc certaminis fuit. Deinde Barbari, cum essent Naumachiæ rudes, incomposi-tissime dimicarunt. Nam alii tanto intervallo distabant inter se, ut singulos seorsum invadere liceret hosti: rursus alii conferti, in spatiam iniquius redactis navibus, mutuo sibi erant impedimento. Dixisses tegetum instar compactos, intextosque navium malos. Nec nisi ægre tardeque admodum in hostes dissitos sagittas expedire Barbari, nec gladiis hastisve uti poterant, cum propius instantes cernerent sed vociferantes trudebant usque alteros alteri, collidentes se invicem, & contis repellentes perturbatissime: modo in arctum cogebant frontem; modo huc illucque procul discedebant cum detrimento. Singuli vicinos magno ejulatu cohortabantur, non utique in hostem, verum ut aptis spatiis abjungerentur. Denique mutua districti imperitia, hostibus suis præcipuam victoriæ causam præbuerunt. At Romani, cum & arma viriliter, & artem naumachiariam scite tractarent, navium proris obversis hosti, nec longius distracti, nec propius quam opus erat coeuntes; verum idoneis intervallis jam colligentes navigia, jam diducentes, si quam hostium navim avulsam a cæteris viderent, facto impetu facile submergebant. Sicubi confusos viderent Barbaros, eo sagittarum nimbum mittebant: propiusque adorti inordina-

Osmo. Artabanes, about the same Time, made himself Master of *Sicily* (4). *Totilas*'s Fleet, on the other Hand, took *Corsica* and *Sardinia*. *John*, *Magister Militiæ in Africa*, sent some Troops over into *Sardinia*; but the *Goths* made a vigorous Sally from *Cagliari*; and the Enemies thought themselves happy, to return in Safety to their Ships (5). Another Squadron of *Imperial* Ships had the good Fortune to relieve *Cotrone*, and thereby to retrieve the Honour of the Emperor's Arms in that Country (6), when about the same Time the grand Army advanced, on the other Side.

§ XV. *JUSTINIAN*, after *Germanus*'s Decease, had given the Command to *Narses*, who was then High Chamberlain. The Eunuchs had formerly been only employ'd in the private Offices of the *Imperial* Palace *. Hence it seems somewhat odd, that in *Justinian*'s Reign, they ** commanded in the most considerable Expeditions: For *Salomo* commanded in *Africa*, the before-mention'd *Scholasticus* against the *Sclavi*, and *Narses* in *Italy*. The Factions at Court, the Animosities that arose from thence betwixt the Generals, and *Justinian*'s Suspicions, seem to have contributed greatly thereto. But *Narses*, in particular, shew'd, that he fully deserv'd the Confidence the Emperour repos'd in him: He recruited successfully at *Constantinople*, in *Thrace*, and in *Illyricum*; because his Magnanimity, Liberality, and engaging Carriage to Persons of all Ranks, *Narses* obtains the Command, &c.

inordinatos, ac perturbatione laborantes, cominus interimebant. Adversa fortuna, & iis, quæ pugnando deliquerant, fracti Barbari, nesciebant quo pacto prælium sustinerent. Non jam naumachiam edebant; non stabant in foris, tanquam si terra pugnarent; sed dimisso certamine, in periculo torpebant, fortunæ fidei se committentes. Deinde nullo servato ordine, cum terga turpiter verterent, virtutis, honestique discessus, & cujusvis rei præclaræ immemores, inter hostium naves dispersi magnam partem hæserunt.

(4) PROCOPIUS, *c.* 24.

(5) PROCOPIUS, *L.* 4. *c.* 24. *p.* 636. *D.* Totilas vero, cum adjunctas ditioni Africæ insulas adfectaret, statim classem collegit, impositoque justo exercitu, in Corsicam & Sardininam misit. Ille in Corsicam primum expositus, nemine prohibente, insulam occupavit, ac deinde Sardiniam: tum utramque insulam Totilas vectigalem fecit. Quod ubi accepit Joannes, militiæ magister in Africa, classem in Sardiniam cum copiis destinavit: quæ cum ad urbem Calarim accessissent, castris positis, obsidionem meditabantur, impares se oppugnandis mœnibus judicantes, eo quod ibi præsidium Gothi satis validum haberent. Re Barbari cognita, ex urbe erumpunt, subitoque impetu hostibus facile in fugam versis, multos conficiunt: cæteri ad naves tum evasere: nec multo post inde profecti cum omni classe pervenerunt Carthaginem, ibique hyemarunt, primo vere bellum iterum in Corsicam & Sardiniam portaturi, majori cum apparatu. PROCOP. *relates this in the History of the* 17th *Year of the* Gothick *War.*

(6) Ibid. *p.* 639. *seq.*

§ XV. * CLAUDIAN. in Eutrop. L. 1. 336 *asks this Question.*

——— Quid nobile gessit
Eunuchus, quæ bella tulit?

** IBID. *v.* 224.

——— Eunuchis se defensoribus orbis
Credidit.

were sufficiently experienc'd when he was in *Italy* before (1). He had many foreign Troops in his Army. Besides the *Persians* and *Hunns*, *Audoin*, King of the *Longobards*, had put 5200 Men into his Pay, in Pursuance of a Treaty subsisting between the Emperour and him (2). *Aruth*, a brave *Herulian*, who from his tender Years had taken Delight in the *Roman* Manner of living, was at the Head of a separate Body of his Country-Men, which had before signaliz'd its Valour. Besides these, there were three thousand *Herulian* Horse-Men, commanded by their own Princes, among whom *Philemuth* in particular acquir'd great Renown. *Asbadus*, a couragious Youth of the *Gepidæ*, headed a select Body of 400 Men of his Nation (3); and we find moreover some Auxiliaries mention'd (4) that were sent by the King of the *Guarni*.

The *Franconian* Troops in *Venetia*, refuse him a Passage.

§ XVI. When he came to the Frontiers of *Venetia*, the *Franconian* Troops, that were garrison'd there in the Cities and fortified Places, would not allow him a Passage thro' the Country, nor over the *Adige* (1); under Pretence, that he had so many *Longobards* with him, who were sworn Enemies to the *Franks*. *Totilas* had detach'd the valiant *Tejas*, with a select Body of Soldiers, to *Verona*, who was likewise to prevent the March

§ XV. (1) Procop. *praises* Narses, *p.* 641. *C.* Porro Narses munificentissimus erat, & ad levandos indigentes promptissimus: cumque ab Imperatore septus magnis fuisset opibus, ea, quæ ipsi erant in studio, pleniori arbitrio exercebat. Et quoniam multi, Duces juxta ac milites, liberalitatem ejus jam ante experti fuerant, simul expeditionis in Totilam & Gothos dux est summus renunciatus, certatim singuli ad militandum sub ipso paratissimos se ostenderunt; partim studio pensandi pristina beneficia; partim spe, procul dubio, inducti, ab ipso magna consequendi. In primis Erulos cæterosque Barbaros sibi ille devinxerat singulari magnificentia.

(2) Procopius, *L.* 4. *c.* 26. *p.* 641. *A.* Auduinus, Longobardorum Rex, a Justiniano Augusto multa pecunia & fœderis sanctione inductus, delectu suorum habito, bis mille ducentos bellatores egregios auxilio miserat, hisque in famulatum addiderat amplius tria pugnatorum millia. Equitum quoque Erulorum plus tria millia sequebantur, duce cum nonnullis aliis Philemutho: & Hunni quam plurimi.

(3) Procop. *l. c. C.* Aspadus quoque, Gepæs adolescens strenuissimus, populares suos, DC. viros bello præstantes, habebat secum. Una plurimorum Dux Erulorum, quorum virtus in bellis periculis enituerat Aruthus, & ipse Erulus, qui a puero Romanorum vivendi rationem amaverat, & filiam Mauritii, qui patrem habuit Mundum, uxorem duxerat.

(4) *See below*, § XXII.

§ XVI. (1) Procop. *p.* 642. *A.* Cum proxime agrum venissent Venetum, misso nuntio ad Francorum Duces, qui loca illa tenebant præsidiis, postulavit, ut sibi, tanquam amicis, transitum darent. Ille Narseti se nullo id pacto permissuros respondent; nullaque facta mentione utilitatis Francorum, vel suæ in Gothos benevolentiæ, quæ vera causa erat, cur se, quoad possent, opponerent, prætextum hunc parum speciosum confingunt,

March of the *Imperialiſts* thro' *Venetia*. *Narſes* made a Virtue of Neceſſity. He proceeded along the Sea-Coaſt, where the *Imperialiſts* ſtill poſſeſs'd ſome Places, and cauſed as many Veſſels as could be procur'd, to ſail along the Banks, in Order to uſe them in paſſing over the Rivers (2). He reſted but nine Days at *Ravenna*. The King of the *Goths* relied very much on the Garriſon of *Rimini*, and chiefly on their Commander *Uſdraja*: But he making a Sally, was ſhot by one of *Narſes*'s Archers; This diſhearten'd his Soldiers, and *Narſes*, paſſing unmoleſted over the River, turn'd into the Road which led to *Rome* thro' *Umbria* (3). *Totilas*, who found an Engagement unavoidable, went to meet him, and took 300 young Perſons, of the beſt Families, as Hoſtages, from thoſe Cities which he left, and, for his Security, ſent them to ſeveral Places over the *Po* (4).

§ XVII. THUS the two Armies met on the *Apennine Alps*; where a Battle ſoon enſued, which was to determine the Poſſeſſion of *Italy*. The *Gothick* Cavalry made the firſt Attack. *Totilas* had order'd them to uſe only their Spears, to which Error *Procopius*, in a great Meaſure, imputes their Overthrow (1). *Narſes* had ſo plac'd his Archers, that

A Battle between the *Imperialiſts* and *Goths*. *Totilas* is kill'd.

fingunt, quod ſecum Narſes Longobardos duceret, capitales Francorum hoſtes. *What real Cauſe the Franks had to call the* Longobards *their Enemies is uncertain.* Valeſius, L. 8. p. 447. *imagines, that the Animoſity and Diſtruſt was thus occaſion'd:* Audoin *married a* Thuringian *Princeſs, and her Brother* Amalafrid *(whom I mention'd above,* § VIII) *perhaps laid Claim to* Thuringia. Procopius's *Relation may be illuſtrated by the following Paſſage in* Menander, p. 133. A. Amingus Francus caſtra locavit ex adverſo fluminis Atheſis, quod Romani tranſire conſtituerant. Hoc cognito Narſes Pamphronium, qui unus ex Patriciis Imperatoris erat, & Bonum privatæ rei Comitem, Legatos ad Amingum mittit. Per hos denuntiavit Amingo, ne Romanorum rebus officeret, neque iterum bellum contra Romanos gereret: Inducias enim per id tempus eſſe inter Francos & Romanos. Amingus vero reſpondit, ſe non illi traditurum telum, quamdiu ſibi manus, qua illud jaculari poſſet, ſuperaſſet.

(2) PROCOP. *ibidem.*

(3) IBID. *L. 4. c. 28. p. 645. ſeq.*

(4) *See* § XIX. not. 2.

§ XVII. (1) Narſes's *Camp was* ad Buſta Gallorum: Totilas *lay not far from thence,* ad Vicum Taginæ. *The Place where the Battle was fought, is beſt deſcrib'd by* CLUVERUS, Ital. Ant. p. 616. Cæterum extat hodie in Apennino, inter Sentinum, Fabrianum, Matilicam, & Sigillum oppida, quorum hoc in via eſt Flaminia, oppidum vulgari vocabulo, BOSTA: quod plerique notiore vulgaris linguæ vocabulo, quod latine valet SUFFICIT, ſeu SATIS EST, appellant BASTA. Id cum ex eo nomine, tum ex ſitu, cognoſcitur eſſe vetera illa BUSTA GALLORUM. Ab Auſtrino Apennini latere, haud procul Sigillo opido verſus meridiem, eſt oppidum vulgo CAPRAIA dictum, quod & ipſum ex nominis ſituque documento deprehenditur, eſſe vetus illud oppidum CAPRÆ, ſive AD CAPRAS, in quo ex vulnere mortuus eſt Totilas, Gothorum Rex. *As for the laſt Place,* AD CAPRAS, MAGINUS *imagines it to be* Caprile, *in the Territories of* Florence, *on the Frontiers of the Duchy of* Urbino, *and the Source of the River* Rimini.

they could fall on the *Gothick* Cavalry on both Sides. When theſe retreated, after a long and bloody Fight, they likewiſe put the Infantry into a Conſternation and Diſorder; and the *Imperialiſts*, who follow'd at their Heels, made a terrible Slaughter. *Procopius* reckons 6000 *Goths* that were ſlain. But they ſuffer'd moſt by the Death of their King, who expir'd of his Wounds, in the Neighbourhood, at *Capraja* (2). With him, fell the Hopes of the *Goths*, which, during the eleven Years of his Reign, he had rais'd to that Height, by his Heroick Diſpoſition, by his Equity, and many other Virtues, that they regarded him as a ſecond *Theodorick* (3). His Hat and Coat, ſtain'd as they were with his Blood, were ſent to *Conſtantinople*, and laid at the Emperor's Feet, in the great Court of Judicature (4). *Juſtinian* view'd them with as haughty a Satisfaction, as any old *Roman* General could have expreſs'd, if he had taken them from the Enemy himſelf.

The *Goths* chuſe *Tejas* for their King, *&c.*

§ XVIII. *NARSES* firſt ſent the *Longobards* back, becauſe they were too much addicted to Licentiouſneſs (1). *Valerian* was oblig'd to conduct them, with ſome Troops, as far as the Confines. They made afterwards a very good Advantage of the Knowledge they, on this Occaſion, gain'd of *Italy*. *Valerian*, thereupon laid Siege to *Verona*; and the

(2) PROCOP. c. 32. *The Circumſtances of this Battle, and eſpecially the Death of the King, were, at that Time, differently related. Some ſay the King was wounded in the Battle, and, by retreating from the Field, caus'd a great Conſternation in the Army, which contributed moſt to the Defeat. Others pretend that he did not retire 'till all was loſt, and was wounded on the Flight, by* Aſbadus, *the before-mention'd* Gepes. *The former appears more probable: But ſince* Procopius *himſelf was at no Certainty, it is in vain to form any Conjectures.*

(3) BARCÆUS *ſtiles him*, l. c. p. 1881. Hominem non modo rei militaris inprimis peritum, ſed, quod dictu mirabile ſit, humanitate, clementia, & incredibili erga Deum pietate, cum quovis ux Veteribus comparandum.

(4) THEOPHANES *ad A.* DXLIV. *(ſecundum Æram Alexandrinam, qui incipit Kal. Sept. A.* 551.) Auguſto menſe triumphales nuntii, & victoriæ monumenta Roma Conſtantinopolin delata: Narſe nimirum, Cubiculario, & Romanorum exarcho victore. Pugna ſiquidem cum Totila, Gothorum Rege, conſerta, ſummam ſibi ſua virtute peperit victoriam, Romam recepit, Totilamque interfecit, veſtimentaque ejus adhuc ſanguine tincta, pileolumque ejus gemmis ornatum, Conſtantinopolin miſit; quæ ad Imperatoris pedes in ſecreto projecta ſunt. *We may plainly conclude from the Relations of* Procopius *and* Theophanes, *that this Battle was fought* A. 552. *about* June. F. Pagius *affirms this more circumſtantially againſt* Card. Noriſius, *who places the Death of* Totilas *in the Year* 553.

§ XVIII. (1) PROCOP. *L.* 4. *c.* 33. *p.* 657. Ac primum redimere pretio voluit indignam licentiam Longobardorum, quos ſecum duxerat, cum præter alia inquinatiſſimæ vitæ ſcelera, obvios domos delerent igni, & fœminis, quæ ſacris ædibus ſe commiſerant, turpem vim afferrent. Quare magna pecunia donatos remiſit in patriam, Valeriano, ac Damiano, nepoti ſuo, eorumque copiis, demandata cura, eos ad Romani Imperii limitem deducendi, ut in via ab injuria, ac maleficio temperarent.

Garriſon

Garriſon had already began to treat about the Surrender, when the *Franks*, who were diſpers'd in *Venetia*, inform'd him, that they ſhould not ſuffer *Verona* to fall into other Hands. Hereupon *Valerian* broke up, being unwilling to provoke the *Franks* to Hoſtilities (2). The *Goths*, in the mean Time, who had eſcap'd from the late Battle, aſſembled at *Pavia*, and there elected *Tejas* their King. He intreated the Aid of *Theodebald*, King of *Auſtraſia*, and offer'd him a conſiderable Sum of Mony, great Part of which he had found in the Royal Treaſury at *Pavia* (3): But the *Franks* would not be prevail'd upon, and choſe rather to ſtay 'till one Party had deſtroyed the other (4).

§ XIX. *NARSES* left *Valerian* on the *Po*, to watch the Motions of the *Goths* at *Pavia*, and himſelf ſet out for *Rome*. On his March he forc'd *Narni* to ſurrender. At *Spoleto* he cauſed the Walls to be repair'd, in thoſe Places where they had been pull'd down by the *Goths*. *Totilas* had fortified the *Moles Hadriani* at *Rome*, that in Caſe the *Goths* ſhould not be ſo numerous as to guard all the Walls of the Town, they might hold out the longer in this Place (1): But they now ventur'd upon the City-Walls. *Narſes* made the Attack in ſeveral Places: And as the *Goths* could not place a ſufficient Number of Men every where, *Dagiſthæus* came with Speed to a Place, where they leaſt expected an Attack, and ſcal'd the Walls without any Reſiſtance †. Thus *Rome* was taken a ſixth Time in this *Gothick* War, and this Conqueſt was pro- *Narſes* takes *Rome*. † A. 552.

(2) IDEM *l. c. p.* 658. *A.* Poſtquam Longobardi e Romano ſolo pedem extulerant, caſtra Valerianus ad urbem Veronam poſuit, ut eam obſidione Imperatori ſubjiceret. Qui in urbis præſidio locati erant, de ille ſecum tradenda cum Valeriano ſunt collocuti, urgente metu. Hoc nuntio exciti Franci in argo Veneto ſtationarii, omni id ſtudio prohibuere, regionem ſibi vindicantes, ut ſuam; quo circa Velerianus inde cum omnibus copiis, re infecta, abſceſſit.

(3) IDEM *ibid. B.* Gothi vero, qui ex prælio evaſerant, trajecto Pado, urbem Ticinum, circumjectaque loca occuparunt, ac ſibi Regem crearunt Tejam, qui, inventa omni pecunia, quam Ticini Totilas repoſuerat, Francos ad belli ſocietatem pellicere ſtatuit, & Gothos pro tempore & re compoſuit, inſtruxitque, circa ſe omnes propere colligens.

(4) IDEM *l. c. c.* 34. *p.* 661. *D.* Tejas vero, Gothos infirmiores judicans, quam ut ſoli pugnare poſſent cum Romano exercitu, legatione miſſa ad Francorum Regem Theodebaldum, ad belli ſocietatem ingentis pecuniæ pollicitationibus eum invitavit. At Franci, ſuis, opinor, rationibus ſervientes, nec Gothicæ, nec Romanæ rei cauſa volebant vitam profundere; ſed Italiam ſibi ſubdere; ejuſque rei gratia bellum gerere cupiebant nulla impliciti ſocietate.

§ XIX. (1) IDEM, *L.* 4. *c.* 33. Multa urbis ædificia Totilas igni corruperat, cum eam primum cepiſſet: deinde ſecum reputans, Gothos, ad modicum redactos numerum, non ſufficere cuſtodiendis muris omnibus Romæ, partem urbis exiguam, circa Adriani molem, parvo muro cinxerat, eoque veteribus annexo mœnibus, caſtelli ſpeciem loco dederat.

bably

bably attended with more Loſs of Blood on the *Roman* Side, than any of the preceeding ones. The *Goths*, on their Flight, cut in Pieces all they met with; and the foreign Soldiers, in the *Imperial* Army, acted as cruelly as the Enemy. Some of thoſe *Patricii*, whom *Totilas* had enjoin'd to ſtay in *Campania*, no ſooner heard, that *Rome* was taken by *Narſes*, than they haſten'd thither. Whereupon the *Goths*, who lay in that Country, fought up and murder'd all the Reſt. *Tejas* likewiſe caus'd the 300 young Men, whom *Totilas* had taken with him for Hoſtages, to be put to Death (2).

He cauſes *Cuma* to be beſieg'd;

§ XX. *NARSES* remain'd at *Rome*, but ſent ſome Troops to beſiege *Cuma*, where *Totilas* had depoſited the greateſt Part of his Treaſures, and the Jewels of the *Gothick* Kingdom. *Tejas* reſolv'd, at all Events, to relieve this Place, and found Ways, which *Narſes* had eſteem'd impaſſable, for an Army. *Narſes* therefore broke up at the ſame Time from *Rome*, and both happen'd to encamp oppoſite to each other, at the Foot of Mount *Veſuvius*; inſomuch that they were only ſeparated by the Rivulet, call'd *Draco*, which ariſes from *Veſuvius*, and diſcharges itſelf into the *Sarnum*. But the Officer, who commanded the *Gothick* Fleet, declared ſuddenly for the Emperor, which occaſion'd a Want of Proviſions among the *Goths*. They withdrew to a neighbouring Mountain (1), and ſoon after attack'd the *Imperialiſts* ſo unexpectedly, that *Narſes* had hardly Time to draw them into Order of Battle. The Cavalry on both Sides diſmounted, to fight on Foot. *Tejas* advanc'd with ſome of the braveſt of them in the Van, with his Shield in his left Hand, and a Spear in his right. The moſt valiant of *Narſes*'s Army reſolv'd to attack him, imagining the *Goths* would make but little Reſiſtance, if once they ſaw their King fall. *Procopius* relates Prodigies of the Valour

(2) IBIDEM, *L. 1. c. 30. p. 666. C.* Fugientes Gothi, ſpe depoſita, obtinendæ Italiæ, obiter Romanos, in quos incidebant; mactabant, parcentes nemini. Barbari, in Romano militantes exercitu, obvios quoſque ad urbis aditus hoſtiliter accipiebant. Quibus malis iſtud acceſſit. Antea, juſſu Totilæ, degebant in Campania Romani Senatores multi. Horum quidam, allato nuntio, potitum Roma Cæſareanum exercitum, eo migrarunt ex Campania. Quod ubi Gothis, munita tenentibus regionis illius loca, compertum fuit, in tota provincia conquiſiere Patricios, omneſque interfecere. In his fuit Maximus ille, cujus memini in ſuperioribus libris. Præterea, cum inde Narſetî iret obviam Totilas, ex urbibus ſingulis nobilium Romanorum filios collegerat, lectiſque ex eorum numero trecentis, quos forma ac ſpecie egregios judicabat, parentibus quidem dixerat, ſuos fore illos domeſticos; re autem vera habere volebat obſides. Tum ipſos Totilas trans fluvium Padum miſerat: jam vero Tejas eoſdem ibi nactus, ad unum omnes occidit.

§ XX. (1) Monte Lattario.

ſhewn

ſhewn by the King of the *Goths* (2), on this Occaſion: But at the very Juncture that he gave away his Shield, in which ſtuck twelve Arrows that had been aim'd at him; and was about to take another from his Armour-Bearer, a Javelin pierc'd his Breaſt, and he drop'd down dead on the Spot. His Body fell into the Hands of the *Imperialiſts*, who caus'd his Head to be cut off, and to be expoſed on an iron Spike to the View of both Armies. The *Goths* were not however diſheartened at the doleful Spectacle: They fought 'till it was dark Night, and fell upon the Enemy the next Morning. But being then likewiſe unſucceſsful, they ſent Deputies to *Narſes*, to remonſtrate, "that they perceiv'd Heaven "had not deſtin'd *Italy* for them; that they would indeed rather dy, "than become Priſoners; but that if they might be ſuffer'd to depart "unmoleſted, and every Man to take his Effects with him, they would "quit *Italy*, and ſeek a Habitation elſewhere." The *Imperial* Commanders thought it not adviſeable, to reduce ſo valiant a People to Deſpair, ſince they could now ſecure the Dominion of *Italy*, without any Hazard. It was therefore agreed, that Hoſtilities ſhould ceaſe on both Sides, and that the *Goths* ſhould immediately depart from *Italy*, with their Effects, and never more ſerve againſt the *Roman* Empire (3). But ſome Officers

(2) *It will not be improper here to inſert the Paſſage, wherein* Procopius *relates the heroick Behaviour of the* Gothick *King in this Battle at large.* l. c. c. 35. p. 664. B. Prælium hic deſcribam memorabile, in quo ſe Heroum nemini virtute bellica ſecundum probavit Tejas, illuſtriſſimo argumento. Gothis animos dabat præſentis fortunæ deſperatio. Romani, quamvis deſperatos viderent, viribus tamen omnibus ſuſtinebant, inferioribus cedere erubeſcentes. Utrique ſibi proximos impetebant animoſiſſime; cum hi mortem, illi fortitudinis laudem quærerent. Inita mane pugna, Tejas cunctis conſpicuus, protectus clypeo, haſtamque intendens, primus ante aciem cum paucis ſtetit. Quem ut Romani conſpexerunt, protinus direptum iri certamen rati, ſi is caderet, in ipſum conſpirarunt, quicunque valebant animo: quorum magnus erat numerus. Cuncti in eum haſtas partim impellebant, partim jaculabantur: quas omnes ille clypeo, quo tegebatur, excipiens, ſubito impetu multos de medio tollebat. Scutum infixis plenum haſtilibus animadvertens, illo ſcutariorum cuidam tradito, alterum arripiebat. Cum ſic decertans partem diei tertiam exegiſſet: accidit, ut onuſtum hærentibus duodecim haſtilibus clypeum haud movere poſſet ad libitum, neque aggreſſores eo repellere. Tum unum ex ſcutariis contente evocat; ne tranſverſum quidem digitum ſe loco movens, nec referens pedem, neque hoſtem progredi ſinens. Imo nec ſe convertit, nec ſcuto tergum applicavit, nec ſe flexit in latus; ſed tanquam ſi affixus ſolo eſſet, ſic in veſtigiis hærebat cum clypeo, hoſtium cædem efficiens dextra, impetum ſiniſtra reprimens, & nomine clamans armigerum. Qui ubi recentem clypeum attulit, hoc ille ſtatim mutavit alterum, haſtilibus gravem. Interea puncto temporis patuit illius pectus. Tum forte jaculo confixus, momento efflavit animam. Ipſius caput conto impoſitum, elatumque circumferentes Romani quidam, utrique exercitui oſtendebant, Romano, ut contra iret audentior, Gothico, ut omni ſpe depoſita, arma componeret.

(3) Procopius, *ibid. p.* 665. *B.* Denique Barbari, miſſis Procerum nonnullis, Narſeti ſignificarunt,

Officers, the principal of whom was *Indulfus*, had nevertheleſs left the Camp, during theſe Negotiations, and, with about 1000 Men, directed their Courſe to *Pavia* (4).

The *Goths* in vain apply to *Theodebald* for Aid, &c.

§ XXI. This Handful of *Goths* animated their Countrymen, who dwelt on the *Po*, not to give themſelves wholly up to Deſpair. They ſought for Aid of *Theodebald*, King of *Auſtraſia*; but his State of Health and natural Diſpoſition, render'd him unfit for War (1). On the other Hand, *Leutharis* and *Bucelinus*, two Dukes of the *Alemanni*, who were then of great Renown, in the Kingdom of the *Franks*, hearken'd to their Propoſal (2); and we ſhall find, in the Event, that *Bucelinus* had form'd the Deſign of making himſelf King of *Italy*. They led an Army of upwards of 70,000 Men over the *Alps*, conſiſting of *Franks* and *Alemanni*; tho' *Agathias* comprehends them all under the Denomination of *Franks*. They paſs'd the *Po* unmoleſted, and took *Parma*. *Narſes* left a Part of his Troops at the Siege of *Cuma*, and went himſelf into *Tuſcany*; but he ſent *John*, *Valerian* and *Artabanes*, with a Part of the Army, into the Diſtrict of *Æmilia*, to ſtop the Enemy in their March, at leaſt, 'till he had Time to regulate every Thing in *Tuſcany*. Among theſe Troops was *Fulcaris*, at the Head of about 3000 *Herulian* Cavalry, who advanc'd with great Temerity to *Parma*: But *Bucelinus* had plac'd a Party of his

nificarunt, ſe jam intelligere, ſibi bellum eſſe cum Deo: ſentire ſe vim adverſam, ductaque ex iis, quæ accidiſſent, conjectura, rei veritatem tenere; velle in poſterum ab armis ceſſare; non tamen ita, ut Imperatori ſervirent; ſed cum aliis quibuſdam Barbaris ſuis legibus viverent. Rogarunt, ne diſceſſum ſuum Romani turbarent, neque ſecum benigne agere gravarentur; ſed viatici loco donarent pecunias, quas antea quiſque in Italiæ præſidiis repoſuiſſet. Qua de re deliberanti Narſeti, Joannes, Vitaliani nepos, autor fuit, ut annueret poſtulatis: cum hominibus perire volentibus pugnare deſineret, nec periclitaretur audaciam, in ipſa natam vitæ deſparatione, non iis modo, quos incitaret, ſed obviis etiam funeſta. Nam, *inquit*, vincere ſatis habent viri prudentia ac moderatione præditi: ambitioſior autem cupiditas utique in perniciem vertit. Sententiam hanc amplexo Narſete, pacto convenit, ut, qui ſupererant Barbari, cum rebus ſuis omni Italia confeſtim excederent, neque ulla ratione cum Romanis bellum amplius gererent. Agathias *relates the Conditions differently*, p. 1. ut ſuas illi terras intrepide habitent, Regique Romanorum deinceps pareant. Pagius ad A. 552. n. 10. *calls this the End of the* Gothick *Kingdom, in* Italy; *which therefore ſubſiſted ſixty Years, if we reckon it from* A. 493.

(4) Ibidem. Hoc interim ſpatio Gothi mille, caſtris egreſſi, urbem Ticinum, ac regionem Tranſpadanam petierunt, cum alios duces, tum Indulfum ſecuti, de quo mentio ſupra incidit: cæteri omnes, interpoſito jurejurando, omnia pacta conventa firmarunt.

§ XXI. (1) Agathias. 16. *A.*

(2) Agathias, p. 17. *C.* Leutharis vero & Butilinus, tametſi id Regi ipſorum minime placebat, belli cum eis ſocietatem inierunt. Erant hi duo Germani fratres, genere quidem Alemanni, maximam vero apud Francos potentiam conſecuti, adeo ut nationi ipſorum præeſſent. *Of theſe two Brothers I treated above*, B. XII. § 9. *and of* Bucelinus *in particular* § 40.

choiceſt

choicest Men in an *Amphitheatre*, near the City, who fell upon the *Heruli*, and routed them, on which Occasion *Falcaris* himself was kill'd. This successful Beginning so encourag'd the Residue of the *Goths*, who had continued their Habitation in *Æmilia*, *Liguria*, and the adjoining Provinces, that, disregarding the League Necessity had forc'd them to make with the *Greeks*, they went over to the *Franks* (3). *John* and *Artabanes* were so terrified at this, that they retreated to *Faventia*.

§ XXII. *NARSES* had, in the mean Time, succeeded in his Designs in *Tuscany*. *Florence*, *Volterra*, *Pisa*, and other Places submitted voluntarily. *Lucca* ventur'd to stand a Siege, but was forc'd, after three Months, to surrender (1). The Season of the Year being now far advanc'd, he sent his Men into Winter-Quarters, and went himself to *Ravenna*. *Aligernus*, the younger Brother of *Tejas*, who commanded in *Cuma*, suspecting the Designs of the *Franks* (2), chose rather to submit himself to the Emperor, and going to *Narses*, at *Classes*, near *Ravenna*, *Narses*, in the mean Time, subdues *Tuscany*, &c.

(3) AGATHIAS, p. 26. C. Gothi vero, Æmiliam & Liguriam proximaque loca incolentes, qui antea infidam quidem illam & non sinceram, pacem tamen, bellique societatem, metu potius impulsi, quam voluntate adducti, cum Romanis inierant, armis recuperatis, fœderibusque aperte ruptis, confestim ad Barbaros, ut morum vitæque similitudine conjunctos, sese contulerunt.

§ XXII. (1) Lucca *surrender'd*, Solstitio hyberno imminente. AGATH. 30. D.

(2) IDEM 31. C. Interea vero Aligernus, Fedigerni quidem filius, frater vero Tejæ, postquam Franci in Italiam veniissent, & Gothorum res omnes ad ipsos essent devolutæ, solus visus est quid consultum, & ex re esset, cognovisse, & futura prævidisse. Deliberanti enim ipsi de præsenti rerum statu, hæc cogitatio in mentem venit, quod Franci speciosum quidem titulum ac prætextum captabant societatis bellicæ cum Gothis initæ; quippe qui acciti veniissent; quod vero animis suis agitabant, aliud quiddam reipsa apparituram. Fore enim videbat, ut etiamsi Romanis superiores evaderent, Gothis Italia non cederent, sed illis reipsa primis subactis, quibus suppetias verbis laturi venerant, Francos Principes ei imposituros, patriisque legibus eos esse spoliaturos. Hæc itaque cum frequenter secum reputaret, & cum animo suo revolveret, simulque obsidione premeretur, consultissimum fore judicavit, si urbem cum pecuniis omnibus Narseti traderet, ac deinceps Romanorum instituto ac moribus viveret; periculis & barbarico vivendi more valere jussis. Æquum enim ei videbatur, si Gothi Italiam obtinere non possent, veteres certe ejus habitatores, & indigenas ab origine duces, eam recuperare, neque perpetuo suis sedibus fraudari. Hæc itaque & ipse sua ex parte præstare in animum suum inducebat, & reliquæ genti suæ prudentis consilii exemplum statuere. Cum itaque obsidentibus Romanis prius nuntiasset, cupere se præfectum exercitus adire, idque ei permissum esset, ad Classes venit, ubi Narsetem morari cognoverat Situm vero est id castellum in agro Ravennate; cumque ei in conspectum veniisset, & claves urbis Cumarum ipsi in manus tradidit, omniaque sua benevola officia ei detulit. Narses eum advenientem benigne complexus, majoribus eum bonis renumeraturum promisit; statimque partem copiarum Cumas obsidentium in urbem misit, qui & ipsam & pecuniam reciperent, tutoque omnia conservarent; reliquis copiis in alia oppidula & castella secedere, ibique hybernare jussis.

deliver'd him the Keys. When the *Franks* pass'd by *Cesena*, he call'd to them, and told him, that, if they came to relieve *Cuma*, it was too late (3). As disagreeable as this News was to them, they nevertheless continu'd their March, and that without any Obstruction, excepting that *Narses*, who was then at *Rimini*, with *Theodebald*, Prince of the *Varni*, made a successful Sally on a Party of 2000 Men, who were committing Depredations in the Country about that City (4).

Leutharis retreats, &c.

§ XXIII. THEY divided their Forces, when they reach'd the Country of *Samnium*. *Bucelinus* turn'd, with the greatest Part of the Army, to the Right, towards *Campania*, and ravag'd as far as the *Streights of Sicily*: *Leutharis* proceeded, on the other Side, as far as *Otranto*. Tho' generally these Marches were attended with all the Cruelties of Fire and Sword, yet the *Franks* retain'd some Regard for the Churches, which the *Alemanni*, who were still *Pagans*, did not spare. *Leutharis* hasten'd back: But *Bucelinus* had promis'd the *Goths*, with an Oath, to hazard a Battle with the *Imperialists*, in Consideration of which they had given him Assurance, to chuse him King. *Leutharis* was to come to his Brother's Assistance, as soon as he had secur'd his Booty (1): But *Artabanes* and *Huldac*, the General of the *Huns*, who were garrison'd at *Pesaro*, overthrew, by the Way, a Party

(3) IDEM, *p.* 32. D. Atque Aligernus quidem Francos prætereuntes conspicatus, contumeliis verborum eos e sublimi muro excipiebat, & subsannabat, ut frustra deinceps festinantes, & post festum, quod aiunt, venientes, cum pecunia omnis in Romanorum potestatem venisset, atque adeo ipsa etiam Gothici principatus insignia, adeo, ut si quis etiam in posterum rex Gothorum declararetur, non haberet, quo spectabilior honoratiorque esset, militari tantum veste indutus, ipsoque habitu privatum hominem præ se ferens. Franci vero contra ei convitiabantur, gentis suæ proditorem appellantes; & de statu rerum ambigere videbantur, & an bellum ultra gerendum ipsis esset deliberare. Vicit tamen ea sententia, desistendum non esse, quin potius urgendum institutum.

(4) IDEM, *p.* 33. A. Interea Narses Ravennæ subsistens, atque inter copias, quæ ibi erant, versans, rebus omnibus recte constitutis, Ariminum concessit, cum eodem, quo antea venerat, comitatu. Mortuo enim paulo ante Vacarro, genere Burno, viro imprimis gravi & bellicoso, statim Theodibaldus, ejus filius, cum Burnis eum comitantibus ad Romanorum Imperatorem accesserat, & Arimini erat, tamquam ibi Narsetem conventurus, quo etiam ipse ea de causa venerat, ut omnibus liberaliter auro donatis, belli socios haberet. *Instead of* Burno *and* Burnis, *we must, according to the* Greek, *read* Varno *and* Varnis.

§ XXIII. (1) AGATH. 36. Leuthari in animo erat domum reverti & opimis spoliis suis frui, nuntiisque ad fratrem suum missis etiam ad domitionem hortabatur; bello & incertis rerum futurarum eventibus valere jussis. Butilinus vero etiam jurejurando se Gothis obstrinxit, prælium adversus Romanos cum ipsis, aditurum. Cumque illi per assentationem spargerent, se se eum Regem ipsorum designaturos, manendum sibi apud illos censuit, & se ad bellum instruxit. Leutharis vero cum suis copiis statim discessit: eo consilio, ut, postquam prædam omnem quam tutissime avexisset, domumque venisset, tum exercitum fratri suo suppetias laturum mitteret.

a Party

a Party of 3000 of his Men, and, at *Fano*, he loſt all his Spoils. The Reſt of the Army pitch'd their Tents near *Geneda*, in *Venetia* (2), there deſigning to halt a while; but *Leutharis*, and moſt of his Men, were carried off by contagious Diſeaſes (3).

§ XXIV. *BUCELINUS* return'd to *Campania*, and took *Naples* (1). He was prompted to hazard an Engagement with the *Imperialiſts*, the ſooner the better; not only on Account of his late Promiſe to the *Goths*, but likewiſe of Neceſſity, on his own Part. For the Want of Proviſions, which were cut off by *Narſes*, had induc'd the Soldiers to make too free with the Grapes, and this had already occaſion'd Diſtempers. He encamp'd near *Capua*, on the River *Caſilino*† (2), and had 30,000 Men left. *Narſes* ſet out from *Rome* to encounter him, with an Army of 18,000 Men. The Battle that enſu'd, between the two Armies, is one of the moſt famous in the Hiſtory of theſe Times. *Bucelinus* was defeated and kill'd on the Spot. *Agathias* relates it at large (3), and compares this Victory with thoſe gain'd by the ancient *Greeks* over the *Perſians* at *Marathon* and *Salamina*: But it is hardly credible, that of *Bucelinus*'s Army only five Men eſcap'd (4), and that, on the contrary, the *Imperialiſts* loſt only fourſcore. *Narſes* made a Kind of triumphal Entry into *Rome*,

An Engagement betwixt *Bucelinus* and *Narſes*, &c.

† *Voltorno*.

(2) IDEM, 38. A Cum vero in ditionem Venetum veniſſent ad Cenedam urbem, per id tempus ipſis ſubditam, ſtationem habuerunt: ibi deinceps in tuto commoraturi.

(3) IDEM, *l.* 2. *p.* 35. *ſeq.*

§ XXIV. (1) AGATH. 39. *ſeq.* Non procul a Capua urbe, ad ripas Caſulini fluminis, quod quidem ex Apennino monte fluens, & per circumjacentes campos fluctuoſe labens, in Tyrhenum mare fertur.

(2) PAGIUS, ad h. a. n. 5, 6. *demonſtrates, that this Battle was fought in Autumn*, 553. *I ſhall here add two Paſſages more, but which do not ſo exactly aſſign the Years.* Chron. Marcellini P. C. Baſilii XI. *Indict.* XV. (552). Hoc tempore Juſtinianus, Auguſtus, Narſem, Eunuchum, Chartularium, Cubicularium ſuum, Principem militiæ fecit, & in Italiam miſit. Qui commiſſa pugna, Dei gratia, victor Totilam occidit, & gentem Gothorum, auxiliantibus etiam Longobardis, in Italia exterminavit. Per hæc tempora, cum Buccellinus Comes, cum ſociis a Theodeberto Rege Francorum dudum miſſus, per annos aliquot Italiam Siciliamque infeſtaret, & Romanum ſæpe exercitum ſuperaret, tandem exercitus ejus pro fluvio ventris attritus, a Narſe pugna victus, & profligatus, ipſe Dux occiſus eſt. Nec multo poſt ſocius ejus, Omnirugus Dux, cum reliquiis Gothorum, quibus ſe junxit, peremtus eſt.

MARIUS, *ad* A. P. C. Baſilii XIV. *Ind.* III. (555). Eo tempore Buccelinus, Dux Francorum, in bello Romano, cum omni exercitu ſuo, interiit.

(3) AGATH. *L.* 2. *p.* 39-47. *Among modern Writers, this Battle is related at large by* F. Daniel, Hiſtoire de la Milic. Françoiſ. *L.* 1. *p.* 23.

(4) IDEM, 46. A. Infinita illa Francorum pariter & Alemanorum turba, & quotquot alii ſociale cum ipſis bellum geſſerant, penitus deleti ſunt, *&c.*

where Advice came, about the ſame Time, of the Overthrow of *Leutharis*. His Soldiers were now bent upon recreating themſelves; but *Narſes* remonſtrated, that he had Cauſe to fear, the *Franks* would make another Attempt (5).

Concluſion of the *Gothick* War.

§ XXV. About 7000 *Goths*, who ſided with *Bucelinus*, threw themſelves into *Conza*, a fortified Place; where they withſtood a Siege during the whole Winter, 'till the following Year 554; in Hopes of being relieved by ſome new Army from the other Side of the *Alps*. *Regnaris*, their Leader, who, by *Procopius*, is called a *Goth*, but by *Agathias*, a *Hunn*, at Length deſir'd to be admitted to a Conference with *Narſes* in Perſon. This Interview prov'd fruitleſs, and *Regnaris* ſo far forgot himſelf, that, at his Departure, he diſcharged his Bow at *Narſes*: But he miſs'd his Aim, and ſuch a Volley of Arrows fell upon himſelf, that he expir'd two Days after. The *Goths*, upon the Loſs of this Commander, ſurrender'd to *Narſes*, on Condition, that they ſhould retain their Lives and Liberties: But, for his better Security, he thought fit to ſend them to *Conſtantinople* (1). This was properly the Concluſion of the *Gothick* War, which, amidſt ſuch a Variety of Revolutions, had laſted 19 Years. The laſt Attempt was made by *Vidis*, a *Gothick* Count, aſſiſted by *Hamingus*, the *Franconian* General (2): But *Narſes*, with his uſual good Fortune, deſtroy'd, the next Year, this Remnant of the *Gothick* Valour. *Hamingus* was kill'd in the Battle, and *Vidis* was taken Priſoner, and ſent to *Conſtantinople* (3). As for the Nation itſelf, many *Goths* remain'd in *Italy*, who ſubmitted to the *Imperial* Dominion, and probably conform'd to the *Catholick* Religion, 'till they were, at Length, incorporated, and became one with the other Inhabitants; tho' ſome went over the *Alps* into *Rætia* and *Noricum* (4). Thus the *Franks*, likewiſe, loſt the Dominions

(5) Idem, L. 2. p. 48 and 49. *He puts the following Words, among others, into* Narſes's *Mouth*: Francorum natio eſt populoſiſſima & maxima, & apprime in re bellica exercitata: & cæſi a nobis, exigua quædam erat eorum portio, & quidem tantula, ut metum ipſis non ſit injectura, ſed potius iram concitatura. Veriſimile itaque non eſt, eos conquieturos, neque contumeliam tacite in pectore preſſuros, ſed majorem exercitum in nos ducturos, brevique bellum redintegraturos.

§ XXV. (1) Agath. *p.* 49.

(2) *Here* Pagius *properly places the End of the* Gothick *War. The Attempts made by* Hamingus, *the* Franconian *General, may be reckon'd in the Year* 556, *according to that Paſſage in* Marius's Chronicon, *quoted* not. 5.

(3) Paulus Diac. *L.* 2. *c.* 2. Hamingus vero dum Widin, Gothorum Comiti, contra Narſetem rebellanti, auxilium ferre conatus fuiſſet, utrique a Narſete ſuperati ſunt. Widin captus Conſtantinopolin exiliatur, Hamingus vero, qui ei auxilium præbuerat, Narſetis gladio perimitur. *Conf. not.* 5.

(4) *Of the Reſidue of the* Goths, *ſee the 27th Annot.*

they

they before poſſeſſed in *Liguria* and *Venetia* (5), which was, perhaps, chiefly occaſion'd by the Revolution that happen'd, about the ſame Time, in the Kingdom of the *Franks*, after *Theodebald*'s Deceaſe. *Narſes* could therefore, now, with the greater Tranquility, re-eſtabliſh the Affairs of *Italy*. His Memory is perpetuated by the two following Inſcriptions on the *Pons Salarius* (6).

IMPERANTE. DN. PIISSIMO. AC. TRIUMPHALI. SEMPER. JUSTINIANO. PP. AUG. ANN. XXXVIIII †. NARSES. VIR. GLO- † 564.
RIOSISSIMUS. EX. PRÆPOSITO. SACRI. PALATII. EX. CONS. ATQUE. PATRICIUS. POST. VICTORIAM. GOTHICAM. IPSIS. EORUM. REGIBUS. CELERITATE. MIRABILI. CONFLICTU. PUBLICO. SUPERATIS. ATQUE. PROSTRATIS. LIBERTATE. URBIS. ROMÆ. AC. TOTIUS. ITALIÆ. RESTITUTA. PONTEM. VIÆ. SALARIÆ. USQUE. AD. AQUAM. A. NEFANDISSIMO. TOTILA. TYRANNO. DISTRUCTUM. PURGATO. FLUMINIS. ALVEO. IN. MELIOREM. STATUM. QUAM. QUONDAM. FUERAT. RENOVAVIT.

The other is of much the ſame Import:

QUAM. BENE. CURVATI. DIRECTA. EST. SEMITA. PONTIS.
ATQUE. INTERRUPTUM. CONTINUATUR. ITER.
CALCAMUS. RAPIDAS. SUBJECTI. GURGITIS. UNDAS.
ET. LIBET. IRATÆ. CERNERE. MURMUR. AQUÆ.
ITE. IGITUR. FACILES. PER. GAUDIA. VESTRA. QUIRITES.
ET. NARSIM. RESONANS. PLAUSUS. UBIQUE. CANAT.
QUI. POTIT. RIGIDAS. GOTHORUM. SUBDERE. MENTES.
HIC. DOCUIT. DURUM. FLUMINA. FERRE. JUGUM.

§ XXVI. AFTER having view'd the Revolutions in the *Roman* Empire in the *Weſt*, we can hardly ſuppoſe any other capable of raiſing a Surprize in us: But the Downfal and Subverſion of ſo many *German* Kingdoms and Nations, muſt nevertheleſs have excited the Reader's Attention. The *Alemanni*, *Thuringians*, *Burgundians* and *Bavarians*, might eaſily forget the Revolutions which befel their States. They retain'd their civil Immunities, their Laws and Effects. Their Dukes had almoſt the ſame Power, Reflections on the Subverſion of ſo many Monarchies, &c.

(5) GREGOR. L. 4. c. 9. Bucelinus cum totam Italiam in Francorum regnum redegiſſet, a Narſete interfectus eſt. Italia ad partem Imperatoris capta. Nec fuit, qui eam ultra reciperet. *To this in all Probability relates what* Marius *ſays*, in Chron. ad A. 556. P. C. BASILII XV. Ind. IV. Exercitus Francorum Reipublicæ Romanæ exercitum vaſtavit, atque effugatum devaſtavit. divitiis multis abductis. Exercitus Reipublicæ reſumtis urbis partem Italiæ, quam Theudebertus Rex acquiſiverat, occupavit.

(6) GRUTER. *p.* 161.

which

which was before inveſted in their Kings. They were indeed oblig'd to aſſiſt in the Wars of the *Franks*, and to pay a certain Tribute, but had, on the other Hand, this Advantage, that they were included in the Community of the *Franconian* State. Much greater was the Fall of the *Vandals*, of the *Oſtro-Goths* in *Italy*, and ſoon after of the *Gepidæ* in *Illyricum*. The Cauſes of ſuch Revolutions are not to be ſought for in the Stars, or accounted for from the Number of the Years. Evil Deſigns and evil Manners corrupt Kingdoms, as well as ſingle Families. Where theſe get the upper Hand, we need not have Recourſe to Comets, or expect miraculous Signs. I ſhall here only hint at ſome of thoſe Circumſtances, which were probably the Cauſes of ſo great and ſudden Changes. Some of theſe Kingdoms were wholly founded on Wars and the Courage of the People (1). Valour may reduce Countries and Dominions, and the Conquerors may, by their Experience, for a Time, maintain them; but Religion and wholeſom Laws, Manners, Arts and Sciences muſt have their Share in eſtabliſhing a conſtant Duration (2). A State, whoſe Baſis is the Conſtitution of a whole Nation, riſes gradually like a Pyramid, and ſtands the more firmly: And tho' the Prince be overcome, the Country recovers of itſelf. Inteſtine Diviſions were moreover of evil Conſequences to the *German* Nations, and, together with their unbounded Liberty, made Way for Rebellions and Civil Wars. Some have been the ſooner ſubdu'd, becauſe they were deſtitute of ſtrong Holds; and frequently put their All to Stake, on the Event of a ſingle Battle. The Animoſities betwixt the *Goths* and *Romans*, occaſion'd by the Diſparity of their Religion and Manners, firſt kindled thoſe Flames, which conſum'd the *Oſtro-Gothick* Kingdom †. The *Goths* themſelves were likewiſe divided. The auſtere Party, which retain'd the ancient military Diſcipline of their Anceſtors, made a pretty ſtout Reſiſtance, and choſe rather to dy Sword in Hand, than to ſurvive the Dominion of the *Goths*. Many Nobles, on the contrary, ſubmitted to the Emperor, and many common Soldiers enter'd inconſiderately into his Service. Theſe were ſo taken with the foreign Cuſtoms, that they forgot the Regard due to their Country, their Liberties and Honour.

† See B. XI. § 43.

The Declenſion of *Italy*, &c.

§ XXVII. *ITALY* was greatly harraſs'd during this War, and ſuffer'd probably as much from the Hands of the *Imperialiſts*, as of the *Goths*. In the Armies of the former were many Soldiers from *Armenia*,

§ XXVI. (1) Vis conſilI expers mole ruit ſua.
Vim temperatam DI quoque provehunt
In majus: eſt odere vires
Omne nefas animo moventes.

(2) FLORUS. Regna armis parantur, jure & legibus retinentur.

Iſauria

Iſauria, *Cilicia*, *Thrace*, and other remote Provinces, who were very near as cruel and rapacious as the *Huns*, *Heruli*, *Longobards*, *Sclavi*, and other foreign Auxiliaries. *Juſtinian*, at the Entreaty of Pope *Vigilius*, publiſh'd a (ſo call'd) *Pragmatick Sanction*, which was to be obſerved in *Italy* (1). He confirm'd all the Regulations of *Athalaric*, *Amalaſwinth*, and *Theodehat*, and annull'd all thoſe of *Totilas* (2). He again enjoin'd the Obſervation of his Codex, and all other new Laws (3). We find therein ſome remaining Traces of a Senat (4). Theſe Victories prov'd ſo far advantagious to Religion, that they ſuppreſs'd *Arianiſm* in *Italy*: But ſetting aſide this Advantage, the Country was reduc'd to a worſe State, than it was under the *Goths*. Under them it retain'd the ſame Form of Government as before under the Emperors: But *Juſtinian* laid a Baſis for that new Conſtitution, by which *Italy* became, as it were, a Province to the *Grecian* Empire. He aboliſh'd the Conſulate, and *Baſilius* was, *A.* 541, the laſt private Perſon who enjoy'd that Honour. The Government of theſe Countries was, in ſucceeding Times, wholly adminiſtred by a Lieutenant, whom the *Grecian* Emperor ſent to *Ravenna*, with the Title of *Exarchus*; and whoſe Subſtitutes were call'd *Duces*. The Emperor retain'd the Right of confirming the Papal Election, which was done by the *Exarchus* †: Andno Pope met with ſuch hard Uſage under the *Gothick* Government, as *Sylverius* did from *Beliſarius* in the Midſt of *Rome*, and *Vigilius* at *Conſtantinople*, from the Emperor himſelf. Thus was the City of *Rome*, which had recover'd from ſo many Diſaſters *, and hitherto ſhar'd with the *Eaſt* the Majeſty

† See the IX. Annot.

§ XXVII. (1) P. Cos. BASILII A. XIII. *It begins thus:* Pro petitione Vigilii, venerabilis antiquioris Romæ Epiſcopi, quædam diſponenda eſſe cenſuimus, ad utilitatem omnium pertinentia, qui per occidentales partes habitare noſcuntur, &c.

(2) Cap. 1. & 2. *and* c. 24. *It is ſaid:* Reipublicæ permutationes etiam, vel comparationes, ſive conductiones cum publico factas, uſque ad adventum ſceleratæ memoriæ Totilæ in ſua firmitate firmamus, ſi tamen nulli aliquid alio poſſidente competit.

(3) IBID. *c.* 10. Jura inſuper vel leges Codicibus noſtris inſertas, quas jam ſub edictali programmate in Italiam dudum miſimus, obtinere ſancimus. Sed & eas, quas poſtea promulgavimus conſtitutiones, jubemus ſub edictali propoſitione vulgari; & ex eo tempore quo ſub edictali programmate evulgatæ fuerint, etiam per partes Italiæ obtinere, ut una, Deo volente, facta Republica, legum etiam noſtrarum ubique prolatetur auctoritas.

(4) IBID. *c.* 18. *De menſuris & ponderibus:* Ut autem nulla fraudis vel læſionis provinciarum naſcatur occaſio, jubemus in illis menſuris, vel ponderibus, ſpecies, vel pecuniam dari, quæ beatiſſimo Papæ, vel ampliſſimo Senatui, noſtra pietas in præſenti contradidit.

* Quam neque finitimi valuerunt perdere Marſi
Minacis aut Etruſca Porſenæ manus:
Æmula nec virtus Capuæ, nec Spartacus acer,
Noviſque rebus infidelis Allobrox:
Nec fera cærulea domuit Germania pube,
Parentibuſve abominatus Hannibal.

HORAT. *Epod.* 16.

of

of the Empire, at laſt depriv'd of the Hopes of any farther Fruition of that Honour. After the Authority of the Senat, and whatever elſe had the Appearance of a Common-Wealth, were ſubverted, the Popes found daily more Opportunities to interfere in temporal Matters; which the Hiſtory of *Gregory* the *Great* particularly ſhews (5).

The Controverſy about the *Tria Capitula* explain'd &c.

§ XXVIII. I MAY now properly return to thoſe Controverſies in Religion, in which *Juſtinian* was ſo deeply engag'd *. It will be needleſs here to mention, that he condemn'd *Origen*'s Doctrine, which caus'd a great Change in *Theology* and Literature in general. But as I before took Notice of the Council of *Chalcedon* †, I cannot ſilently paſs by the Diſputes of the *Tria Capitula*, to which the former gave Riſe. Many in the *Eaſt* perſiſted in refuſing to ſubmit to that Council. They were about this Time, call'd *Acephali*, and the Empreſs countenanc'd them. The Novelty and Pleaſure of being rever'd by a Party, as a Guardian-Angel, are indeed prevailing Motives; yet I am dubious whether *Theodora* was in Earneſt, or only diſſembled in ſiding with a particular Sect. For the *Acephali* being at that Time pretty numerous, the Protection of the Empreſs, as that of *Juſtinian* to the *Orthodox*, might ſerve to ſupport and ſecure the Government. The Emperor was deſirous of eſtabliſhing an Unity in the Church. *Theodorus*, Biſhop of *Cæſarea* in *Cappadocia*, who was in great Favour at Court, perſuaded him, that the *Acephali* would certainly be gained, by expunging from the Decrees of the Council of *Chalcedon*, thoſe three Paſſages in which *Theodore*, Biſhop of *Mopſueſta*, *Theodorite*, Biſhop of *Cyrus*, and *Ibas* Biſhop of *Edeſſa*, are extol'd as *Orthodox* Teachers, whereas they were in Reality *Neſtorians*. Theſe were the *Tria Capitula*, which gave Occaſion to ſuch warm Diſſentions (1): The Biſhop of *Cæſarea* is thought to have rais'd this Diſpute, in Order to favour the Followers of *Origen*; that the Zealots being otherways employ'd, might not fall too hard upon them (2). Be that as it will, the Propoſal was approv'd of. The Emperor hop'd to compaſs his End, and the Empreſs found that her Party likewiſe gain'd ſome Ground by it. It was believ'd both Parties would have remain'd ſatisfied. The *Orthodox*, as the Validity of the Council of *Chalcedon* was preſerv'd; and the *Acephali* becauſe they were indulg'd in the Repeal of ſome Ar-

† XI. 28, 29.

(5) *Of this ſee a more circumſtantial Account in* THOM. BOZIUS de Imper. Virt. p. 186.

§ XXVIII. * *See above*, L. 12. § 39.

(1) *This whole Controverſy is related by thoſe who treat of the fifth Council, as* GARNERIUS, CHRISTIANUS LUPUS, *and* Card. NORISIUS, *who excell'd them all.*

(2) EVAGRIUS L. 4. c. 38. p. 412. NORIS. p. 22.

ticles

ticles. *Juſtinian* publiſh'd, *A.* 544, an Edict (3), wherein theſe three Paſſages were rejected, with this Reſerve, that the Validity of the Council of *Chalcedon* ſhould not in the leaſt be queſtion'd on any other Account.

§ XXIX. THIS rais'd great Diſorders in the *Weſt*. The Biſhops and Pope *Vigilius* himſelf refus'd to ſubſcribe thereto. The *Africans*, in particular were very warm, as appears from their Writings, ſtill extant (1). In the *Weſt* hardly any Body was acquainted with the Works of theſe Biſhops, whoſe Doctrine was call'd in Queſtion; eſpecially as they were written in *Greek* (2). It was pretended, on the other Hand, that it would be too great a Shock to the Credit and Validity of the Council, if Teachers ſhould be rejected, who were there declar'd *Orthodox*; and that beſides it was unjuſt to condemn any one after his Death, who died in the Community of the Church (3). *Juſtinian* appointed a Council, and prevail'd on *Vigilius* to come to *Conſtantinople*; tho' he ſet out on this Journy with Reluctance. He knew what the Emperor would expect from him, and how much the *Weſtern* Church would oppoſe thoſe Views. He ſpent almoſt two Years, by the Way, in *Sicily*, hoping the Synod would be held in the *Weſt*. He might have acted with more Freedom at a Convention there, and could have excuſed himſelf the better, if the Determination had not been purſuant to the Emperor's Deſign. When he, at Length, came to *Conſtantinople*, *Juſtinian* firſt ſecur'd his Aſſent; and he ſwore to him, in private, by the Nails of our Saviour's Croſs, and by the four Evangeliſts, that he would promote the Repeal of the *Tria Capitula* (4). About ſeventy Biſhops were preſent; but ſome argued ſo warmly, that *Vigilius* broke up the Council, and publiſh'd his Judgment of the Matter, in which he rejected the *Tria Capitula*; but on Condition, that the Authority of the Council of *Chalcedon* ſhould not be in the leaſt weaken'd thereby, and

Juſtinian gains the Aſſent of Pope *Vigilius*.

(3) NORISIUS, *p.* 20.

§ XXIX. (1) FACUNDI HERMIANENSIS Defenſio ad Juſtinianum. PONTIANI, Epiſcopi Africani, epiſtola ad Juſtinianum, *and* VICTORIS TUNUNENSIS Chronicon.

(2) Vigilius *excuſes himſelf with his Ignorance of the* Greek *Tongue, in the Letter to the Patriarch of* Conſtantinople, T. III. Conc. p. 39. Quia græcæ linguæ (ſicut cunctis, & maxime pietati veſtra notum eſt) ſumus ignari. *So the Biſhops in* Africa *confeſs likewiſe, at firſt, that they never read thoſe Writings.*

(3) PONTIANUS, *Epiſc. Afr. in epiſt. ad Juſtinianum.* Supplicamus Clementiam Tuam, ut pax permaneat temporibus Tuis, ne, dum quæris damnare jam mortuos, multos inobedientes interficias vivos, & exinde compellare reddere rationem ei, qui venturus eſt judicare vivos, & mortuos.

(4) *The Form of this Oath, as it was read at the Council of* Conſtantinople, Collatione VII. *may be ſeen,* T. III. Conc. p. 154. ſeq.

excommunicated thoſe, who dar'd to act contrary to this Judgment (5). He likewiſe aſſur'd ſome Biſhops, in particular, by Letters, that the Repeal of theſe three Articles, was not in the leaſt derogatory to the Council of *Chalcedon* (6). *Juſtinian* recommended this Judgment to all the Biſhops (7), for their Acceptance: But it met with no Approbation in the *Weſt*. The Biſhops of *Illyricum*, in Synod aſſembled, inſiſted on retaining the *Tria Capitula*: The ſame was done by thoſe in *Africa*, who excluded *Vigilius* from all Spiritual Community with them (8). *Facundus*, Biſhop of *Hermione*, who reſided at *Conſtantinople*, upbraided him, on this Occaſion, with having previouſly promis'd this Compliance to the Emperor, and thereby pav'd the Way to the Papal Chair (9). Even *Ruſticus* and *Sebaſtianus*, two learned Deacons of the *Roman* Church, declar'd againſt him (10).

Vigilius retracts his Judgment.

§ XXX. THIS Oppoſition reduc'd the Pope to great Streights. He prevail'd on the Emperor, to reſtore him his Judgment, under Pretence, that the whole Affair might then be more freely diſcuſs'd at a general Convention. *Juſtinian* had ſummon'd, to *Conſtantinople*, ſome of the moſt eminent Biſhops, from *Africa*, *Italy* and *Illyricum*. Thoſe from *Africa* inſiſted, as before, on the *Tria Capitula*, and would not conſent to have a Letter taken from the Decrees of the Council of *Chalcedon*. No one appear'd from *Illyricum*. The Emperor was enrag'd, and caus'd an Edict to be publickly affix'd, *A.* 551, *July* 14, wherein he rejected the *Tria Capitula*. This was highly diſapprov'd of by the Pope, the Archbiſhop of *Milan* (1) and ſome other Biſhops, who in-

(5) *Of this* Judicatum *ſee* NORIS. l. c. Add. P. FRANC. PAG. in Vigil. § 31.

(6) Epiſtola VIGILII ad Aurelianum, Arelatenſem Epiſcopum, in actis Synodi V. Collat. VII.

(7) *Vid.* BARONIUS *ad A.* 546. *n.* 10.

(8) VICTOR TUNUNENSIS *in Chron. ad A.* X. *poſt Conſulatum Baſilii* (550) Africani Antiſtites Vigilium, Romanum Epiſcopum, damnatorem Trium Capitulorum, Synodaliter a Catholica communione, reſervato ei pœnitentiæ loco, recludunt, & pro defenſione Trium memoratorum Capitulorum literas ſuas idoneas Juſtiniano Principi, per Olympium Magiſtrianum mittunt.

(9) FACUNDUS, *L.* 1. Ob hoc etiam de Romani Epiſcopi chirographis, vel prius ambitionis impulſu, quum fieri arderet Epiſcopus, vel poſtea venalitate parti alteri factis, neceſſarium duximus non tacere, ne autoritate nominis ejus præjudicium vera fides ſufferret.

(10) *Vid. Sententia Vigilii adu. Ruſticum & Sebaſtianum.*

§ XXX. (1) *Libell. Cleric. Italiæ:* Sed & S. Datius, Mediolanenſis Epiſcopus, conteſtationem omnibus, ſub magna vociferatione depoſuit, *dicens*; Ecce, ego, & pars omnium Sacerdotum, inter quos eccleſia mea conſtituta eſt, id eſt, Galliæ, Burgundiæ, Spaniæ, Liguriæ, Æmiliæ, atque Venetiæ, conteſtor, quia quicunque in Edicta iſta conſenſerit, ſupraſcriptarum Provinciarum Pontifices communicatores habere non poterit.

ſiſted

ſiſted upon waiting the Determination of the Synod. *Vigilius*, for his better Safety, took Refuge in a Church. The Emperor ſent *Beliſarius*, whoſe Behaviour at *Rome*, was ſtill freſh in the Pope's Memory, and ſome other Nobles, to him, who almoſt uſed Force to bring him from the Altar (2): And when afterwards he thought himſelf in Danger, he, with *Datius*, fled to *Chalcedon*, into the Church of St. *Euphemia*, where the Council, now call'd in Queſtion, was formerly held. Some other Biſhops follow'd him thither. The Ambaſſy, I mention'd above, from the King of *Auſtraſia*, departed about this Time for *Conſtantinople*; and the Clergy in *Italy* entreated the Ambaſſadors to uſe their Influence, in Favour of the Pope and the Biſhop of *Milan*. *Juſtinian* eaſily perceiv'd, that, whilſt the *Weſt* diſſented, he ſhould not gain his Point of pacifying the Church, and again ſent the ſame Deputies to the Pope at *Chalcedon*. A Synod was once more agreed on (3); and *Vigilius* repair'd again to *Conſtantinople*, at the Beginning of the Year 553.

§ XXXI. As very few *Weſtern* Biſhops attended, *Vigilius* required, that, to preſerve an Equality, no more Biſhops of the *Eaſt* ſhould be admitted into the Council, than were preſent from the *Weſtern* Church. *Juſtinian* at firſt conſented: But the *Eaſtern* Biſhops, a large Number of whom appeared, reply'd; that they were not come thither to be idle Spectators, and that the Council of *Chalcedon* conſiſted only of Biſhops from the *Eaſt*. The Synod was therefore open'd at *Conſtantinople*, *A.* 553 †. The Patriarchs of *Conſtantinople*, *Alexandria*, *Antioch* and *Jeruſalem* were preſent, the three firſt in Perſon, and the laſt by certain

A Council at *Conſtaninople*.

† *May* 5.

(2) *The Proceedings againſt the Pope is related with ſome Bitterneſs in the* Libellum Cler. Ital. Beatiſſimus Papa Vigilius nec in Baſilica S. Petri ſedes tutas habere meruit; in tantum, ut illic Prætor, ad quem fures & homicidæ tantummodo pertinent, mitteretur, qui cum multitudine militum, ſpathas nudatas & arcus tenſos portantium ſupradictam Baſilicam introivit; quo viſo ſanctus Papa columnas Altaris amplexus eſt, ſed ille ferocitate & animo concitatus primo de Altari Diaconos ejus, & Clericos a capillis tentos ejecit, poſtea vero ipſum ſanctum Papam, alii a pedibus, alii a capillis & barba tentum, crudeliter abſtrahebant. Sed cum ille columnas Altaris non dimitteret, cecidit Altare, & columnæ aliquæ fractæ ſunt, & quantum ad ipſos, ibi ſuper ipſum Altare in partibus mitti habuit. Sed Deus, qui in talibus anguſtiis ſemper adeſſe dignatur tam aliquorum ex ipſis militibus, quam populi, qui ad tumultum venerat, animos ad miſericordiam provocavit, & cœperunt voces atque ſtridores mittere: & ſic contigit, ut judex iniquitatis, ſupradictus Prætor, cum miniſtris crudelitatis ſuæ territus fugiendo diſcederet. *The Pope himſelf mentions it*, in epiſt. encyclica (Tom. III. Conc. 15.) *in the following Words:* Cum in eadem eccleſia a comitatu Prætoris, cum multitudine armatorum militum veniente, tanquam ad bellum inſtructa acie, a ſancto ejus Altare tracti pedibus traheremur, & ſuper nos etiam ipſa Altaris menſa ceciderat, niſi Clericorum noſtrorum fuiſſet manibus ſuſtentata.

(3) *Epiſt. encyclica Vigilii Papæ, l. c.*

Proxies; and the Number of Biſhops, that appear'd, amounted to 165. *Vigilius* being Patriarch of *Rome*, was intreated, by the Council, to preſide. He pretended Sickneſs, and did not aſſiſt at the Synod; but, in the mean Time, of his own Authority, publiſh'd what he call'd a Conſtitution. He therein complains, that the Council was not held according to Agreement; and now vindicated the *Tria Capitula*, which, in his former Judgment, he had rejected. Sixteen Biſhops ſubſcrib'd to this Conſtitution (1). *Juſtinian*, who was highly diſpleaſed with it, ſent an Order to the Synod, to blot *Vigilius*'s Name out of the Church-Books, wherein was a Liſt of thoſe Biſhops, who were mention'd in the publick Prayers (2). The Pope himſelf was baniſh'd (3); the *Tria Capitula* were rejected with Threats of Excommunication; and thus ended † this Synod, which is call'd the fifth general Council, the Circumſtances whereof themſelves ſhew the Cauſe of that Difficulty it met with, before it was univerſally receiv'd as ſuch.

† June 2.

Vigilius compliés, and obtains Leave to return to *Rome*, &c.

§ XXXII. The *Romans*, and even *Narſes* himſelf, interceded for the Pope, who had now been ſo long abſent from *Rome*: But whilſt he defended the *Tria Capitula*, all Interceſſion was in vain (1). He therefore, at laſt, publiſhed another Declaration, wherein, without making

§ XXXI. (1) *See this Conſtitution*, Tom. III. Concil. (ed Hard.) p. 10.

(2) *See this Canon in* Baluzius, in nov. Collect. Concil. p. 154.

(3) Baronius *obſerves from* Anaſtaſius, *that* Vigilius *was baniſh'd.* Card. Noriſius, c. 8. *queſtions indeed* Anaſtaſius's *Relation, but* Pagius *confirms it*, ad A. 553. n. 33.

§ XXXII. (1) Card. Noriſius *blames* Vigilius's *Inconſtancy, and* p. 78, *ſums up his whole Deportment in the following Words:* Ille, uti per fraudem ſummam dignitatem, expulſo Silverio, uſurpavit, ita eandem ex Cleri conſenſu poſtea obtentam, cum procul a ſua ſede per novennium quaſi precario vixiſſet, denique in Sicilia cum vita pariter amiſit. Fuit Vigilius Pontificiæ autoritatis uſque ad Principis contemptum tenaciſſimus aſſertor, ut ex rebus ab eo geſtis inclaruit. Animi inconſtantia, mutandæque ſententiæ facilitas vitio eidem vertitur; nam in cauſa trium Capitulorum varius, atque a ſe ipſo diverſus non ſemel apparuit. Initio quidem, cum adhuc in Sicilia eſſet, tria Capitula defendebat, at illa ſe damnaturum dudum Theodoræ Auguſtæ promiſerat, ſi Victori fides eſt. Cum Byzantium adveniſſet, ob damnata tria Capitula Mennam ſacris interdixit, at paulo poſt Mennæ conciliatus eadem & ipſe in Judicato damnavit. Deinde poſt triennium a ſententia Judicati diſcedens, emiſſo novo Conſtituto, eadem damnari poſſe negavit. Sed paucis menſibus in hac ſententia ſtetit, nam data ad Eutychium epiſtola vim Conſtituti infregit, atque ad Synodum accedens tria Capitula proſcripſit. *The Circumſtances he was in muſt ſerve for his Excuſe, and* Petrus de Marca de Conc. Sac. & Imp. Lib. 3. cap. 13. *rather commends him for having bore them ſo well.*

Mention

Mention of the *Synod*, he again condemned the *Tria Capitula* (2). He was, hereupon, permitted to return to *Rome*; and when, on this Occaſion, he entreated the Emperor to remember *Italy*, *Juſtinian* caus'd the before-mention'd *Pragmatick Sanction* to be publiſh'd †. He died, on his Return, in *Sicily*, about the Concluſion of the Year 554. The before-mention'd *Pelagius* ††, Deacon of the *Roman* Church, had likewiſe been exil'd for vindicating the *Tria Capitula*: But he now complied, and ſucceeded *Vigilius* in the Papal Chair (3): However he thereby incurr'd ſo general an *Odium*, that there could not be three Biſhops brought together, to conſecrate him, and they were oblig'd to have the Ceremony perform'd by two Biſhops and a Prieſt (4). *Juſtinian*, who was determin'd to eſtabliſh a Peace in the Church, ſpar'd neither Rewards nor Perſecutions (5), and by theſe Means gradually brought the Churches of *Africa* and *Illyricum* to a Compliance. Thus was this Flame by Degrees extinguiſh'd. It ſeem'd odd to Poſterity, that both Parties ſhould contend ſo warmly, and, at the ſame Time, agree to have the Doctrine of *Neſtorius* remain condemned, which was the Subject the Council of *Chalcedon* aſſembled upon. *Paulinus*, Patriarch of *Aquileia*, and ſeveral Biſhops in *Venetia* and *Iſtria*, perſiſted ſtill in defending the *Tria Capitula*, and would not allow of a fifth Council, which caus'd a Schiſm, from whence many Commotions aroſe, at the Time when the *Longobards* reign'd in *Italy*.

† § xxvii.

†† xii. § 35.

XXXIII. *THEODEBALD*, King of *Auſtraſia*, died without Iſſue, *A.* 554. Two of his Grandfather's Brothers were yet alive: *Childebert*, King of *Paris*, who had no Son, and *Clotarius*, King of *Soiſſons*. The latter aim'd at poſſeſſing the whole Kingdom, which had now no Sovereign, and intended to marry *Waldrada*, *Theodebald*'s Widow, a Daughter of *Wacchus*, King of the *Longobards*. But the Biſhops ſo vigorouſly oppos'd this Alliance, that he declin'd it, and married Queen *Waldrada* to *Garibald*, Duke of *Bavaria* (1). The *Saxons*, upon this

The State of the Kingdom of the *Franks*, &c.

(2) T. 3. Conc. (HARD.) *p.* 240. PETRUS de MARCA *wrote a particular Diſſertation* de Decreto Papæ Vigilii pro Confirmatione Synodi, *of which ſee* Pagius ad A. 554. n. 3.

(3) VICTOR. TUNUNENSIS. Pelagius, Romanus Archidiaconus, Trium præfatorum defenſor Capitulorum, Juſtiniani Principis perſuaſione de exilio redit, & condemnans ea, quæ dudum conſtantiſſime defendebat, Romanæ Eccleſiæ Epiſcopus, a prævaricatoribus ordinatur.

(4) NORISIUS, *p.* 80.

(5) BARONIUS *is, indeed, highly diſguſted at* Juſtinian, *on this Account: But* Noriſius *excuſes him ſufficiently* p. 79, *and is ſeconded by* Pagius, *ad A.* 553. *n.* 20. *ſ.*

§ XXXIII. (1) GREGOR. *L.* 4. *c.* 9. Regnum ejus Chlothacharius Rex accepit, copulans Vuldetradam uxorem ejus ſtrato ſuo, ſed increpitus a ſacerdotibus reliquit eam, dans ei Garivaldum ducem. *This is thought to be* Garibald, *Duke of* Bavaria.

Revolution,

Revolution, made an Attempt to free themſelves from the Tribute, which *Theodoric*, King of *Auſtraſia*, had forc'd them to ſubmit to (2). They had inſtigated the neighbouring *Thuringians* to rebel: But *Clotarius* fell upon them with an Army, and carried the Day in a Battle on the *Weſer*, whereby he obliged them to promiſe the ſame Tribute, they had paid to the former Kings of *Auſtraſia* (3). The next Year, they invaded his Dominions, and ravaged as far as *Deutz* (4), over-againſt *Cologn*. *Clotarius* himſelf ſuffer'd a ſignal Overthrow: But *Fredegarius* ſays, that, from this Time, the *Saxons* were oblig'd to deliver to the Kings of the *Franks* an annual Contribution of 500 Cows, and that it was not remitted 'till the Times of *Dagobertus* (5). *Chilperic*, the youngeſt Son of *Clotarius*, is extoll'd by a Poet of theſe Times for having accompanied his Father in ſeveral ſucceſsful Expeditions againſt the *Britons*, *Saxons*, *Danes* and *Eſtiones* (6): But theſe Accounts do not relate to all the *Saxons* in general, but only to ſuch ſingle Nations, as dwelt neareſt to the Dominions of the *Franks*. *Childebert* died, *A.* 558, at *Paris*, and now the whole Kingdom of the *Franks* was united under *Clotarius*, who, thereupon, became far more powerful, than *Clovis*, his Father.

(2) IBID. *c.* 10. Eo anno, rebellantibus Saxonibus, Chlothacharius Rex, commoto contra eos exercitu, maximam eorum partem delevit, pervagans totam Thoringiam ac devaſtans, pro eo, quod Saxonibus ſolatium præbuiſſent. APPEND. *ad* CHR. MARCELLINI: Saxones rebellantes juxta Wiſeram fluvium magna cæde domuit. Marius *in Chron.* P. C. Baſil. XV. *Ind.* 4. (*A.* 556) Franci totam Thoringiam pro eo, quod cum Saxonibus conjuraverat, vaſtaverunt.

(3) GRECOR. *c.* 14. Chlothacharius poſt mortem Theodebaldi cum regnum Franciæ ſuſcepiſſet, atque illud circumiret, audivit a ſuis, iterata inſania efferveſcere Saxones, ſibique eſſe rebelles; & quod tributa, quæ annis ſingulis conſueverant miniſtrare, contemnerent reddere. His incitatus verbis ad eos dirigit. Cumque jam prope terminum eorum eſſet, Saxones legatos ad eum mittunt, dicentes: Non ſumus contemtores Tui, & ea, quæ fratribus, ac nepotibus Tuis, reddere conſuevimus, non negamus, *&c.* Valerius *juſtly obſerves, that, inſtead of* Fratribus, *we muſt read* Fratri; *ſince* Theodoric *only can be ſaid to have obtain'd a Tribute from the* Saxons. Gregory *ſays, of the Overthrow the* Franks *then ſuffer'd:* Inito certamine, maxima ab adverſariis internecione cæduntur, tantaque ab utroque exercitu multitudo cecidit, ut nec æſtimari nec numerari penitus poſſit. Tunc Chlothacharius valde confuſus pacem petiit, dicens, ſe non ſua voluntate ſuper eos veniſſe.

(4) IBID. *c.* 16. Exeunteſque de regione ſua in Franciam venerunt; & uſque ad Divitiam, civitatem, prædas egerunt.

(5) *In Chron. c.* 74.

(6) VENANTIUS FORTUNAT. *Lib.* 9. *carm.* 1.

Quem Geta, Vaſco, tremunt, DANUS,
ESTIO, SAXO, BRITANNUS,
Cum Patre quos acie Te domitaſſe patet.
Terror & extremis Friſonibus atque Suevis,
Qui neque bella parant, ſed Tua frena rogant.

§ XXXIV.

§ XXXIV. THE *Franconian* Church had little or no Share in the Commotions, occaſion'd by the *Tria Capitula*, tho' ſome Kings are, indeed, particularly extoll'd for their Approbation of them. As for their Conſtitution (1), the Laity had ſome Share with the Clergy in the Election † of Biſhops, but they were forc'd to apply to their Kings for the Confirmation of their Choice, and they ſometimes diſpos'd of a vacant See themſelves. Each *Metropolitan* enjoy'd, in his Province, that Authority they had been inveſted with by the Councils of *Nice* and *Sardica*. Their chief Concern was at their *Synods*, and when any important Matters were brought on the Carpet, the Biſhops of the whole Kingdom were aſſembled, but not without the Command, or at leaſt Permiſſion of the Kings. The Popes have, indeed, ſometimes conſtituted the Biſhops of *Arles*, in which City the *Prætorium Galliarum* was for ſome Time, their Vicars, and ſent them the *Pallium*; from whence theſe have taken Occaſion to aſſume a Sort of *Primacy*; tho' the other Churches would not ſuffer their Rights to be prejudic'd thereby (2): And with Regard to the *Pallium*, the Caſe was then very different from what it afterwards became †. It is § in particular remarkable, that when *Auxanius*, Biſhop of *Arles*, deſir'd that Favour of Pope *Vigilius*, he did not grant it, 'till he had obtain'd the Emperor *Juſtinian*'s Conſent. I obſerv'd before, that the Monaſtick Life was introduc'd in *Gaul*, in the fourth Century, where it afterwards encreas'd greatly. In the *Burgundian* Dominions, the Monaſtery of S. *Maurice* had been long famous: And S. *Severinus*, who died *A.* 482, had built a famous Monaſtery at *Faviana* (4), in *Noricum*: *Fridelinus*, who liv'd in the Times of King *Clovis*, and of *Theodoric*, his Son, founded ſeveral Monaſteries and Chapels, on the *Moſel*, on the Mountains of *Waſgow*, at *Strasburg*, at *Chur*, at *Glaris*, and at *Seckingen* (5). Each Monaſtery had its particular Rules, and the Abbot govern'd the Brethren, according either to the Dictates of his own Zeal, or the Rules left by his

The State of the Church under the *Franks*, &c.

† See the xxviiith Annot.

§ *Ibid.*

§ XXXIV. (1) *Of the Origin of the* German *Church, and the State of it under* Conſtantine *the Great*, ſee Vol. I. B. vi. § 30, 31, 35, 36. *And I treated alſo of the Riſe of the* Franconian *Church*, B. xi. § 19.

(2) PAGIUS, *ad Ann.* 595. *n.* 3.

(3) V. I. VII. 38.

(4) *The Place is called* Favia, Fabia, Faviana. *Many Learned Men have taken it for the preſent* Vienna: *But* Lambecius, Lib. 2. de Bibl Cæſ. p. 10. ſeq. *refutes this at large, from the Life of* S. Severinus. *He is followed by* Pagius, ad A. 454. n. 11. ſeq. *and* ad A. 824. n. 17. *he ſays:* Faviana *lay in* Noricum Ripenſe, *and therefore on this Side of* Calenberg (Mons Cetius), *which ſeparated* Noricum *from* Pannonia; *but* Vindebona, *the preſent* Vienna, *lies on the other Side and appertain'd then to* Pannonia.

(5) COINTE *ad An.* 509. *n.* 7. *ſeq.*

Predeceſſor.

Predeceſſor. The Regulations of S. *Benedict*, who liv'd in this Century, and died *A.* 544, were afterwards almoſt univerſally receiv'd.

Particularly of the Biſhopricks, which afterwards fell to the Kingdom of *Germania*, &c.

§ XXXV. I SHALL here only take Notice of thoſe Biſhopricks, which were afterwards included in the Kingdom of *Germania*, and flouriſh to this Day in the *German* Church. The Chair of *Triers* was, about this Time, fill'd by *Nicetius* (1), who was greatly eſteem'd by the Kings of the *Franks*, and the whole Church. This, among others, the Letter teſtifies, which he wrote to the Emperor *Juſtinian*, when, ſoon before his Deceaſe, he publiſh'd an Edict that ſeem'd to favour the Opinion of the *Eutychians* *. *Venantius Fortunatus* extols *Sidonius*, Biſhop of *Mentz*, and his Zeal for the Benefit of that Church (2). As *Cologn* was look'd upon to be the Capital of the *Ripuarii*, ſo that Church, likewiſe, recover'd its former State; and, in the following Books, we ſhall find the Biſhops of that See in high Eſteem. Beſides this, we meet with the Biſhoprick of *Tongres*, in *Germania Secunda*, and the Biſhops reſided now at *Maeſtricht*. *Domitian*, Biſhop of *Tongres*, aſſiſted at the Council, which was held, *A.* 535, at *Auvergne*, as we find by his Subſcription (3). Notwithſtanding what the Cities of *Triers*, *Mentz* and *Cologn* ſuffer'd, in the former Wars (4), yet were thoſe Churches not deſtroyed. It is rather probable †, that the Biſhops of *Triers* retain'd their *Jus Metropolitanum* in *Belgica*, and thoſe of *Mentz* in *Germania Prima*; and that the Biſhopricks in *Rætia*, at *Augsburg*, and *Conſtantz*, which now devolved to the *Franconian* Church, acknowledg'd *Mentz* to be their *Metropolis*. The Biſhops of *Cologn*, on the other Hand, probably maintain'd the Prerogatives of their Church in *Germania Secunda*. We may, moreover, eaſily imagine, that this Conſtitution receiv'd likewiſe ſome Shock from the great Revolutions in *Gaul*. It ſuffer'd yet more in the latter Times of the *Merovingian* Kings, when

‡ See the xxviiith Annot.

§ XXXV. (1) VEN. FORTUNATUS *calls Nicetius, L.* 3. *carm.* 11.

Totius urbis amor, Pontificumque caput.

Carm. 12. *he deſcribes a ſtrong and ſplendid Caſtle, which* Nicetius *caus'd to be built on the* Moſel; *and* F. Browerus, *in the Notes*, p. 84. *demonſtrates this to be the Caſtle of* Biſchofſtein, *near* Coblentz. Venantius, carm. 13. *calls* Magnericus, *Biſhop of* Triers,

Culmen honorificum, Patrum Pater, Archiſacerdos.

* *Ap.* DU CHESNE, *T. I. p.* 852.

(2) *Lib.* 9 *carm.* 9. *where, among other Things, he ſays of him:*

Jura Sacerdotum ſacro moderamine ſervans.

(3) COINTE, *ad h. a. n.* 38.

(4) *How far theſe three Cities ſuffer'd by the Enemy's Irruptions into* Gaul, *may be ſeen*, Vol. I. B. 9. § 21.

S. *Boni-*

S. *Boniface* laid a new Foundation for the Church, in particular, distinguish'd by the Name of *German*.

§ XXXVI. AND after *Rætia* and *Vindelicia*, which had hitherto appertain'd to the Kingdom of *Italy*, were now, by the Abdication of *Vitiges*, fallen into the Hands of the *Franks*, and the *Bavarians* had extended their Dominions in *Noricum*, these Revolutions occasion'd the Bishopricks of those Countries to come by Degrees into the Community of the *Franconian* Church. In *Rætia*, was a Bishoprick at *Trent*, and *Chur*, and at *Windisch*, which in the Reign of *Clotarius* I, was remov'd to *Constance*, on the Lake of that Name. In *Rætiæ secundæ*, or *Vindelicia*, we find a Bishoprick to have been at *Augsburg*, and another at *Seeben*, which was afterwards remov'd to *Brixen* (1). Christianity had likewise been long introduced in *Noricum*, where several Bishopricks were founded. *Constantius*, Bishop of *Lorch* (2), the Capital in *Noricum Ripense*, is extol'd in the Life of *Severinus* (3). There was likewise Bishopricks at this Time, in *Noricum Mediterraneum*, at *Tiburnia*, which is the present *Villach*, in *Carinthia* (4), and at *Celeia*, now call'd *Cilley*. But it is very uncertain, whether the Bishop of *Lorch* enjoy'd a *Jus Metropolitanum*, or how far that extended †. This indeed we know, that, about the same Time, *Aquileia* was the *Metropolis* of the Bishops of *Noricum Mediterraneum*. Thus at the Synod of *Grado*, *A.* 579, assisted likewise the Bishops of *Tiburnia*, of *Cilley* and of *Æmona* (5), which last City belong'd properly to *Pannonia*, and the present *Laybach*, in *Upper-Carniola*, arose from its Ruins. As these Provinces suffer'd greatly in the common Devastations of the *Roman* Empire, it is probable their Ecclesiastical

Of the Bishopricks in *Rætia*, &c.

† See the XXVIII. Annot.

§ XXXVI. (1) F. le Cointe, ad A. 614. n. 13. *affirms that this Change happen'd in the Reign of* Clotarius I.

(2) *See of this City* (Laureacum) Vol. I. III. 20.

(3) Eugippius in vita S. Severini, c. 30. *where he treats of* Laureacum: Mittens ad S. Constantium ejus loci Pontificem.

(4) Cluverius's *Conjecture, that* Tiburnia *is the present* Villach, *is almost universally received: But the Baron of* Valvasor, *affirms, in his* Ehre des Hertzogthums Crain, L. 8. p. 572. *that it is properly the Place, which is call'd* im Saal.

(5) *V. Subscriptiones apud* Norisium *de Synod. quint. p.* 98.

Leoninus *Tibornensis.*
Patritius *Ep. S. E. Hemonensis.*
Ingenuinus *Ep. Secundæ Rætiæ.*
Agnellus *S. E. Tridentinæ.*
Johannes *Ep. S. E. Celeianæ.*

It cannot be concluded from these Bishops having assisted at the Synod at Grado, *that they acknowledg'd* Aquileia *to be their* Metropolis: *But with this we must have Recourse to the Words of the latter Writings,* de A. 590, *from that Synod, which are quoted in the next Note.*

Polity fell likewiſe thereby to Decay. In *Rætia*, the Churches of *Augsburg* (6), *Chur*, and *Conſtance* did now, indeed, in ſome Meaſure, recover under the *Franks*; but *Trent* fell into the Hands of the *Longobards*. The Church afterwards ſuſtain'd a freſh Storm in *Noricum*, when the *Hunns* and *Sclavi* laid all the Country waſte: And it was re-eſtabliſh'd in the eighth Century, by the *Bavarians*, who afterwards detach'd Colonies among the *Hunns* and *Sclavi*.

How far Chriſtianity was known in *Germania magna*, &c.

§ XXXVII. In the laſt Place, I muſt likewiſe take Notite of the Converſion of ſome other *German* Nations: When the *Goths* embrac'd Chriſtianity, in the fourth Century, at which Time their Kingdom was yet in a flouriſhing State, in *Germania* and *Sarmatia*, ſeveral Nations that were ſubject to them, profeſs'd it likewiſe. By this Means the *Vandals* and *Gepidæ* (1) were converted, and in ſome Manner probably ſome Seeds of it alſo reach'd the *Heruli* and *Rugi*. The *Rugi*, who ſerv'd *Odoacer* in *Italy*, and Part of whom maintain'd their Ground among the *Oſtro-Goths*, were probably *Arians*. Of the *Heruli* I mention'd before †, that they were likewiſe partly of the ſame Sect, but that a whole *Herulian* Nation was in *Juſtinian*'s Times baptiz'd, with their King, at *Conſtantinople*; and embrac'd the *Catholick* Faith. The *Thuringians* perhaps likewiſe received their firſt Knowledge of *Chriſtianity*, from the *Goths* ‡. It was at leaſt introduced among them in the Reign of *Hermanfrid*, their laſt King: *Theodorick*, King of *Italy*, would hardly have given his Niece in Marriage to a *Pagan* Prince: And the Children both of *Hermanfrid* and his Brother were of the *Chriſtian*, and partly of the *Orthodox* Faith.* The *Longobards* were likewiſe *Chriſtians* before they went to *Italy* (2): And tho' *Procopius* places them among the True-Believers, at the Time of King *Audoin*, yet without Doubt both *Alboin*,

† § II.

‡ See the XXVIII. Annot.

(6) *That the Biſhopricks of* Augſburg *and* Tiburnia, *adher'd to the* Franconian *Church, in this ſixth Century, appears very plainly from the Letter, which the Biſhops, aſſembled at the Synod at* Grado, *diſpatch'd to the Emperor* Mauritius; *wherein they ſhew Cauſe, why they and* Severus *their Patriarch could not come to* Rome: Quia Galliarum Epiſcopi vicini ſunt, ad ipſorum fine dubio ordinationem accurrent, & diſſolvetur Metropolitana Aquileienſis Eccleſia, ſub veſtro imperio conſtituta, per quam Deo propitio, eccleſias in gentibus poſſidet; ut quod ante annos jam fieri cœperat, & in tribus eccleſiis noſtri concilii, id eſt, BREMENSI, TIBURNENSI & AUGUSTANA Galliarum Epiſcopi conſtituerant ſacerdotes: & niſi ejuſdem tunc divæ memoriæ Juſtiniani principis juſſione commotio partium noſtrarum remota fuiſſet, pro noſtris iniquitatibus pene omnes eccleſias, ad Aquileienſem ſynodum pertinentes, Galliarum ſacerdotes pervaſerant. *The Word* Bremenſi *is an Error. Some Learned Men read inſtead of it* Breunenſi, *or* Breonenſi. *The* Breuni *or* Breones *dwelt hereabouts, bordering on the* Vindelici, *but we do not find that they had any peculiar Biſhop.*

§ XXXVII. (1) *Of the* Gepidæ *ſee above* § IV.

(2) *See above* § V. not. 3.

who

who led them into *Italy*, and the Nation itſelf, were *Arians*, and had many *Heathens* among them. The *Alemanni* were indeed *Heathens* in general; but many of thoſe who dwelt in *Rætia*, where the Church was eſtabliſh'd, under the Dominion of the *Romans*, were probably converted about this Time. This we may, in particular, ſuppoſe of the two Dukes, *Leutharis* and *Bucelinus*; for elſe the latter could not have form'd any Hopes of obtaining the *Gothick* Crown, in *Italy*. Some learned Men attempt to diſcover, about this Time, Traces of *Chriſtianity* among the *Bavarians*; and imagine Duke *Garibald* and his Family were *Chriſtians* (3). The firſt Converſions were however feeble. Even many of the *Franks* in *Auſtraſia* were ſtill *Pagans*, and among the Converts many Tares grew up amidſt the good Seed. Hence it prov'd in ſucceeding Times, a laborious Task, to eſtabliſh the *Chriſtian* Religion among the *Oſtro-Franks*, the *Thuringians*, *Alemanni*, and *Bavarians*. The *Friſians* and *Saxons*, of all the *German* Nations, continued longeſt in the Obſcurity of *Paganiſm*.

(3) PAGI ad A. 556. N. 17.

THE HISTORY OF THE ANCIENT GERMANS.

BOOK XIV.

To the YEAR DCXIII.

SECT. I. THE *Death of* Clotarius. *Partition of the Kingdom among his Sons.* II. *History of the Empire under* Juſtin II. Tiberius *and* Mauritius. III. *The Deſtruction of the Kingdom of the* Gepidæ. IV. *The* Abares *extend their Confines in* Dacia *and* Pannonia. *Their Origin.* V. *They make Inroads on the Dominions of the King of* Auſtraſia. VI. *The* Longobards *march to* Italy. VII. *Their Irruptions into* Gaul. *Of thoſe* Saxons, *who accompanied the* Longobards *to* Italy. *Their Incurſions into* Burgundy. *They return to their own Country; where they have frequent Skirmiſhes with the* Swabians. VIII. Clepho, *King of the* Longobards. *The Dukes aſſume the Government after his Deceaſe. Their Irruptions into the* Franconian *Provinces. The* Longobards *block up* Rome. *The Emperor* Tiberius *in vain demands the Aid of the* Franks. IX. *Civil Wars betwixt the Kings of the* Franks. X. Sigebert *comes to* Paris. Chilperic *eſcapes to* Tournay. XI. *Animoſity between the two Queens*, Brunehild *and* Fredegund. XII. Sigebert *is proclaim'd King in* Neuſtria, *and immediately murder'd.* XIII. Childebert *King of* Auſtraſia. Meroveus, Chilperic's *Son, marries Queen* Brunehild. XIV. *The melancholy Fate*

of

of Meroveus. XV. Childebert *enters into a League with* Chilperic, *against the King of* Burgundy. XVI. *History of the* Wisi-Goths *and* Suevi. Theodemir, *King of the* Suevi, *abandons the* Arians. XVII. *Wars betwixt* Leovigild, *King of the* Wisi-Goths, *and* Hermenegild, *his Son.* Guntram *from thence takes Occasion to make War with the* Goths. XVIII. Chilperic *is murder'd. The good and bad Qualities of this King. Of his Learning.* XIX. Clotarius, *his Son, succeeds him by the Assistance of the King of* Burgundy. *Differences betwixt* Guntram *and* Childebert. XX. *A Person, by the Name of* Gundobald, *lays Claim to a Part of the Kingdom of the* Franks, *and is proclaim'd King.* XXI. Guntram *is reconcil'd to* Childebert. Gundobald *is murder'd.* XXII. *An Interview betwixt* Guntram *and* Childebert *at* Andlau. XXIII. *The* Wisi-Goths *make themselves Masters of the Kingdom of the* Suevi. Reccaredus *embraces the* Catholick *Faith. Of the Name* Flavius, *which the Kings of the* Wisi-Goths *bore.* XXIV. *History of the* Longobards. Autharis *becomes King. The Emperor* Mauritius *makes a League with* Childebert. *The latter makes War with the* Longobards. Autharis *marries* Theodelinda, *the* Bavarian *Princess.* XXV. Childebert *sends Troops to* Italy; *But their Attempts prove abortive.* XXVI. Agilulf, *King of the* Longobards. *A Peace with the* Franks. XXVII. *The Consequence of the War betwixt the* Exarchus *and the* Longobards. *They march towards* Rome. *Pope* Gregory I, *commiserates the State of* Italy. XXVIII. *Of Queen* Theodelinda. XXIX. *The Bishops in* Venetia *and* Istria *persist in defending the* Tria Capitula. *A* Synod *at* Marano. *The* Patriarchat *erected at* Grado. XXX. Guntram *King of* Burgundy *dies.* Childebert *destroys the Kingdom of the* Guarni. XXXI. Childebert *dies.* Theodebert *succeeds in* Austrasia. Theoderick *in* Burgundy. XXXII. *The State of* Britain. *The Heptarchy of the* Anglo-Saxons. *The State of Christianity among the* Britons *and* Scots. XXXIII. *The Conversion of the* Anglo-Saxons. *Of their Language, Stile and Laws.* XXXIV. *History of the two Kings* Theodebert *and* Theoderick. *They reduce* Clotarius. *Their Expedition against the* Gascons, &c. XXXV. *They fall into a Civil War. The* Alemanni *invade* Burgundy. XXXVI. Theoderick *vanquishes the King of* Austrasia. XXXVII. *He dies immediately after.* Brunehild *sets up* Sigebert, *his Son, for King. He is taken Prisoner by* Clotarius, *and murder'd.* XXXVII. *The miserable End of Queen* Brunehild.

§ I. THE *Ostro-Gothick* War in Italy has hitherto requir'd our chief Attention. In this Book the most remarable Events are the Destruction of the Kingdom of the *Gepidæ*, in *Dacia*, and the Expedition of the *Longobards* to *Italy*: The *Wisi-Goths* overcome the *Suevi*,

Suevi, and ſubject all *Spain* to their Dominion, which they eſtabliſh more firmly by embracing the *Catholick* Faith: Whilſt, in the mean Time, the Kings of the *Franks* deſtroy each other by their fatal Wars.

The Death of *Clotarius*. Partition of the Kingdom

CLOTARIUS died *A.* 561, and the Kingdom was again divided among his four Sons (1). *Claribert* obtain'd that Share which before belong'd to *Childebert*, King of *Paris*; *Guntram's* Portion was *Orleans*, with *Burgundy*; and hence he is often call'd King of *Burgundy*; *Chilperic* had *Soiſſons*, and *Sigebert Auſtraſia*. *Claribert* died *A.* 572. *Venantius Fortunatus* extols him as a Prince of great Virtue and Capacity. At the Aſſembly of the Nobles he generally propos'd the wiſeſt Schemes; his Ambaſſadors receiv'd their beſt Inſtructions from himſelf, and when he ſat as Judge, they who had Juſtice on their Side, were ſure of a good Verdict. He ſpoke *Latin* as fluently as his Mother-Tongue (2). He left no Son; but *Bertha* his Daughter is the more famous: She was afterwards married to *Ethelbert*, King of *Kent*, and promoted the Introduction of the *Chriſtian* Religion among the *Anglo-Saxons*. His Brothers ſhar'd his Kingdom among them, and agreed that the City of *Paris* ſhould remain in common to them all, and that none ſhould repair thither without previous Notice given to the other two, upon Penalty of loſing his whole Share. This Diviſion cauſed many Wars and much Bloodſhed: But I muſt firſt give ſome Account of the Empire.

§ I. (1) GREGORIUS TURON. *L.* 4. 22. Charibertus, Gunthramus, Chilpericus, atque Sigibertus diviſionem legitimam faciunt: deditque ſors Chariberto regnum Childeberti, ſedemque habere Pariſiis. Guntchramno vero regnum Chlodomeris, ac tenere ſedem Aurelianenſem: Chilperico vero regnum Clothacarii patris ejus, cathedramque Sueſſionas habere; Sigiberto quoque regnum Theuderici, ſedemque habere Remenſem.

(2) L. 4. Carm. 4. *The following Paſſages relate in particular to this:*

Publica cura movens proceres ſi congreget omnes,
Spes eſt conſilii, te monitore, ſequi.
Hinc quoties felix legatio denique pergit,
Ingreditur caute quam tua lingua regit.

And:

Quid repetam maturum animum, qui tempore noſtro
Antiqui Fabii de gravitate placet?
Si veniant aliquæ variato murmure cauſæ,
Pondera mox legum regis ab ore fluunt.
Quamvis confuſas referant certamina voces,
Nodoſæ litis ſolvere fila potes.
Obtinet adveniens fructum cui juſta petuntur,
Quem ſua cauſa fovet, præmia victor habet.

And at laſt of his Knowledge of both Languages:

Cum ſis progenitus clara de gente Sigamber,
Floret in eloquio lingua latina Tuo.
Qualis es in propria docto ſermone loquela
Qui nos Romanos vincis in eloquio!

Gregory *on the other Hand, relates,* Lib. 4. c. 26, *how ill he behav'd in his matrimonial State.*

§ II.

§ II. *JUSTINIAN* died, on the 14th of *November*, *A.* 565, in an advanced Age. However glorious his Reign appears, yet it is Matter of Doubt, whether the *Roman* Empire, and the Nations appertaining thereunto, were Lofers or Gainers by it. His Victories in *Italy* were highly expenſive to the Country. On the other Hand, he, in a Manner, render'd the Empire tributary to the *Perſians*, and was oblig'd to give up *Illyricum* a Prey to the *Gepidæ*, *Longobards*, *Heruli*, *Huns* and *Sclavi*. The Forces of the Empire conſiſted then of about 150,000 Men; which was a ſmall Number, conſidering into how many and remote Provinces they were forc'd to be diſpers'd (1). He was ſucceeded by *Juſtin* II, his Siſter's Son. He renew'd, *A.* 571, the War with the *Perſians*, which laſted twenty Years, and prov'd greatly burthenſome to the Empire. The Emperor even enter'd into Alliance with the *Turks*, who became famous, about this Time (2), and paſs'd ſeveral Times over the *Caucaſus*, to infeſt the *Perſians*. *A.* 574, *Juſtin* nominated *Tiberius Cæſar*; and gave him the Surname of *Conſtantine*. He juſtly deſerv'd ſo great a Name. The greateſt Satisfaction he receiv'd from his Promotion, was the Opportunity of doing the more Good: And Gold loſt all its Charms, in his Opinion, if attended with the Subject's Tears (3). He ſoon rais'd a large Army, in which were particularly many *German* Troops,

History of the Empire in the Reign of *Juſtin* II, &c.

§ II. (1) Agathias, *p.* 157. B. Romanorum enim exercitus non tanti atque olim ſub veteribus Imperatoribus fuerant, permanſerant, ſed ad minimam quandam portionem redacti non amplius magnitudini imperii pares erant. Cum enim univerſæ Romanorum vires ſexcentis quadraginta quinque bellatorum millibus conſtare deberent, ægre tum temporis centum quinquaginta millibus conſtabant, atque harum quidem copiarum aliæ in Italia erant collocatæ, aliæ in Africa, aliæ in Hiſpania, aliæ apud Colchos, aliæ apud Alexandri urbem, & circa Theben Ægyptiam. Conſederant vero paucæ etiam verſus orientales Perſarum fines. Neque enim illic pluribus opus erat, ob fœdera inita, induciaſque firmiter pactas. Ita fere ad perquam exiguam portionem redactæ erant copiæ, atque occiſæ, principum negligentia.

(2) A. 568, *the firſt* Turkiſh *Ambaſſy arriv'd at* Conſtantinuple, Menander *deſcribes it at large*, p. 106, *and ſays in particular*, p. 108, A. Imperator, ubi legit per interpretem literas, Scythice ſcriptas, legationem lubenti animo admiſit. *Of the* Scythian *Letters I ſhall treat more largely elſewhere.*

(3) Evagrius *gives the following Deſcription of* Tiberius, *Lib.* 5. *c.* 13. Erat iſte Tiberius corpore maxime procero, & robuſto, & pulchritudinis excellentia omnium opinione major, adeo, ut non regibus ſolum & Imperatoribus, ſed omnibus etiam hominibus, facile præſtaret. Ac primum quod ad corporis formam attinet, ea principatu plane digna fuit. Quod autem ſpectat ad animum, illum manſuetudo & benignitas exornarunt. Divitias eas putavit, quæ cuique ſatis eſſent ad largiendum, non ſolum ad neceſſitatem, verum etiam ad affluentiam. Nam non iſtud modo conſiderabat, quod qui opis indigeant, illis beneficia accipienda ſint: ſed quod Imperatorem Romanum deceat liberaliter dare. Aurum vero adulterinum exiſtimavit, quod cum ſubjectorum lacrymis collectum eſt.

Troops, from the Countries along the *Rhine*, and gain'd a glorious Victory over King *Cosroës* (4): But the great Hopes, that were form'd of his Government, when, after *Justin's* Death, *A.* 578, he succeeded, were soon frustrated by his own Decease. But a short Space before his Death †, he declar'd *Mauritius* his Successor, whom, on Account of his Valour, he had chosen for his Son-in-Law. The Emperors did, indeed, still assume a certain Share in directing the Affairs of the *West*; but with very little Effect; whilst the *Persians* cut out Work enough for them in *Asia*, and the *Abares* and *Sclavi*, in the Provinces of *Illyricum*: And the more the State of the Empire was weaken'd, by so much the more the *Franks*, the *Wisi-Goths*, and the *Longobards*, at Length, became powerful.

† *A.* 582.

The Destruction of the Kingdom of the *Gepidæ*.

§ III. The Kingdom of the *Gepidæ* was wholly destroy'd in *Justin's* Reign: *Cunemund*, their King, resolv'd to take Revenge of the *Longobards* for the Overthrow of his Predecessor. *Alboin*, King of the *Longobards*, made a League with the *Abares*. The *Gepidæ* demanded the Emperor's Aid: But *Justin* left them to shift for themselves. *Alboin* defeated them in a bloody Battle, and their King was kill'd in the Field. The Use the Conqueror made of the unfortunate King's Body, may serve to shew us what Cruelty was, in those Times, practis'd in War: He caus'd a Drinking-Cup to be made of his Scull, a Thing very customary among the *Northern* Nations (1). The Hatred of an Enemy, among civiliz'd

(4) Ibid. *cap.* 15. Idem Tiberius res ad bellum faciendum necessarias parare, ingentem cogere exercitum virorum facile præstantissimorum, TAM EX GENTIBUS TRANSALPINIS CIRCITER RHENUM INCOLENTIBUS, quam ex cisalpinis, quin etiam ex Massagetis, aliisque ex genere Scytharum: ex Pæonia præterea, Mysia, Illyria, & Isauria collectorum, adeo, ut prope centum quinquaginta turmas equitum lectissimorum instructas haberet: quorum subsidio Chosroem, qui statim post Daras expugnatas, tempore æstivo Armeniam invaserat, indeque iter adversus Cæsaream, urbem Cappadociæ primariam, susceperat, penitus profligavit.

§ III. (1) Herodotus *relates this of the* Scythians *in general*, Lib. 5, cap. 65. Plinius *particularly of the* Scythæ anthropophagis, *Lib.* 7. *cap.* 11. Priores Anthropophagos, quos ad Septentrionem esse diximus, decem dierum itinere supra Boryslenem amnem, ossibus humanorum capitum bibere, cutibusque cum capillo pro mantelibus ante pectora uti. Am. Marcellinus, *Lib.* 27. *relates the same of the ancient* Scordisci. Silius Italicus *likewise taxes the ancient* Celtæ *with such inhuman Actions*, Lib. 13.

At Celtæ vacui capitis circumdare gaudent
Ossa (nefas) auro & mensis ea pocula servant.

The Instance we meet with in Livy, Lib. 23. c. 24. *of the* Boii, *may serve to prove this.* Bartholinus de causis contemtæ a Danis mortis, Lib. 2. cap. 12. p. 557. *produces several Instances of* Danes *and other* Northern *Nations. Among the Diversions, they hop'd to enjoy with* Odinus *after this Life, that of drinking merrily out of human Sculls was one. The famous King* Regnerus Lodbrock *is introduc'd, in an ancient Poem, as comforting himself, in the following Words, according to* Bartholinus's *Translation:*

Bibemus

liz'd People, ceaſes after his Death. If, in ancient Hiſtory, we regard it as a barbarous Act, that *Tomyris*, Queen of *Scythia*, caus'd the Head of *Cyrus* to be dipp'd in Blood; or that the *Parthians* cut off the Head of *Craſſus*, when ſlain, and pour'd molten Gold down his Throat, with what Horror muſt we behold a Table, where the Gueſts drink out of the Sculls of Men! So ſtrangely do the Cuſtoms of Nations differ. The *Egyptians* caus'd the Repreſentation of a Skeleton to be carried about at their Banquets, that, by recollecting their Mortality, the Gueſts might moderate their Mirth. Theſe People, on the other Hand, drink out of Sculls for Diverſion, and thereby cheriſh a Kind of Fury, which they falſely interpret for Valour. Among the Priſoners was *Roſamunda*, the King's Daughter, whom *Alboin* afterwards, tho' to his great Misfortune, married. The *Gepidæ* never recover'd after this Overthrow. The *Abares* made themſelves Maſters of *Dacia*, which they, 'till then, had poſſeſs'd, and the whole Nation of itſelf diſpers'd †. One Part remain'd among the *Abares*; from whoſe Poſterity the *German* Inhabitants of *Tranſylvania* and *Upper-Hungary* are, by ſome, thought to have been deſcended (2). Part of them took Refuge under the Emperor, whence, probably, the Name of *Gepidicus* was inſerted in the *Imperial* Title (3). Many went with the *Longobards* to *Italy* (4). This Fall of the *Gepidæ* prov'd fatal to the *Roman* Empire. *Juſtinian*, with Regard to the foreign Nations, always aim'd at keeping one Nation in Awe by the Means of another *: But, after the Deſtruction of the Kingdom of the *Gepidæ*, the *Abares* and *Longobards* became ſo powerful, that they aim'd at greater Things; and as they were perfectly united, the Emperor could not put any Reſtraint upon them.

See Annot. XXX.

Bibemus ceresiſiam brevi
Ex concavis Craniorum poculis
In præſtantis Odini domicilio.

(2) LAZIUS *de migrat. gent.* p. 604, 605.

(3) *See below*, § XXIV.

(4) *See below*, § V.

* *The Views of the* Græcian *Court, in this Reſpect, among others, appear from what* Corippus *writes to the Emperor* Juſtin *himſelf:*

Illa colubrimodis Avarum gens dura capillis
Horribilis viſu, crudiſque aſperrima bellis,
Imperio ſubjecta Tuo, ſervire parata,
In media ſupplex defuſis crinibus aula,
Exorat pacem, nec fidere millibus audet
Tot numeroſa ſuis Romana laceſſere ſigna:
Quæ toties victos numeret per prælia Francos,
Edomitoſque Getas, captos ſtratoſque tyrannos,
Longobardorum populos Gepidumque feroces,
Mutua per latos inter ſe vulnera campos
Miſcentes feritate ſua, cum milite tuto,
Alternas gentes Domini fortuna necaret,
Pars inimicorum cecidit tum magna tuorum,
Perfidia punita ſua, nunc Marte peracto
Victores, victique Tua famulantur in aula.

But theſe Deſigns were fruſtrated in the Event.

The *Abares* extend their Dominions in *Dacia*, &c. † See Annot. XXX.

§ IV. The *Abares* belong to the principal Branch of the *Huns*, of whom we have already met with ſo many Colonies; but theſe were of *Aſia* †. They being ſubdued by the *Turks*, many choſe rather to leave their native Country, than to live ſubject to their Dominion. They ſent Ambaſſadors, *A.* 557, to *Juſtinian*, to offer their Service againſt the Enemies of the *Roman* Empire. The Emperor made a League with them, intending to make Uſe of their Aid, to keep the People on the *Danube* in Awe. They overcame the *Utruguri* and *Antæ*, and firſt ravag'd about the Countries on the *Pontus Euxinus*, which, by the Ancients, were call'd *Scythia Minor*, at preſent *Beſſarabia* (1). When *Juſtinian* died, they immediately ſent an Ambaſſy to *Juſtin*, and, hoping it would the more terrify him, made large Demands: But *Juſtin* gave them to underſtand, that they were not even to expect, from him, the Sum they had annually receiv'd of his Predeceſſor (2). However, after they had aſſiſted at the Deſtruction of the Kingdom of the *Gepidæ*, they conquer'd *Dacia*, and when, ſoon after, the *Longobards* went to *Italy*, they extended their Dominions in *Pannonia*. They beſieg'd *Sirmium* ſeveral Times, and ſo far gain'd their Point, that the Emperor *Tiberius*, at Length, caus'd it to be ſurrender'd to them, about the Year 581. Several *Sclavonian* Nations were likewiſe ſubject to them, and thus they erected a powerful Kingdom, which ſubſiſted 'till the Time of *Charles, the Great*. He conquer'd them, and then the Name of *Hungarians* begun firſt to be known (3). They had now an open Paſſage into the *Franconian* Provinces, in *Germania*, which they afterwards frequently viſited.

The *Abares* make an Inroad into the King of *Auſtraſia*'s Dominions.

§ V. They made the firſt Attempt, *A.* 567. They march'd along the *Danube*, turn'd to the Right towards the *Elb*, and fell into *Thuringia*. They had, perhaps, form'd the ſame Deſign, which *Attila* formerly laid, to penetrate into *Gaul*. *Sigebert* march'd to meet them, with an Army, and fought a ſucceſsful Battle with them on the *Elb*. Their *Chan*, who might have concluded, from the firſt Battle, how difficult it would be to maintain his Ground, in a Country inhabited by People ſo brave, entreated a Peace of *Sigebert*, and returned Home (1). They again invaded *Thuringia*,

§ IV. (1) Menander, *p.* 99, *ſeqq.*

(2) Idem, *p.* 102, D. *Of this Ambaſſy ſee likewiſe* Corippus de laudibus Juſtini, Lib. 3. 231. ſeq.

(3) Menand. p. 100. C. *and* p. 109. B. *mentions the* Ongori, *an* Hunnick *Nation, who, were, probably, the Anceſtors of the* Hungarians.

§ V. (1) Gregor. *Lib.* 4. *c.* 23. Poſt mortem Clotarii Regis Chuni Gallias adpetunt, contra quos Sigebertus exercitum dirigit, &, geſto contra eos bello, vicit atque fugavit. Sed poſtea Rex

Thuringia, A. 571; *Sigebert* then loſt the Day, and, with the Reſt of his Army, was reduc'd to ſuch Streights, that, for Want of Proviſions, he was under a Neceſſity, either to periſh, or fall into the Enemy's Hands. Hardly any one, at preſent, will give Credit to *Gregorius*, that the *Hunns* ow'd their Victory more to their Magick Art, than to their Valour. The Means they made Uſe of were, without Doubt, as natural, as thoſe of *Sigebert*'s to defend himſelf. He ſent to the *Chan* the moſt valuable Things he could procure, and thus bought a Peace. They agreed, that, during their Lives, they ſhould attempt no Hoſtilities one againſt the other (2).

§ VI. THE Expedition of the *Longobards* into *Italy* is yet more memorable, as they had the good Fortune to erect a laſting and famous Kingdom, which, together with the Empire, was, at Length, united with *Germany*. Some Writers intimate, that *Narſes*, being diſcontented, becauſe *Juſtin* recall'd him, excited *Alboin* to this Attempt, which I ſhall not pretend to enquire into here †. He ſet out from *Pannonia, A.* 568, accompanied, beſides his own Nation, by many *Abares*, *Gepidæ* and *Sclavi* (1); and more particularly by many Thouſands of *Saxons*. He had

The Expedition of the *Longobards* into *Italy*.

† See Annot. xxxi.

Rex eorum amicitias cum eodem per legatos meruit. Menander *mentions this Expedition very briefly*, p. 103. C. *after having related, that* Juſtin, *at his Acceſſion, repell'd the* Abares: At illi imperatoris fortitudinem admirati, longe ab eo profugientes, & terga vertentes, in Francorum regionem abierunt.

(2) GREGOR. *Lib.* 4. *c.* 29. Chuni vero iterum in Gallias venire conabantur. Adverſus quos Sigebertus cum exercitu dirigit, habens ſecum magnam multitudinem virorum fortium. Cumque confligere deberent, iſti, magicis artibus inſtructi, diverſas eis phantaſias oſtendunt, & eos valde ſuperant. Fugiente autem exercitu Sigiberti, ipſe incluſus a Chunis retinebatur, niſi poſtea, (ut erat elegans & verſutus) quos non potuit ſuperare virtute prælii, ſuperavit arte donandi. Nam datis muneribus fœdus cum Rege iniit, ut omnibus diebus vitæ ſuæ nulla inter ſe prælia commoverent. Paulus, Lib. 2. c. 10. *ſpeaks of both Expeditions together*: Eo quoque tempore, comperta Huni, qui & Avares, morte Clotarii Regis, ſuper Sigiſbertum, ejus filium irruunt. Quibus ille in Thuringia occurrens, eos juxta Albim fluvium potentiſſime ſuperavit, eiſdemque petentibus pacem dedit. *And:* Rurſumque Avares a Sigeberto in locis, ubi & prius pugnantes, Francorum proterentes exercitum, victoriam ſunt adepti. *To this relates, probably, the following Paſſage in* Menander, p. 110. B, Abari & Franci fœderibus invicem initis, cum pax firma inter eos eſſet, Bajanus, Abarorum Dux, ſignificavit Sigiberto, Francorum Duci, ſuum exercitum commeatus inopia laborare: decere eum, qui Rex eſſet, & inter ſuos, minime negligere exercitum ſibi fœdere conjunctum. Promittebat autem, ſi exercitum Abarorum neceſſariis rebus recreaſſet, ſe tertio die caſtra moturum, neque longiori tempore in his locis commoraturum. Hæc ubi Sigiberto ſunt nunciata, ſtatim legumina, oves, & boves ad Abaros miſit.

§ VI. (1) PAUL. *Lib.* 2. *c.* 26. Certum eſt autem, tunc Alboin multos ſecum ex diverſis, quas vel alii reges, vel ipſe ceperat, gentibus ad

had first made a League with the *Abares*, and gave up *Pannonia* to them, on Condition, that they should restore it, if he did not succeed in *Italy*. He had no sooner gain'd a sure Footing in *Italy*, than he consider'd how to secure that Avenue, and creating *Gisulfus*, his Kinsman and Master of Horse, Duke of *Friuli* ††, left with him many brave *Longobards*, who fix'd their Habitations in that Country (2): This was the first Rise of that Dukedom, since so powerful. When he arriv'd at the River *Piave*, *Felix*, Bishop of *Trevigo*, came to meet him, to whom he granted whatever he desir'd, for the Benefit of his Church, probably in Order to gain the greater Confidence by this Instance of Magnanimity (3); *Trevigo*, *Vicenza*, *Verona*, *Brescia*, *Bergamo*, and the other Cities in *Venetia*, excepting *Padua*, *Monsilice* and *Mantua*, were soon forc'd to submit (4). He took *Milan*, *A.* 570 (5), and caus'd it to be pillag'd. He met with no Resistance in all *Liguria*, except at *Pavia*, which City stood a Siege of three Years. During this Time, a Body of *Longobards* pass'd the *Po*, and extended themselves as far as *Tuscany* and *Æmilia*, to prevent the *Exarchus* from attempting the Relief of *Pavia*. They took, among other Places, *Spoleto*, in *Umbria*, which became likewise the Capital of a powerful Dukedom; and they must even have reach'd *Benevento* at that Time (6), if we may give Credit to those who affirm this Dukedom to have been erected *A.* 571. It was a Custom among the *Longobards*, that Dukes were appointed in the large Cities, and over certain Districts, many of whom we meet with in History: But those of *Friuli*, *Spoleto* and *Benevento* became, in Process of Time, the most powerful. *Italy* was wholly defenceless and deserted. *Narses* had very much drain'd it, and

†† *Forum Julii.*

Italiam adduxisse, unde hodie eorum, in quibus habitant vicos, Gepidos, Bulgaros, Sarmatas, Pannonios, Suavos, Noricos, sive aliis hujuscemodi nominibus appellamus.

(2) PAUL. *L.* 2. *c.* 9. Dum Alboin animum intenderet, quem in his locis ducem constituere deberet, Gisulphum, ut fertur, suum nepotem, virum per omnia idoneum, qui eidem STRATOR erat, quem lingua propria MARPAHIS appellant, Forojulianæ civitati, & toti regioni illius præficere statuit. Qui Gisulphus non prius se regimen ejusdem civitatis & populi susceperurum edixit, nisi ei, quas ipse eligere voluisset, Longobardorum Faras, hoc est, generationes, vel lineas, tribueret. Factumque est, & annuente sibi Rege, quas optaverat Longobardorum præcipuas prosapias, ut cum eo habitarent, accepit, & ita demum ductoris honorem adeptus est.

(3) IDEM, *c.* 12.

(4) IDEM, *c.* 14.

(5) IDEM, *c.* 25, *seq.*

(6) *The Learned have taken great Pains to enquire, in what Year the Dukedom of* Benevento *was erected.* V. Scip. Ammirato Differt. Dei Duchi & Prencipi di Benevento: Anton. Caraccioli in Propyl. ad quatuor Chronica, *and* Cam. Peregrinus Diss. 1. de Duc. Benevent. *This last is of Opinion, that* Zoto *was,* A. 571, *created Duke of* Benevento *by* Alboin: *And* Giannoni *is of the same Opinion,* Lib. 4. cap. 2. p. 258. *But, to this Time, all depends on meer Conjecture.*

eneavour'd

endeavour'd to ſtifle all Remains of the ancient *Roman* Magnanimity. A Plague in *Liguria* had, not long before the Arrival of the *Longobards*, carried off many of the Inhabitants (7). The Country could expect but little Aid from the Emperor, becauſe the *Perſian* War commenc'd, *A.* 571, and the *Abares* and *Sclavi* ravag'd in *Illyricum*. The *Catholick* Party muſt, in particular, have been in great Conſternation. *Alboin* was an *Arian*, and all the Endeavours of *Clodoſuinth*, his firſt Conſort, King *Clotarius*'s Daughter, to convert him, had prov'd ineffectual (8). Many of his Men were *Pagans*. *Paulinus*, Patriarch of *Aglar* †, which, 'till then, had been the Capital of *Venetia*, fled, with the Treaſure and Records of his Church, to *Grado*, a Fortreſs on the Sea-Coaſt. Hence that Place was, *A.* 579, appointed the conſtant Reſidence, and call'd *New-Aquileia*; whereupon the old City decay'd more and more. This Change became, in another Manner, advantageous to the Patriarch. As well he, as the other Biſhops in *Venetia* and *Iſtria*, zealouſly defended the *Tria Capitula*, and refus'd to acknowledge the fifth Council (9). They were, on this Account, ſeverely perſecuted by Pope *Pelagius* I, and the Letter is ſtill extant, wherein he perſuades *Narſes* to impriſon *Paulinus*, and ſend him to *Conſtantinople* (10): But when the *Longobards* had gain'd a ſure Footing in *Venetia*, and the other Provinces of *Italy*, the Emperor and Pope were forc'd to proceed with more Lenity.

† *Aquileia.*

§ VII. WHEN *Italy* was thus overſpread, ſome Bodies of Troops invaded the bordering *Provence* *. They beat *Amatus*, the *Patricius*, Lieutenant in that Country, who was kill'd in the Field of Battle, together with a great Number of *Burgundians*; and the *Longobards* carried off large Spoils. *Guntram*, thereupon, conſtituted *Mummolus* a *Patricius*, who became renown'd in this Reign for his Valour. He reveng'd this Loſs, the next Time they came, in a Battle near *Ambrun*. Their Irruptions into *Gaul*, &c.

THE *Saxons*, who had accompanied the *Longobards* into *Italy*, tried, nevertheleſs, their Fortune alſo in *Gaul*. They were encamp'd near *Eſtablon*, in the Dioceſe of *Riez*, when *Mummolus* ſurpriz'd and defeated them;

(7) PAUL. II, 4, 5. *What is here particularly ſaid of* Narſes, *appears likewiſe from other Paſſages, cited in the* XXXIſt *Annot.*

(8) *A Letter is extant, from* Nicetius *to this Queen, wherein he excites her to uſe her utmoſt Endeavours to convert her Spouſe to the Catholick Faith.* ap. Du Cheſne, T. 1. ep. 8. p. 853.

(9) *Conf.* NORIS. *de Synodo* V. *Diſſ.* 10.

(10) *T. V. Concil.* LABB. *p.* 794.

§ VII. * *Theſe Invaſions happen'd, moſt probably before* Alboin's *Death.* v. PAGIUS ad An. 575. n. 2.

them; whereupon they were oblig'd to reſtore all their Spoils, together with the Priſoners they had made, and to promiſe to return to their ancient native Country (1). The latter they complied the more readily with, becauſe the *Longobards* would not ſuffer them to live according to their own Laws (2). They went back to *Italy*, to fetch their Wives and Children, and return'd in two Bodies thro' *Nizza* and *Ambrun*. It being then Harveſt-Time, and the Corn not yet carried in, they could not reſiſt that Temptation. They threſh'd the Corn, and conſum'd it, as well as all the Cattle they met with, deſtroy'd the Olive-Trees and Vineyards, and ravag'd with Fire and Sword. But as they were about to paſs over the *Rhône*, near *Lyons*, and to turn into the King of *Auſtraſia*'s Dominions, *Mummolus* way-laid, and ſo terrified them, that they were forc'd to pay a conſiderable Sum in Gold, for the Damages they had done. *Sigebert* enjoin'd them to return to their own Country on the *Elb* (3); but a good Part thereof was already poſſeſs'd by others: For when the *Saxons* march'd out, King *Sigebert* had allow'd ſome *Swabians* to fix their Abode there. The *Saxons*, whoſe Number conſiſted of 26,000 Men who bore Arms, commanded them to depart, and when fair Means would not do, proceeded to Force: But, notwithſtanding the *Swabians* had but about 6000 fighting Men, they gain'd ſuch Advantage over the *Saxons*, in two Battles, that at laſt they were oblig'd to come to a Compoſition with them, to be contented with a third Part of the Country only (4). *Vitichind*,

(1) Gregor. *Lib.* 4. *c.* 37. *ſays, they went into* Italy *with* Alboin. Fredegarius, *on the other Hand, pretends, that* Theodebert *ſent them thither, to garriſon thoſe Places, which the* Franks *ſtill poſſeſs'd in* Italy.

(2) Paulus Diaconus *writes thus, L.* 3. *c.* 6 Certum eſt, hos Saxones ideo ad Italiam cum uxoribus, & parvulis adveniſſe, ut in ea habitare deberent. Sed quantum datur intelligi, noluerunt Longobardorum imperiis ſubjacere. Sed neque eis a Longobardis permiſſum eſt in proprio jure ſubſiſtere, ideoque æſtimantur ad ſuam patriam repedaſſe.

(3) Gregorius, & Paulus, *l. c.*

(4) Gregorius V. 15. At illi obtulerunt eis tertiam partem terræ, dicentes: Simul vivere ſine conliſione poſſumus. Sed illi contra eos irati, eo quod ipſi hoc antea tenuiſſent, nullatenus pacificare voluerunt. Dehinc obtulerunt eis iterum iſti medietatem: poſt hæc duas partes, ſibi tertiam relinquentes. Nolentibus autem illis, obtulerunt cum terra omnia pecora, tantum ut a bello ceſſarent. Sed nec hoc illi adquieſcentes, certamen expetunt. Et inter ſe ante certamen qualiter uxores Suavorum dividerent, & qui quam poſt eorum exitum acciperet, tractant; putantes eos jam quaſi interfectos habere. Sed Domini miſeratio, quæ juſtitiam facit, in aliam partem voluntatem eorum retorſit. Nam confligentibus illis, erant autem viginti ſex millia Saxonum, ex quibus viginti millia ceciderunt: Suavorum quoque ſex millia, ex quibus quadringenti, & octoginta tantum proſtrati ſunt, reliqui vero victoriam obtinuerunt. Illi quoque, qui ex Saxonibus remanſerant, deteſtati ſunt, nullum ſe eorum barbam, neque capillos inciſurum, niſi prius ſe de adverſariis

Vitichind, a Monk in the Monaſtery of *Corbey*, on the *Weſer*, who wrote in the Times of Emperor *Otto* II, mentions theſe *Swabians*, who lived amidſt the *Saxons*, but retained their own Laws (5).

Clepho King of the *Longobards*, &c.

§ VIII. *ALBOIN* was murder'd, *A.* 574, at the Inſtigations of *Roſamund* his Conſort (1). He had forc'd her, in a drunken Fit, to pledge him out of her Father's Skull. This Draught excited in her a Deſire of revenging at once the Death of her Father, and the Overthrow of her Country-men. So different was ſhe from *Tullia*, the Daughter of *Servius Tullius*, King of the *Romans*, who with Triumph drove over her Father's Corpſe, when ſhe heard that her Husband was made King. She was aſſiſted in her Deſign, by *Hellmich*, the King's Armour-Bearer, who had been brought up with him, and had, on that Account, the greateſt Share in his Confidence. She promis'd to marry him, and ſet the Crown on his Head; ſhe had many Adherents among the *Gepidæ* and *Longobards*, and ſhe depended on the Aid of the *Exarchus* of *Ravenna*; who not being in a Capacity to make any open Attempt againſt the *Longobards*, ſtrove at leaſt to weaken them by Diviſions. However, the greater Part of the Nation was enrag'd at *Alboin*'s Murder, and elected *Clepho* King; whereupon *Roſamund*, with her Partizans, fled to *Ravenna*. *Clepho* was likewiſe murder'd, *A.* 576, after having reign'd eighteen Months (2). No King was choſen for the Space of ten Years after his Death. The Dukes, who, according to *Paulus Diaconus*, were thirty-five in Number, govern'd arbitrarily, every one in his own Dominions, which they extended more and more. The ancient Inhabitants were oblig'd every where to deliver them, as a Tribute, the third Part of their Crop (3). Some of theſe Dukes invaded the bordering Dominions

ſariis ulciſcerentur. Quibus iterum decertantibus, in majore excidio corruerunt. Et ſic a bello ceſſatum eſt. *This Relation is repeated by* PAULUS DIACONUS, *L.* 3. *c.* 6.

(5) VITICHINDUS, *Lib.* 1. *p.* 634. Suevi vero Tranſalbini illam, quam incolunt regionem, eo tempore invaſerunt, quo Saxones cum Longobardis Italiam adiere, ut eorum narrat hiſtoria, & ideo aliis legibus, quam Saxones utuntur. *In the beſt* Codices, *we read* Transbadani *inſtead of* Tranſalbini. *In ſeveral ancient* Saxon *Records we find a Country mention'd by the Name of* Swabigou, *in the Dioceſe of* Halberſtadt, *on the River* Boda: *which was the Country, wherein theſe* Swabians *dwelt. See* Meibom. in not. ad Vidichind. p. 670. Eckard Rer. Francic. T. 1. p. 84. *Theſe* Swabians *are likewiſe call'd* North-Swabians, *which Name will occur in the Sequel.*

§ VIII. (1) PAUL. L. 2. c. 28. *See the Annotation concerning the Kings of the* Longobards.

(2) PAGIUS *ad An.* 573, *n.* 3.

(3) PAUL. 2. 32. His diebus multi nobilium Romanorum ob cupiditatem interfecti ſunt, reliqui vero per hoſtes diviſi, ut tertiam partem ſuarum frugum Longobardis perſolverent, tributarii efficiuntur.

of

of the King of *Burgundy*. *Amo* directed his Course to *Ambrun*; *Zaban*, Duke of *Pavia*, to *Valence*; and *Rodan* march'd towards *Grenoble*: But *Mummolus* bravely repell'd them all (4). Another Body ventur'd to pass over *Aosta*, and the *Appennine Alps*, into the present Country of *Valais*. They pillag'd *Octodurum* †. At *Agaunum* ††, the Inhabitants offer'd to resist, but were cut in Pieces. This Party was at last defeated, near *Bex*, by *Vilico* and *Theudefred*, two Generals of the King of *Burgundy* (5). The *Franks* had, on the other Hand, attack'd the *Longobards*, on the Borders of *Rætia*, and taken *Trent*: But their Duke was kill'd, and *Trent* fell again into the Hand of the *Longobards* (6). A Peace was thereupon concluded between the two Nations (7); but on what Conditions is uncertain (8). The *Longobards* block'd up *Rome*, *A.* 578 (9), and the *Romans* were hard put to it to resist them. The *Persian* War hinder'd the Emperor *Tiberius* from doing any Thing; and besides almost 100,000 *Sclavi* had invaded *Thrace*. He endeavourd either to

† *Martenach.*
†† *S. Mauritz.*

(4) Gregor. *L.* 4. c. 39.

(5) *Of this Irruption* Marius *says*, in Chron. ad Ind. VII. *(574)* Clebus Rex Longobardorum, a puero suo interfectus est, & eo anno Longobardi iterum in valle ingressi sunt, & Clusas obtinuerunt, & in Monasterio Sactorum Acaunensium diebus multis habitaverunt, & postea in Bacci pugnam contra exercitum Francorum commiserant, ubi pene ad integrum interfecti sunt, pauci fuga libertati. F. Pagius *proves the Computation to be erroneous, and places it in the Year* 576. Fredegarius *relates this very Incident*, in epit. c. 68. Taloardus, & Nuccio, Duces Longobardorum, per ostiola in Sidonense in territorium sunt ingressi, ad monasterium Sanctorum Agaunensium nimiam facientes stragem. Baccis villa, nec procul ab ipso monasterio, Duces & eorum exercitus, a Wiolico, & Theudofredo, Ducibus Guntrami, sunt interfecti. Wiolicus *was the Son of* Magnacharius, *a Brother of* Marcatrud, Guntram's *Wife*. *We meet with* Theudefred, *as Duke of* Burgundia ultra Jurana, in Fredegar. Chron. c. 16.

(6) Paul. Diacon. *L.* 3. c. 9.

(7) *That a Peace was made between the* Franks *and* Longobards, *appears in a Letter of* A. 580, *from Pope* Pelagius II, *to* Aunaharius, *Bishop of* Auxerre. Concil. T. V. Labb. *where he exhorts him, to advise the Kings of the* Franks, *to break the Peace with the* Longobards. Propter quod nihilominus admonemus, ut, quorum virtutem quæritis, eorum templa a pollutione gentium liberari, in quantum vobis est possibile, festinetis, & vestris regibus instantissime suadeatis, quatenus ab amicitiis & conjunctione nefandissimi hostis, Longobardorum, salubri se provisione segregare festinent.

(8) Fredegar. *says* in Chron. c. 45. *that they resign'd* Aosta *and* Susa *to* Guntram, *and afterwards in* Mauritius's *Reign sent Ambassadors to him and* Childebert, *and promis'd an annual Tribute of* 12,000 *Guilders of Gold; that* Autharis *was not elected, without the Permission of the Kings of the* Franks, *and that both he and* Agilulf, *his Successor, constantly paid the Tribute, 'till* Clotarius II *remitted it to the latter. But this Relation will appear improbable, from what I shall say in the Sequel of* Autharis *and* Agilulf.

(9) *This appears from* Paul. L. 3. c. 20, *where he treats of the Election of* Pelagius II, *who became Pope* A. 578. Denique post Benedictum, Papam, Pelagius, Romanæ ecclesiæ, pontifex, absque jussione principis ordinatus est, eo quod Longobardi Romam per circuitum obsiderent, nec posset quis a Roma progredi.

set

let the *Longobards* at Variance with one another; or to prevail on the *Franks* to take up Arms againſt them (10). We find indeed that he made ſeveral Treaties with the latter (11): But the State of their Affairs, after *Sigebert*'s Death, did not allow them to make any Attempt in *Italy*.

§ IX. I SHALL not here take Notice of all the Differences, that happen'd, in the mean Time, between the three Brothers, who then ruled over the *Franks*: nor do I meet with ſufficient Circumſtances of *Sigebert*'s Exploits againſt the *Saxons*, *Friſians* and *Danes*, which a Poet of this Time greatly extolls *: But the War, which *Chilperic*, Civil Wars between the Kings of the *Franks*.

(10) *Of this we find a Paſſage in* MENANDER, p. 124. B. Circa quartum Imperii Tiberii Conſtantini annum, centum fere millia Sclavorum in Thraciam irruperunt, & Thraciam, multaſque alias regiones prædati ſunt. Cæſar miſit in Italiam magnam auri quantitatem, uſque ad centum triginta pondo, quæ Pamphronius nomine, dignitate Patricius, a ſeniori Roma ad Imperatorem attulerat. Is tunc ad Regiam venerat, ut precibus a Cæſare impetraret, ut Italiam, a Longobardorum excurſionibus oppreſſam, in libertatem vindicaret. Cæſar vero, cui omnia præ bello Perſico nullius momenti erant, quippe qui totus in illud incumberet, exercitum mittere non potuit, neque bellum in Oriente & in Occidente ſimul ſibi gerendum ſtatuit. Sed pecunias dedit Pamphronio, quibus, ſi qua poſſet, aliquos Longobardorum perſuaderet, ad Romanos tranſire, una cum eorum exercitu, & Italiam minime turbare. Quod efficerent, ſi in Orientem arma vertere vellent. & Romanis auxilium ferre. Si Longobardi renuerent, ut veriſimile erat, bellatum foris ire, Francorum Ducum aliquos mercede ſibi ſocios adjungeret, & hac ratione Longobardorum potentiam labefactaret, & infringeret.

(11) *Of the Emperor* Tiberius's *Treaties with King* Chilperic, *we find an Account in* GREGOR. Lib. 4. c. 2.

§ IX. * VENANT. FORTUNAT, *Lib.* 4. *Carm.* 2.

—— —— —— hic nomen avorum
Extendit bellante manu, cui de Patre virtus
Quam Nabis ecce probat, Thoringia victa fatetur
Perficiens unam gemina de gente triumphum.

And Carm. 3.

Saxone Thuringi reſonant, ſua damna movente[s]
Unius ad laudem tot cecidiſſe viros

Lupus, *Duke of* Champagné, *had fought bravely againſt the* Saxons *and* Danes, *of which* Fortunatus *ſays*, Lib. 7. Carm. 7.

Quæ tibi ſit virtus cum proſperitate ſuperna,
SAXONIS & DANI gens cito victa probat.
BORDAA qua fluvius ſinuoſo gurgite currit,
Hic adverſa acies Te duce cæſa ruit.
Dimidium veſtris juſſis tunc paruit agmen,
Quam merito vincit, qui Tua juſſa facit!
Ferratæ tunicæ ſudaſti pondere victor,
Et ſub pulvere nubea coruſcus eras.
Tamque diu pugnas acie fugiente ſecutus,
LAUGONA dum vitreis terminus eſſet aquis.
Qui fugiebat iners amnis dedit ille ſepulcrum,
Pro duce felici flumina bella gerunt.

Bordaa *is a River in* Frieſland, *which is call'd* Burdo, *by* Willibaldus, in vitæ Bonifacii. Laugona, *or* Lagana, *is the* Lahne, *which falls into the* Rhine *near* Lahnſtein. *What he ſays in Praiſe of* Condo, *King* Sigebert's *Domeſticks*, L. 7. Carm. 16. *relates likewiſe to the Expedition againſt the* Saxons.

Quæ fuerit virtus triſtis Saxonia cantat.

begun, *A.* 573, brought upon him his Ruin. *Chilperic* laid Claim to ſome Countries, which, at the Partition after *Claribert*'s Death, fell to *Sigebert*'s Share, and himſelf invaded *Touraine* and *Poitou*. *Sigebert* rais'd a formidable Army in the Countries on this Side of the *Rhine*, in *Suevia*, *Bavaria*, *Saxony* and *Thuringia*. *Chilperic*, on the other Hand, endeavour'd to ſecure the King of *Burgundy*'s Friendſhip, and cauſed particular Remonſtrances to be made of the Danger of bringing a Number of raw unciviliz'd *Pagans* into the Heart of *Gaul*. *Sigebert* was come with his Army as far as the *Seine*, and *Chilperic*, who had cauſed all the Bridges to be broke down, and all the Boats to be ſeiz'd, was encamp'd on the oppoſite Side, to prevent his croſſing the River. Neceſſity became now a Law to *Sigebert*, and he ſent Word to the King of *Burgundy*, that he muſt either ſuffer him to paſs thro' his Country, or expect him to come by Force. *Guntram* choſe the former. This ſo terrified *Chilperic*, that he immediately retreated, and when *Sigebert*, according to ancient Cuſtom among the *Germans*, challeng'd him to appoint Time and Place for a Battle, he, on the contrary, ſued for a Peace. This was concluded, on Condition, that he ſhould abandon *Touraine*, *Poitou*, *Limoges* and *Quercy*, and recall his Son out of *Aquitain*. The *German* Nations, who were commanded by the King of *Auſtraſia*, were diſſatisfied with this Accommodation, which fruſtrated their Hopes of a conſiderable Booty. On their Return therefore, they made great Devaſtations, where ever they came; and would have proceeded to a general Mutiny, had not the King himſelf rode thro' their Ranks, and mitigated their Fury by fair Remonſtrances: But he took Notice of the principal Ring-Leaders, whom he afterwards proſecuted and cauſed to be ſtoned (1).

Sigebert comes to *Paris*.

§ X. As Neceſſity only prompted *Chilperic* to make a Peace, he renew'd the War again the next Year. He had an Interview with King *Guntram*, and perſuaded him to a League againſt the King of *Auſtraſia*. He ſent his Son over the *Loire* with an Army, and himſelf invaded *Champagne*, to detain *Sigebert* on that Side. This Prince, on the other Hand, levied Troops on this Side of the *Rhine*, on whom he placed the

(1) GREG. 4. 42. & 44. Vicos quoque, qui circa Pariſiis erant, maxima tunc flamma conſumſit, & tam domus, quam res reliquæ ab hoſte direptæ ſunt, ut etiam & captivi pucerentur. Obteſtabatur enim Rex, ne hæc fierent: ſed furorem gentium, quæ de ulteriore Rheni amnis parte venerant, ſuperare non poterat, ſed omnia patienter ferebat, donec redire poſſet ad patriam. Tunc ex gentibus illis contra eum quidam murmuraverunt, cur ſe a certamine ſubtraxiſſet. Sed ille, ut erat intrepidus, aſcenſo equo ad eos dirigit, eoſque verbis lenibus demulſit. Multos ex eis poſtea lapidibus obrui præcipiens.

greateſt

greateſt Confidence in this War. He ſoon defeated the Enemy's Attempts in *Champagne*, and came with his Army as far as *Paris*, whilſt *Chilperic* retreated to *Roüan*. His Troops in *Touraine* likewiſe ſucceeded againſt *Theodebert*, who was himſelf kill'd. *Guntram* was unwilling again to endanger his Country, which had already been too-much harraſs'd by the *Longobards* and *Saxons*: and, therefore, when he ſaw the bad State of *Chilperic*'s Affairs, he made a Peace with *Sigebert*. This ſo terrified the former, that he fled from *Roüan* to *Tournay* (1). *Sigebert* had taken all the Places from *Paris* to *Roüan*, and, had not the *Franks* prevented him, would have given almoſt that whole Tract of Land, a Prey to his *German* Soldiers. He then went to *Paris*, where he met *Brunehild*, his Conſort, with her Princes and both Princeſſes (2). It was publicly reported of her, that ſhe incited the King, not to lay down Arms, 'till he had depriv'd his Brother both of Kingdom and Life (3).

§ XI. *BRUNEHILD* was a Daughter of *Athanagild*, King of the *Wiſi-Goths* (1), and had her particular Reaſons for hating *Chilperic* and *Fredegund*. The *Franks* had expreſs'd great Joy at this Alliance; becauſe the three Brothers had all married beneath their Station *. *Chilperic* had, before his

The Animoſity betwixt the Queens *Brunehild* and *Fredegund*.

§ X. (1) GREGORIUS, *L.* 4. *c.* 45.

(2) IBID. *cap.* 46.

(3) Germanus *Biſhop of* Paris *endeavor'd, in a Letter*, ap. du Cheſne, T. I. p. 9. *to bring her to more peaceable Thoughts. We there read*, p. 856. Vulgi verba iterantes, quæ nos maxime terrent Veſtræ Pietati in notitiam deponimus, quæ ita diſſeminat, eloquentium ora detrahuntur, quaſi veſtro voto, conſilio & inſtigatione dominus glorioſiſſimus SIGEBERTUS Rex tam ardue hanc velet perdere regionem. Non propterea hæc dicimus, quaſi a vobis credatur: ſed ſupplicamus, ut nulla ocaſio tribuatur dicendi, unde vobis tam maximum & periculoſum generetur blaſphemium.

§ XI. (1) *Of* Sigebert's *and* Brunehild's *Nuptials, ſee* Gregorius, L. 4. c. 27. *He ſays of this Princeſs, who afterwards made ſo great a Figure in Hiſtory:* Erat puella ellegans opere, venuſta aſpectu, honeſta moribus, atque decora, prudens conſilio, & blanda colloquio. *And:* Et quia Arianæ legi ſubjecta erat, per prædicationem Sacerdotum, atque ipſius regis commonitionem converſa, beatam in unitate confeſſa Trinitatem credidit, atque chriſmata eſt. Venantius Fortunatus *ſays, on Occaſion of theſe Nuptials*, Lib. 4. carm. 1.

Regia Cæſareo proficit aula jugo.

We cannot eaſily gueſs what he means by Cæſareum jugum, *unleſs we conjetture that the Emperor* Juſtinian *adopted* Athanagild, *and that* Brunehild *is therefore call'd a Princeſs of the Imperial Extraction.*

* *The* Franks *diſapprov'd of the Marriages of their Kings when beneath their Station. Some even pretended, that King* Guntram's *Sons had no Right to the Crown, becauſe their Mother was at firſt a Servant: But* Gregory *teſtifies, that in his Time, the Sons of Kings were not demean'd on Account of their Mother's Station.*, Lib. 5. c. 21. Sed Sagittarius felle commotus, hanc rationem dure ſuſcipiens, ut erat levis ac vanus, & in ſermonibus inrationabilibus profluus, declamare plurima de Rege cœpit, ac dicere, quod filii ejus regnum capere non poſ-

his Father's Death, a Wife, nam'd *Audovera*, by whom he had his three Sons, *Theodebert*, *Meroveus* and *Clovis*, but was divorc'd from her, and now divided his Affection between ſeveral other Perſons, among whom, *Fredegund* had the greateſt Influence over him. But his Brother's Example induc'd him to marry the other *Gothick* Princeſs, *Gaileſuinth*, Queen *Brunehild*'s elder Siſter. On Occaſion of this Marriage, he promis'd, indeed, to give up all his other Amours, and the Nuptials were celebrated at *Koüan*, with great Demonſtrations of Joy (2): But his former Love for *Fredegund* nevertheleſs ſoon reviv'd, and the Flame now broke out with the greater Violence, by having been ſo long ſuppreſs'd. This excited the Queen's Jealouſy, and ſhe thereupon declar'd her Reſolution of returning to *Spain*, when ſhe was unexpectedly found dead one Morning in her Bed. *Chilperic* was ſo little ſolicitous to remove the Suſpicion of having caus'd her Death, that ſoon after he publickly married *Fredegund*. This leſſen'd him greatly in the Eſteem of all the *Franks* (3). *Brunehild* in particular preſs'd her Husband to revenge her Siſter's Death, and tho' an immediate War did not enſue, yet the Animoſity continued. *Fredegund* was as vigilant to maintain her Ground, as *Brunehild* was to ruin her: And thus the Ambition of theſe two Kings, and an equal Deſire in each of encreaſing their Power, being aggravated by the Paſſions of their Wives, the Diſorders occaſion'd thereby, were the greater. On ſuch Occaſions, Love and Hatred, Jealouſy and Revenge are ripe for any Attempt, run any Hazard, call Perfidy, Poiſon and Murder to their Aid, and put the Welfare of whole Nations to the Stake.

Sigebert declared King of *Neuſtria*, and ſoon after murder'd.

§ XII. THE preſent Juncture ſeem'd favourable to *Sigebert* and his Queen, for the Execution of their Revenge. Queen *Radegundis*, who reſided in her Convent at *Potiers*, was highly afflicted at theſe Diviſions,

ſent, eo, quòd mater eorum ex familia Magnacharii quondam adſcita, Regis thorum adiiſſet: ignorans, quod, prætermiſſis nunc generibus feminarum, Regis vocitantur liberi, qui de Regibus ſuerint procreati.

(2) GREGORIUS, L. 4. c. 28. VENANT. FORTUNATUS *ſings her Nuptials, Converſion and Death*, L. 6. carm. 7.

Jungitur ergo thoro regali culmine virgo
Et magno meruit plebis amore coli.
Hos quoque muneribus permulcens, vocibus illos
Et licet ignotos ſic facit eſſe ſuos.
Utque fidelis ei ſit gens armata PER ARMA JURAT, JURE SUO SE QUOQUE LEGE LIGAT.
Regnabat placido componens tramite vitam,
Pauperibus tribuens advena mater erat;
Quoque magis poſſit Regno ſuperaſſe perenni
Catholicæ fidei conciliata placet.

(3) GREGOR. IBID.

and

and in her Letters to both Kings, exhorted them to Unity (1). *Germanus*, Biſhop of *Paris*, alſo admoniſh'd *Sigebert* in preſſing Terms. But when the Nobles of *Chilperic*'s Kingdom offer'd to acknowledge him for their King, he left his Queen and Children at *Paris*, detach'd ſome Troops to beſiege *Tournay*, and went himſelf to *Vitri*, where the *Franks* of the Kingdom of *Soiſſons* were met together. Here, according to the Cuſtom of the Nation, he was plac'd on a Shield, and proclaim'd King (2). On this Occaſion, *Fredegund* had Recourſe to a Method, in which ſhe had ſucceeded more than once before. She, by great Promiſes, engag'd two deſperate Villains to undertake the Murder of *Sigebert* (3). They went into the Camp at *Vitri*, and, when, under a feign'd Pretence, they were admitted to the King's Preſence, they both ſtabb'd him at once, with poiſon'd Knives, inſomuch that he fell to the Ground, and immediately †† A. 575.
expir'd (4). According to the Account given of him in Hiſtory, he might have acquir'd the Fame of a moſt glorious Monarch, had he not been involv'd in thoſe fatal Wars with his Brothers. At this News, the Siege of *Tournay* was immediately rais'd. In the Camp at *Vitri*, not only the *Franks*, who were *Chilperic*'s Subjects, return'd to their Allegiance; but many *Auſtraſians* likewiſe ſubmitted to him (5).

§ XIII. *CHILPERIC* caus'd Queen *Brunehild* and her Children to be confin'd at *Paris*: But Duke *Gundobald* privately ſecur'd *Childebert*, *Sigebert*'s Son, who was about five Years of Age, and brought him in Safety to *Metz*, where the *Auſtraſians* joyfully proclaim'd him King, and entreated King *Guntram*, his Uncle, to take him into his Protection. *Chilperic* caus'd Queen *Brunehild* to be brought to *Roüan*: But ſhe found an Opportuity, even in his own Family, both to ſave herſelf, *Childebert* King of *Auſtraſia*, &c.

§. XII. (1) *The Pains Queen* Radegund, *of whom I treated before*, B. 11. § 48, *took on this Account, are deſcrib'd by* Baudonivia *in her Life*. p. 339. Semper de pace ſollicita, de patriæ ſalute curioſa, quandoquidem inter ſe regna movebantur, quia totos diligebat Reges, pro omnium vita orabat, & nos ſine intermiſſione pro eorum ſtabilitate orare docebat. Ubi eos inter ſe amaritudinem movere audiſſet, tota tremebat, & quales litteras uni, tales alteri dirigebat, ut inter ſe non bella nec arma tractarent, ſed pacem firmarent, ut patria ne periret. Similiter & ad eorum proceres dirigebat, ut præcelſis regibus conſilia ſalutifera miniſtrarent, ut eis regnantibus, populi & patria ſalubrior redderetur. Congregationi ſuæ aſſiduas vigilias imponebat: &, ut ſine intermiſſione pro eis orarent, cum lacrymis docebat. Se vero in quanto cruciatu affligebat quis hoc verbis explere valeat?

(2) GREGOR. *L.* 4. *c.* 46. Veniente autem illo ad villam, cui nomen eſt victoriacum, collectus eſt ad eum omnis exercitus, IMPOSITUMQUE SUPER CLYPEO, REGEM SIBI ſtatuunt.

(3) IBID.

(4) IBID. l. c. *He ſays:* Cum cultris validis, quos vulgo SCRAMA SAXOS appellant.

(5) IBID. *L.* 5. *c.* 3.

and

and to take her Revenge at the ſame Time. *Meroveus*, his eldeſt Prince, enter'd with her into Engagements to marry her. Her Youth, the Agreableneſs of her Perſon, and her Underſtanding, were, on this Occaſion, as advantageous to her, as the Hatred *Meroveus* bore to *Fredegund*, his Mother-in-Law. When his Father ſent him with an Army to *Poitou*, he went ſuddenly to *Roüan*, and was there married to *Brunehild*, by *Prætextatus*, Biſhop of that Place, who had baptiz'd him, and was zealouſly devoted to him. *Chilperic* was thunder-ſtruck at this News, and *Fredegund* yet more; ſince ſhe had not only *Brunehild* and *Meroveus*, but likewiſe *Audovera*, the Mother of the latter, who was ſtill living, in a Convent, to be apprehenſive of. *Chilperic* went himſelf to *Roüan*, the better to extinguiſh the Flame in its Birth: But *Meroveus* and *Brunehild* fled into the Church of St. *Martin*, a ſecure *Aſylum* to the Unfortunate. *Chilperic* could not get them out by any other Means, but by a Promiſe on Oath, to confirm their Marriage. He embrac'd the young Couple, and took them to dine at his Table (1). *Meroveus* was immediately after forc'd to follow his Father, and *Brunehild* was watch'd more narrowly than before; but at *Childebert*'s Interceſſion, ſhe ſoon obtain'd the Liberty of repairing to *Metz*.

The ſtrange Fate of *Meroveus*.

§ XIV. Soon after this, ſome Troops from *Champagne* appear'd unexpectedly before *Soiſſons*; and *Fredegund*, who was then in the City, eſcap'd not without Difficulty: But *Chilperic* came in Time, and diſpers'd the Enemies: Now as it was highly probable, that *Meroveus* was privy to this Attempt, that he might at the ſame Time take Revenge of both his Father and Mother-in-Law, and pave his Way to the Throne, *Fredegund* found it eaſy to prevail on the King to diſarm his Son, and put him under Confinement (1). He was ſent to a Monaſtery in the Country of *Maine*, and conſecrated a Prieſt. From hence indeed he eſcap'd to *Tours*, to St. *Martin*'s Tomb, and farther to *Auſtraſia*: But *Brunehild* was herſelf oppos'd by a numerous Faction, and could not prevail on the Court publicly to eſpouſe his Intereſt (2). Whilſt he lay thus conceal'd, the Inhabitants of *Terouanne* ſent him an Offer, that they would revolt from his Father, and acknowledge him their lawful Sovereign: But he no ſooner came to them, than they confin'd him, and gave Notice of it

§ XIII. (1) Gregor. *L.* 5. *c.* 2. Rex vero adveniens, cum in multis ingeniis eos exinde auferre niteretur, & ille doloſe eum putantes facere, non crederent: juravit eis dicens: Si, *inquit*, Dei voluntas fuerit, ipſe hos ſeparare non conaretur. Hæc illis ſacramentis accipientes, de baſilica egreſſi ſunt. Exoſculatiſque, & dignanter acceptis, epulatus eſt cum eis.

§ XIV. (1) Gregorius, *L* 5. *c.* 3.

(2) Idem, *L.* 5. *c.* 14.

to

to *Chilperic*. The King found him dead; they pretended, that in Deſpair he had deſir'd *Gail*, his faithful Companion, to put an End to his Life: But a much more probable Report was even then current, that he had been murder'd at the Inſtigations of *Fredegund* (3). By diſpatching another Son of the former Marriage, ſhe could form the more certain Hopes of having the Succeſſion ſettled on her Children: But ſhe was greatly diſapointed. Her three Sons were, in a ſhort Time, all ſnatch'd away by Death: and thus *Clovis*, a Son of *Audovera*, was the only remaining Heir. This Prince perhaps incautiouſly diſcover'd his Intentions, with Regard to his Step-Mother: But ſhe was beforehand with him, and cauſed him to be accus'd to the King, that the three other Princes had been poiſon'd at his Inſtigation. He was impriſon'd, and, by the Queen's Command, privately diſpatch'd in his Confinement; but the King was made to believe, that he laid violent Hands on himſelf †. *Audovera*, his Mother was likewiſe murder'd (4).. † A. 581.

§ XV. IN *Auſtraſia*, a cloſe Alliance was for ſome Time preſerv'd with the King of *Burgundy*. As this Prince had juſt been depriv'd of both his Sons, he adopted *Childebert*, at a Covention near *Pont-Pierre* (1). But the Faction, which oppos'd Queen *Brunehild*, began ſoon after to be turbulent, and was headed by *Ægidius* Biſhop of *Rheims*, who had long been a great Favourite with *Fredegund* (2).. As this Faction could not gain ground, whilſt the good Underſtanding with *Burgundy* ſubſiſted, they brought it to bear, that *Guntram*'s Friendſhip was ſet aſide, *A.* 581, and a Treaty made with *Chilperic* (3), by Virtue of which he was to retain *Senlis*, *Meaux*, *Tours*, *Poitou*, and other Diſtricts of the Kingdom *Childebert* makes a League with *Chilperic*, &c.

(3) IDEM, *L.* 5. *c.* 19.

(4) IDEM, *L.* 5. *c.* 40.

§ XV. (1) GREGOR. *L.* 5. *c.* 18. Poſt hæc Guntramnus, Rex, ad Childebertum, nepotem ſuum legatos mittit, pacem petens, ac deprecans eum videre. Tunc ille cum proceribus ſuis ad eum venit. Qui ad pontem, quem Petreum vocant, conjuncti ſunt, conſalutantes atque invicem exoſculantes ſe, Guntramnus Rex ait: Evenit impulſu peccatorum meorum, ut abſque liberis remanerem; & ideo peto, ut hic nepos meus mihi ſit filius. Et imponens eum ſupra cathedram ſuam, cunctam ei regnum tradidit, dicens: Una nos parma protegat, una nos haſta defendat. Quod ſi filios habuero, te nihilominus tanquam unum ex his reputabo, ut illa cum meis tecum ſit charitas, quam tibi ego hodie polliceor, teſte Deo. Proceres vero Childeberti ſimiliter pro eodem polliciti ſunt. Et manducantes ſimul atque bibentes, digniſque ſe muneribus honorantes, pacifice diſceſſerunt: ad Chilpericum, Regem legatos mittentes, ut redderet, quod de eorum regno imminuerat. Quod ſi differret, campum præpararet ad bellum. Quod ille deſpiciens, apud Sueſſionas atque Pariſios circos ædificare præcepit eos populis ſpectaculum præbens.

(2) IDEM, *L.* 5. *c.* 19. *fin.*

(3) IDEM, *L.* 6. *c.* 1. & 3.

of

of *Paris*, which, after *Claribert*'s Death, fell to the King of *Auſtraſia*'s Share. The two Kings even enter'd into an Alliance againſt *Guntram*. The Biſhop flatter'd the Court with the agreable Repreſentation, that *Chilperic*, who had then loſt all his Princes, had no other Heir but *Childebert*. *Lupus* Duke of *Champagne*, on whom *Venantius Fortunatus* beſtows great Praiſes (4), was the chief Support of the other Party, which ſided with Queen *Brunehild* and the *Burgundian* Court. His Adverſaries were reſolv'd upon his Fall, by Force, and *Urſio* and *Berthefried* challeng'd him to a Combat. *Brunehild* took a Shield and Sword, and, mounting a Horſe, rode into the tumultuous Crowd: *Urſio* called out to her, "to take heed, leſt ſhe "might be trampl'd to Death by their Horſes; it was ſufficient ſhe had "govern'd under her Husband; her Son was now King, and they were "entruſted with the Preſervation of his Kingdom." But *Brunehild* nevertheleſs would not deſiſt, 'till ſhe had ſo far carried her Point, that the Combat was put a Stop to (5). *Lupus* being, notwithſtanding this, diffident of his Safety, retir'd to *Burgundy*. *Chilperic* immediatly detach'd Troops into *Acquitain*, to the Countries appertaining to *Guntram*. He went in Perſon, *A.* 583, to beſiege *Melun*, which at the Partition of *Claribert's* Kingdom was likewiſe fallen to *Guntram*'s Share: But the *Burgundian* King came unexpectedly upon him, and partly defeated, and in Part diſpers'd *Chilperic*'s Army. As he was naturally more fond of Peace than War, he took Advantage of this Victory to incline his Brother to a Peace. They agreed, that their mutual Grievances ſhould be amicably accommodated by their States. (6) *Childebert* was marching to *Chilperic*'s Aid: But his Army, diſſatisfied with this Peace, mutinied againſt thoſe who adviſed him to it; and Biſhop *Ægidius* would have been in Danger of his Life, had he not found Means to eſcape to *Rheims* (7). We find, on the other Hand, ſoon after, *Guntram* and *Childebert* arming themſelves againſt *Chilperic*, and the latter retreating

(4) *Lib.* 7. *carm.* 7. *ſeq.*

(5) Gregor. *L.* 6. *c.* 1. Quod cernens Brunechildis, Regina, condolens fidelis ſui inſecutiones injuſtas, præcingens ſe viriliter, inrupit medios hoſtium cuneos, dicens: Nolite, o Viri, nolite malum hoc facere, nolite perſequi innocentem: nolite pro uno homine committere prœlium, quo ſolatium regionis intereat. Hæc illa loquente, reſpondit Urſio; Recede a nobis, o mulier; ſufficiat Tibi ſub viro tenuiſſe regnum: Nunc autem filius tuus regnat, regnumque ejus non tua, ſed noſtra tuitione ſalvatur: Tu vero recede a nobis, ne te ungulæ equorum noſtrorum cum terra confodiant. Hæc & alia cum diutiſſime inter ſe potuliſſent, obtinuit Reginæ induſtria, ne pugnarent.

(6) Idem, *L.* 5. *c.* 29. Mane autem concurrentibus legatis pacem fecerunt, pollicentes alter alterutrum, ut quicquid ſacerdotes, vel ſeniores populi judicarent, pars parti componeret, quæ terminum legis exceſſerat.

(7) Idem, *L.* 6. *c.* 31.

for fear of them to *Cambray* (8). The Revolution, which happen'd in *Spain*, greatly influenc'd the Defigns of the *Franconian* Kings.

§ XVI. BUT here I muſt firſt take Notice of the State of *Spain*, where the Kingdoms of the *Wiſi-Goths* and *Suevi* yet flouriſh'd. I obſerv'd in its proper Place †, that *Athanagild* rebell'd againſt King *Agila*, and entreated *Juſtinian*'s Aid. This was an Opportunity of introducing the Imperial Arms into *Spain*, after *Africa*, *Italy* and *Sicily* had been ſubdued. After *Agila*'s Death, the *Goths* elected *Athanagild*; but then he was at a Loſs how to get rid of the *Imperialiſts*, who were in Poſſeſſion of ſeveral Places. He died, *A.* 567, and *Liuva* was choſen King at *Narbonne*. He admitted his Brother, *Leovigild*, *A.* 569, to a Share in the Government, and left to him the Provinces of *Spain*. He retain'd for himſelf all the Dominions of the *Goths* in *Gaul*. *Leovigild* married *Gundaſuinth*, *Athanagild*'s Widow, in Order the better to unite the ſeveral Factions in the Nation; and after his Brother's Deceaſe he remain'd Sovereign of all the *Gothick* Kingdom. The *Suevi* (1) reign'd in thoſe Countries, in which are the Arch-Biſhopricks of *Braga* and *Lugo*, and the Biſhopricks therennto belonging (*). According to this Account they poſſeſs'd the greateſt Part of the preſent Kingdom of *Portugal*, *Gallicia*, a Part of *Aſturia* and *Leon*. They were at firſt *Catholicks*; but King *Remiſmund* profeſs'd *Arianiſm* (2). *Ariamirus* turn'd again to the *Catholick* Faith, of which the Council of *Braga*, held *A.* 560 (3), and that of *Lugo*, held *A.* 569 (4), ſhew excellent Memorials. This Converſion was in a great Meaſure effected by *Martin*, *Abbot* of *Dumo*, who became afterwards Archbiſhop of *Braga* (5), and

The Hiſtory of the *Wiſi-Goths* and *Suevi*, &c.

† XII. 26.

(8) IDEM, *L.* 6. *c.* 41.

§ XVI. (1) *We muſt here look back to the Hiſtory of the Kingdom of the* Suevi, Vol. I. B. x. § 11, 12.

(*) *To the Arch-Biſhoprick of* Braga *appertain'd:*

Cale, *Porto.*

Lamecum, *Lamego.*

Conimbrica, *Coimbra.*

Viſeum, *Viſeo.*

Egitania *is ſaid to have lain where* Guimaranes *is now.*

Under the Arch-Biſhop of Lugo, *whoſe Biſhop belongs now to* Compoſtella *were,*

Lucus Aſturum, *whoſe Ruins afterwards gave Riſe to* Ovieto.

Auria, *Orenſe.*

Aſturia, *Aſtorga.*

Ira Flavia. *From the Ruins of this City was built* Compoſtella: *Whither the Biſhop's Seat was likewiſe remov'd, who afterwards obtain'd the Archi-Epiſcopal Dignity.*

Tude, *Tuy.*

Bretonia. *Is now a ſmall Village, nam'd* Bretagna. *The Biſhop's See is remov'd to* Mondonedo.

(2) *See the Annotation of the Kings of the* Suevi.

(3) V. ACTA CONCIL. BRACARENSIS *ap* AGU. *T.* 2. *p.* 292.

(4) V. ACTA CONCIL. LUCENSIS, IBID *p.* 299.

(5) *This* Martin *is by ſome Learned Men miſtaken for a Native of* Greece. *Of him ſee* GREGORIUS TURON,

and is from thence call'd the Apoſtle of the *Suevi*. He was a Native of *Pannonia*, but had been a long while in the *Eaſt*, and came at laſt to *Gallicia*. He had likewiſe collected the moſt uſeful Poſitions of the ancient Councils (6), which were receiv'd at the Council of *Lugo*, as Rules to be follow'd in ſpiritual Matters. Two moral Treaties of his are, beſides this, extant (7), one of which treats of the four Cardinal Virtues, and is addreſs'd to the King himſelf.

Differences betwixt *Leovigild*, and *Hermenegild* his Son, &c.

§ XVII. *LEOVIGILD* had two Sons by his firſt Marriage, *Hermenegild* and *Reccaredus*. He admitted the eldeſt to be his Co-Adjutor in the Government, with a View, of fixing the Succeſſion the more ſecurely in his Family (*), and married him to *Ingundis*, Daughter of *Sigebert*, King of *Auſtraſia*, who was at the ſame Time a Grand-Daughter of *Gundaſuinth*, his ſecond Wife. It was hoped, that by this Alliance, as well the Royal *Gothick*, as the *Franconian* Families would be the more cloſely united: But the very Reverſe enſued. The firſt Animoſity aroſe from a Difference of Religion. Queen *Gundaſuinth* endeavour'd to perſuade the *Franconian* Princeſs to turn to the *Arian* Community; but ſhe perſiſted zealouſly in the Profeſſion ſhe had been brought up in (1); and, on the contrary, prevail'd on her Husband, by the Aſſiſtance of *Leander* (2), Biſhop of *Sevil*, to be converted to the *Catholick* Religion. This alone would have render'd his Name glorious, had he not proceeded farther: But he rebell'd againſt his Father, which occaſion'd a bloody War (3). From the few and obſcure Accounts we have thereof, it appears,

TURON, *L.* 5. *c.* 38. *and* VENANT. FORTUNATUS, *L.* 4. *c.* 1, 2. *His Life is related at large in* Actis SS. Antu. ad D. XX. Mart. *and* in Act. SS. Ord. Bened. *T.* I. *p.* 257.

(6) *See this Collection* ap. AGUIRR. T. II. p. 325. GRATIAN, *made uſe of it in his* Decretum. *Thus* ex. gr. Can. 15. proter Eccleſiaſticas Diſt. XVIII. *was taken from thence.*

(7) BIBLIOTH. PATR. T. X. *Other Works, and particularly Letters of his, have been found in* Spain. Card. D' Aguirre T. II. p. 299. *gave us Hopes of ſeing them in Print: But this has not yet been done.*

§ XVII. * GREGORY *ſays, that he took both Sons for Partners in the Government.* Joh. Biclarienſis *relates this only of the Elder. And the Years of* Reccaredus's *Reign can be better calculated, if we admit, that the Father declar'd him King in* Hermenegild's *Room, and not 'till then.*

(1) GREGORIUS, *L.* 5. *c.* 39.

(2) V. Vita S. LEANDRI in ACT. SS. ANTVERP. ad D. XIII. Martii.

(3) *The ancient Writers are too ſevere in their Cenſures of* Hermenegild. GREGORIUS TURONENSIS, L. 6. c. 43. Neſciens miſer judicium ſibi imminere divinum, qui contra genitorem, quamlibet hæreticum, talia cogitaret. ISIDORUS *ſays,* Er. DCVIII. Ermingildum deinde imperiis ſuis tyrannizantem, exſuperavit. * *This is the Opinion of the moſt eminent Writers:* Mariana, *who diſplays all his Eloquence in Praiſe of* Hermenegild, *yet*

pears, that *Hermenegild* depended chiefly on the Zeal of the *Catholicks*. *Mirus* †, King of the *Suevi*, whoſe Father, as I mention'd before, embrac'd the *Catholick* Faith, enter'd into Alliance with him. He likewiſe ſecured the *Imperial* Troops, which ſtill poſſeſs'd ſeveral Cities on the Sea-Coaſt, in *Spain*; and even ſent the Biſhop of *Sevil* to *Conſtantinople*, to demand more Succours of the Emperor (4). *Leovigild*, about this Time, conven'd the Biſhops of his Sect at *Toledo*, to try, if an Union of the *Catholicks* and *Arians* could be effected. The latter declar'd themſelves ſomewhat nearer to the Sentiments of the *Orthodox*, probably with a View of diverting their Zeal for the young King's Service (5). *Leovigild* ſet out with an Army, *A.* 583, and block'd him up in *Sevil*. *Mirus*, King of the *Suevi*, was coming to the Son's Aſſiſtance; but *Leovigild* ſo reduc'd him, that he was forc'd to quit the Party, and, in a certain Meaſure, himſelf to acknowledge *Leovigild* for his Sovereign. *Hermenegild* ventur'd nevertheleſs, with the Aid of the *Imperialiſts*, to offer his Father Battle: But *Leovigild* had ſecretly corrupted their General with 30,000 Pieces of Gold, which prevail'd on them to abandon him before the Fight begun. *Hermenegild* took Refuge in a Church. His Father entic'd him out of this *Aſylum*, by gentle Means; but, in a Manner, carried him in Triumph into *Toledo*, declar'd him unworthy of the Royal Dignity, and caus'd him to be impriſon'd. He was murder'd, the next Year, at *Tarragona*. The Circumſtances of this Murder were even then differently related (6): But the *Spaniſh* Church reveres him as a Martyr (7). *Ingundis*, his Wife, and *Athanagild*, his Son, remain'd in the Hands of the *Imperialiſts*, who ſent them to *Conſtantinople*, under Pretence, that there they would meet with Protection: And the Prince arriv'd actually there, but *Ingundis* died by the Way. Young *Athanagild* receiv'd afterwards great Favours of Queen *Brunehild* and *Childebert* (8). The Court of *Auſtraſia*, as well as that of *Burgundy*, threaten'd to ſide with *Hermenegild*. *Leovigild*, on the other Hand, ſtrove the more earneſtly to ſecure the Friendſhip of *Chilperic*, who beſides gladly embrac'd any Opportunity of doing Prejudice to his Brother and Nephew. A Match was even con-

† or *Theodemirus*.

yet ſays at laſt: Inerant Hermenegildo ſimplicitas, & libertas, quæ, niſi modus accedit, in exitium vertuntur. F. Daniel p. 190 *follows* Gregory's *Opinion*.

(4) *This Ambaſſy is mention'd by* Gregorius M. in Præf. Expoſ. lib. Job.

(5) *This* Synod *is taken Notice of by* Joh. Biclar. ad An. XII. Leovigildi. *What Conceſſions the* Arians *at that Time made, appears from* Gregor. Turonenſ. L. 6. *c.* 18. *and* 40.

(6) *See the Annotation of* Hermenegild, *in the Series of the* Wiſi-Gothick *Kings*.

(7) *See his Life in* Acta SS. Antverp. ad D. XIII. April.

(8) *See below* § XXIV.

cluded betwixt *Reccaredus*, the other *Gothick* Prince, and *Chilperic*'s Daughter. The Nuptials were celebrated at *Paris*, where the Princeſs was put into the Hands of the Ambaſſadors (9), and then ſet out on her Journy with a very conſiderable Dowry (10). This Marriage, however, was not conſummated. *Chilperic* was murder'd immediately after, and the Princeſs forc'd to return. *Guntram*, on the other Hand, actually made War with the *Wiſi-Goths* in *Septimania*, which border'd on his Dominions, under Pretence of revenging *Hermenegild*'s Death (11); but the View of conquering that Country was perhaps his ſtrongeſt Motive.

Chilperic is murder'd, &c. † *A.* 584.

§ XVIII. WHEN *Chilperic*, one Evening †, return'd from the Chace to *Chelles*, and was about to diſmount, he was kill'd by an Aſſaſſine (1). The real Circumſtances of this Murder were never brought to Light. *Childebert* charg'd *Fredegund* with having herſelf contriv'd it (2); and *Prætextatus*, Biſhop of *Roüan*, accus'd her of it to her Face. *Guntram* ſuſpected *Theodorus*, Biſhop of *Marſeilles*, and *Fredegund* accus'd the Chamberlain *Eberulfus*. The Relation of *Fredegarius*, that *Childebert* hir'd the Aſſaſſine, is the leſs probable, ſince even *Fredegund* did not recriminate him with that Charge, when he imputed the Murder to her. *Gregorius* calls *Chilperic* the *Nero* and *Herod* of his Time. This Prelate might indeed appear prejudic'd, becauſe he had ſeveral Times perſonal Differences with *Chilperic*: But the whole Courſe of his Life juſtifies the Compariſon. Hiſtorians take Notice of his Propenſity to Splendor (3),

(9) GREGOR. *relates the Beginning of theſe Negotiations*, L. 4. c. 44. *How the Princeſs was betroth'd*, L. 6. c. 34. *and at laſt, how ſhe was married to the Ambaſſadors:* Convocatis melioribus Francis, reliquiſque fidelibus, nuptias celebravit filiæ ſuæ, traditaque legatis Gothorum, magnos ei theſauros dedit.

(10) IDEM ibid. *He ſays among other Things:* Tanta fuit multitudo rerum, ut aurum argentumque, & reliqua ornamenta quinquaginta plauſtra levarent. Franci vero multa munera obtulerunt: alii aurum, alii argentum, nonnulli equos, plerique veſtimenta, & unuſquiſque, ut potuit, donativum dedit.

(11) IDEM, L. 6. c. 34. & L. 7. c. 21.

§ XVIII. (1) GREGOR. L. 6. c. 46.

(2) *We may conclude from the Relation in the* Geſta Francorum *and in* Aimoinus, *what Turn thoſe who endeavour'd to create Suſpicion of the Queen, gave of this Matter: We there read; That the Queen carried on an Intrigue with* Landericus, *who afterwards became* Major domus, *under* Clotarius, *that the King detected her one Morning, when he was going out upon the Chace, and that ſhe agreed with her Lover to prevent the Puniſhment they had Reaſon to expect, by cauſing the King to be murder'd, ſo ſoon as he return'd from hunting.*

(3) GREGORIUS, L. 7. c. 2. *mentions a golden Veſſel of fifty Pounds, which King* Chilperic *ſhew'd him as a Piece, that he had caus'd to be made in Honour of the* Franconian *Nation:* Tunc ego Nogentum villam ad occurſam Regis abieram: ibique nobis Rex miſſorium magnum, quod ex auro gemmiſque fabricaverat in quinquaginta librarum pondere oſtendit, dicens: ego hæc ad exornandam, atque nobilitandam Francorum gentem feci. Sed & plurima adhuc, ſi vita comes fuerit, faciam.

and

and publick Spectacles (4), and at the ſame Time we find great Complaints of the Load of Taxes he impos'd on the People (5). He is generally accounted a learned Prince, and may herein be compar'd to *Traſamund*, King of the *Vandals*, and *Theodehat*, King of the *Oſtro-Goths*. He even enter'd into *Theological* Enquiries, when ſo many Diſputes were at this Time carried on about the Article of the Trinity. But in this he prov'd unſucceſsful; for he thereby fell into the ſame Error, on Account of which the Church had long before condemn'd *Sabellius* *. He was fond of Poetry, and wrote whole Volumes in *Latin* Verſe. *Venantius Fortunatus* extolls them greatly (6); but the Biſhop of *Tours* is of a very different Opinion (7). He likewiſe invented four new Letters, and order'd them to be inſerted in the Alphabet (8): But theſe Letters had the ſame Fate with thoſe, which the Emperor *Claudius* attempted to introduce, and which were never heard of more.

(4) IDEM, *L.* 5. *c.* 38. Quod ille deſpiciens apud Sueſſionas atque Pariſios circos ædificare præcepit, in eis populo ſpectaculum præbiturus. *The* Franks *were particularly fond of Carouſſels, Turnaments, &c. of which we find another Inſtance in* Gregor. L. 8. c. 36.

(5) *An Inſtance of this we read in* Gregor. L. 5. c. 29. Chilpericus vero Rex deſcriptiones novas & graves in omni regno ſuo fieri juſſit. Qua de cauſa multi relinquentes civitates illas, vel poſſeſſiones proprias, alia regna petierunt: ſatius ducentes alibi peregrinari, quam tali periculo ſubjacere. Statutum enim fuerat, ut poſſeſſor de propria terra unam amphoram vini per aripennem redderet. Sed & aliæ functiones infligebantur multæ, tam de reliquis terris, quam de mancipiis: quod impleri non poterat.

* GREGOR. *L.* 5. *c.* 45.

(6) VENANTIUS FORTUNATUS, *who ſpeaks in Praiſe of* Chilperic *and* Fredegund, *flatters him particularly in the following Lines*, L. 9. Carm. 1.

Cui ſimul arma favent, & littera conſtat amore;
Hinc virtute potens, doctus & inde places.
Inter utrumque ſagax, armis & jure probatus,
Bellifer hinc radias, legifer inde micas.
De virtute pater, reparatur avunculus ore,
Doctrinæ ſtudio vincis & omne genus.
Regibus æqualis de carmine major haberis
Dogmate vel qualis non fuit ante parens.
Te arma ferunt generi ſimilem, ſed littera præfert,
Sic veterum Regum par ſimul atque prior.
Admirande mihi nimium Rex, cujus opime
Prœlia robur agit, carmina lima polit.

(7) GREGOR. *L.* 5. *c.* 45. Scripſit alios libros idem Rex verſibus, quaſi Sedulium imitatus, ſed verſiculi illi nulli penitus metricæ conveniunt rationi. *Add.* vi. 46.

(8) IDEM, *L.* 5. *c.* 45. Addidit autem & litteras litteris noſtris, id eſt ω, ſicuti Græci habent æ, *the*, *uui*, quorum characteres ſubſcripſimus. Hi ſunt ω Ψ Z Δ. Et miſit epiſtolas in univerſas civitates regni ſui, ut ſic pueri docerentur, ac libri antiquitus ſcripti, planati pumice reſcriberentur. *This, perhaps, alludes to the* Franconian *Alphabet. The* Franks *had their Letters, or* Runen, *as well as the other* German *Nations.* Venantius Fortunatus *probably means them, when he ſays.* L. 7. Carm. 18.

Barbara fraxineis pingatur R U N A tabellis.

(9) SUETONIUS *in Claudio*, c. 41.

§ XIX. *FRE-*

Is ſucceeded by *Clotarius*, his Son, *&c.*

§ XIX. *FREDEGUND* ſtood now in Need of all her Arts and good Fortune: Her Hopes depended wholly on a Prince, who was born not long before the King's Death, and of whom many Doubts were yet rais'd, whether he was really the King's Son (1). She fled for Refuge to *Ragnemodus*, Biſhop of *Paris*, into the Cathedral, and ſent Ambaſſadors to *Guntram*, to entreat his Aſſiſtance for herſelf and her Son. The King of *Burgundy* was a Prince of great Equity and Benevolence, and, which prov'd moſt advantageous to *Fredegund*, was not in the beſt Intelligence with the Court of *Auſtraſia*. He repair'd to *Paris* himſelf (2), where the Queen practis'd all her Arts to win him. He undertook the Guardianſhip, and caus'd Homage to be receiv'd in his own, and young *Clotarius*'s Name (3). *Childebert*, on this Occaſion, hop'd to revenge *Fredegund*'s Treatment of himſelf and his Mother, and haſten'd to *Paris*; but his Journy prov'd fruitleſs. *Guntram* endeavour'd now to appropriate to himſelf all the Countries left by *Charibert*, King of *Paris*, and ſeiz'd on thoſe Parts, which *Chilperic* poſſeſs'd (4), not one Perſon in his whole Kingdom daring to oppoſe him. *Childebert*, likewiſe, laid Claim to ſome of theſe Dominions: He ſent Ambaſſadors to the King of *Burgundy*, not only to aſſert that Right, but likewiſe to demand Juſtice on *Fredegund*, to whom he imputed the Murder of his Father, and even of *Chilperic* (5). The King referr'd them to a Con-

§ XIX. (1) Guntram *afterwards always doubted, whether this Prince was* Chilperic's *Son, 'till* Fredegund *gave him a ſolemn Aſſurance of it upon Oath*, Gregor. L. 8. c. 9. Poſt hæc Rex Pariſius venit, & coram omnibus loqui cœpit, dicens: Germanus meus, Chilpericus, moriens dicitur filium reliquiſſe, cujus nutritores, matre deprecante, petierunt, ut eum de ſancto lavacro in Dominici Natalis ſolemnitate deberem excipere: & non venerunt. Rogaverunt deinceps, ut ad ſanctum Paſcha baptizaretur. Sed nec tunc allatus eſt infans. Deprecati ſunt autem tertio, ut ad feſtivitatem ſancti Johannis exhiberetur. Sed nec tunc venit. Moverunt itaque me per tempus ſterile de loco, ubi habitabam: veni igitur, & ecce abſconditur, nec oſtenditur mihi puer, unde, quantum intelligo, nihil eſt, quod promittitur: ſed, ut credo, alicujus de leudibus noſtris ſit filius. Nam ſi de ſtirpe noſtra fuiſſet, ad me utique fuiſſet deportatus. Ideoque noveritis, quia a me non ſuſcipitur, niſi certa de eo cognoſcam indicia. Hæc audiens Fredegundis, Regina, conjunctis Prioribus regni ſui, id eſt, tribus Epiſcopis, & trecentis viris optimis, ſacramenta dederunt, hunc a Chilperico, Rege, generatum fuiſſe: & ſic ſuſpicio ab animo Regis ablata eſt.

(2) IDEM, *L.* 8. *c.* 4. 5.

(3) GREGOR. *L.* 7. *c.* 7. Priores quoque de regno Chilperici, ut erat Anſovaldus, & reliqui, ad filium ejus, qui erat, ut ſuperius diximus, quatuor menſium, ſe collegerunt, quem Chlotarium vocitaverunt, exigentes ſacramenta per civitates, quæ ad Chilpericum prius adſpexerant, ut ſcilicet fideles eſſe debeant Guntramno Regi, ac nepoti ſuo Chlotario.

(4) IDEM, *L.* 7. *c.* 6, 12.

(5) IDEM, *L.* 7. *c.* 7. Legati iterum Childeberti ad antedictum Regem veniunt, Fredegundem, Reginam, inquirentes, atque dicentes: Redde homicidam, quæ amitam meam ſugillavit, quæ patrem interfecit, & patruum, quæ ipſos quoque conſobrinos meos gladio interfecit.

vention,

vention he had ſummon'd to *Paris* (6): But here their Negotiations were entirely fruitleſs. The King declar'd *Fredegund*'s Innocence, and, beſides, treated the Ambaſſadors in a very unfriendly Manner. He reprov'd the Biſhop of *Rheims* for his Treachery, and *Guntram Boſo* for having entic'd a Miller's Son into the Kingdom, with Intent to raiſe him to the Throne; in which he alluded to *Gundobald*, whoſe Attempt I ſhall relate below. The Ambaſſadors anſwer'd with equal Indiſcretion: One of them told the King to his Face, that the ſame Steel, which had laid his two Brothers in their Graves, was prepar'd for him; on which ſuch Animoſities aroſe, on both Sides, that the King caus'd Dirt to be thrown at the Ambaſſadors, when they departed (7). He gave *Vaudreuil* to Queen *Fredegund* for her Reſidence, and appointed a particular Senat to adminiſter the Government (8). He likewiſe enquir'd, at whoſe Inſtigations, King *Chilperic* had been murder'd? *Fredegund* accus'd *Eberulfus*, the Chamberlain, whoſe Enemy ſhe was on other Accounts, and he was executed for the ſame at *Tours*, in the Court before the Monaſtery of S. *Martin* (9).

§ XX. ANOTHER Affair was, in the mean Time, on the Carpet, concerning a Perſon, nam'd *Gundobald*, who pretended to be Son to King *Clotarius* I, but was not acknowledg'd by him, as ſuch. He had firſt repair'd to *Narſes* in *Italy*, and at laſt to *Conſtantinople*, and was every where treated as a *Franconian* Prince. Some Nobles of *Childebert*'s, but more of *Guntram*'s Kingdom, who were diſaffected to the Court, and glad to fiſh in troubled Water, fix'd their Views on him, that they might, in his Name, execute their own Schemes; and *Guntram Boſo* is ſaid to have concerted with him, at *Conſtantinople*, the firſt Plan of his Coming to *Gaul*. *Gundobald*, thereupon, embark'd, *A.* 582, with his two Sons, and landed at *Marſeilles*, half of which City belong'd to *Burgundy*, and the other half to *Auſtraſia*. Here he was receiv'd with great Honours, by *Theodorus*, the Biſhop: But at firſt Matters would not favour him, and he therefore removed to one of thoſe Iſles, which are not far diſtant

Gundobald lays Claim to a Part of the *Franconian* Kingdom, &c.

(6) *He anſwers the Ambaſſadors:* In placito, quod habemus, cuncta decernimus quid oporteat fieri.

(7) GREGOR. *ibid. c.* 14.

(8) IDEM, *c.* 19. Fredegundem quoque, Reginam, ad villam Rotojalenſem, quæ in Rotomajenſi termino ſita eſt, abire præcepit. Secutique ſunt eam omnes meliores natu regni Chilperici, Regis; Ibique relinquentes eam cum Melanio, Epiſcopo, qui de Rothomago ſummotus fuerat, ad filium ejus ſe tranſtulerunt: promittentes, quod ab eis ſtudioſiſſime nutriretur.

(9) IDEM, *L.* 7. *c.* 29.

from

from *Marſeilles* (1). However, at *Chilperic*'s Death, he again took Heart, and repair'd to *Avignon*, where *Mummolus* receiv'd him, and laid Claim to the Kingdom of *Paris*, that, being a Son of *Clotarius*, he might have his Share in the Countries left by that Prince (2). From thence he proceeded to *Limoſin*, and was, according to the Cuſtom of the *Franks*, plac'd on a Shield at *Brive*, and proclaim'd King, in *December*, *A.* 584 (3). He not only made himſelf Maſter of ſeveral Places in *Angouleme* and *Perigord*, but *Toulouſe* and *Bourdeaux* likewiſe ſurrender'd; and it appear'd every Day, more and more, that the Chief of the Nobles were in a ſtrict Confederacy with him: But what is moſt ſurprizing, Queen *Brunehild* was accus'd of a ſecret Correſpondence with him, and of having even intended to marry him (4): Nor did *Fredegund* leſs earneſtly ſollicit his Friendſhip (5). Both Princeſſes had, on other Occaſions, ſufficiently diſcover'd, what they were ready to ſacrifice, to gratify their Ambition for Governing.

Guntram makes Peace with *Childebert*, &c.

§ XXI. *GUNTRAM*, therefore, wiſely reſolv'd to unite with *Childebert*. He invited him to *Chalons*, there renew'd the Deſire he had expreſs'd, eight Years before, at *Pont-Pierre*, and, in the Preſence of the Nobles, deliver'd to him the Spear (1), which he made Uſe of inſtead of a Scepter. He exhorted the *Franks*, who were come with him, to be more faithful Subjects to him, than they had hitherto been, ſince he was now of an Age to govern himſelf (2). He detected to the young King the whole

§ XX. (1) Gregor. *L. c.*

(2) Idem, *L.* 7. *c.* 26, 27.

(3) Idem, *L.* 7. *c.* 10. Ibique parmæ ſuppoſitus Rex eſt levatus. Sed cum tertio cum eodem gyrarent, cecidiſſe fertur, ita, ut vix manibus circumſtantium ſuſtentari potuiſſet.

(4) Gregor. *L.* 7. *c.* 33. Tunc ei reddidit Rex Guntramnus omnia, quæ pater ejus Sigebertus habuerat, obteſtans, ne ad matrem accederet, ne forte aliquis daretur aditus qualiter ad Gundovaldum ſcriberet, aut ab eo ſcripta ſuſciperet. *We find farther Traces of this Correſpondence*, c. 34. *And*, L. 11. c. 28. *King* Guntram *ſays to one of* Brunehild's *Servants*: Non ſufficit, o infeliciſſime hominum, quod impudico conſilio Ballomerem illum, quem Gundovaldum vocitatis, ad conjugium arceſſiſtis? &c.

(5) Idem, *L.* 7. *c.* 39.

§ XXI. (1) Gregorius, *L.* 7. *c.* 33. Rex Guntramnus, data in manu Regis Childeberti haſta, ait: Hoc eſt indicium, quod tibi omne regnum meum tradidi. Ex hoc nunc vade, & omnes civitates meas, tanquam tuas proprias, ſub tui juris dominationem ſubjice. Nihil enim, facientibus peccatis, de ſtirpe mea remanſit, niſi tu tantum, qui mei fratris es filius. Tu enim hæres in omni regno meo ſuccede, ceteris exhæredibus factis.

(2) Ibid. Deinde cum ad convivium conveniſſent, cohortabatur Guntramnus Rex omnem exercitum, dicens: Videte, o Viri, quia filius meus Childebertus jam vir magnus effectus eſt. Videte & cavete, ne eum pro parvulo habeatis. Relinquite nunc perverſitates atque præſumtiones, quas exercetis, quia Rex eſt, cui vos nunc deſervire

whole Conſpiracy, and, among other good Admonitions, advis'd him to beware of his own Mother (3). *Guntram*'s Troops overtook *Gundobald* on the River *Dordonne*: But he was unwilling to hazard a Battle, and therefore march'd, with his Adherents, into *Lugdunum Convenarum* †, in the Country of *Cominges*. There *Leudegiſil* beſieg'd him: But as it was a ſtrong Place, and the Siege prov'd tedious, he made a private Offer to *Mummolus*, to procure for him the King's Pardon, if he would deliver up the Impoſtor; for ſo *Gundobald* was call'd. *Mummolus* and his Confidents conſented. They inſinuated to *Gundobald*, that *Guntram*, having no Children, ſeem'd inclin'd to acknowledge him for his Brother, and that therefore he would do well to ſurrender himſelf. They carried him out of the Fortreſs, partly by gentle Means, and partly by Force, and there deliver'd him to Perſons, whom *Leudegiſil* had ſent to receive him. He perceiv'd the Treachery; but had not much Time to exclaim againſt it; for one of his Companions puſh'd him down from the Precipice they ſtood upon, and at the Foot of it he was put to Death. However, *Mummolus* was himſelf diſappointed in the Fruits of his double Treachery. The King refus'd to perform the Promiſe his General had made, but caus'd him to be kill'd, and his Eſtate to be confiſcated (4).

† S. *Bertrand.*

§ XXII. *GUNTRAM*, after this, was taken up in his Wars with the *Goths*, and *Childebert* with the *Longobards*: Inteſtine Broils were, likewiſe, ſtill fomented in the Nation: For *Brunehild* adminiſter'd the Government in her Son's Name; but many Nobles oppos'd her, and *Fredegund* induſtriouſly rais'd frequent Diſorders, ſometimes in one Place, and ſometimes in another. *Guntram* and *Childebert* had another Interview, *A.* 587, at *Andlau*, which Place was ſituate on the Frontiers of both Kingdoms. *Childebert* was accompany'd by his whole Family; *Brunehild*, his Mother, *Clodoſuinth*, his Siſter, *Faileuba*, his Wife, and both Princes: And Perſons of the moſt eminent Rank in *Auſtraſia* and *Burgundy* were preſent (1). The principal Deſign of this Conference was to ſettle whatever had either hitherto obſtructed the good Underſtanding betwixt the two Courts, or might contribute to the future Eſtabliſhment thereof. The whole Treaty, as it was then concluded, is ſtill extant (2).

An Interview betwixt *Guntram* and *Childebert* at *Andlau*, &c.

vire debetis. Valeſius *imagines*, L. 12. p. 230. *that* Guntram *hereby declar'd King* Childebert, *who was then turn'd of fourteen, to be of Age: But* Gregory *mentions yet, in the Sequel, a Kind of Guardianſhip*, L. 8. c. 22. Hoc tempore & Vandelinus, nutritor Childeberti Regis obiit; ſed in locum ejus nullus eſt ſubrogatus, eo quod Regina mater curam velit propriam habere de filio.

(3) *See* § XXI. *not.* 4.

(4) IBID. *c.* 38-43.

§ XXII. (1) GREGOR. *L.* 9. *c.* 10.

(2) IBID. *c.* 20.

Both Kings promiſed, beſides the common Aſſurances of Friendſhip and Affection, to ſuffer each other's Subjects to trade freely in all their Dominions; upon all Occaſions to ſee Juſtice done them; not to give Shelter to Rebels; and to ſurrender Deſerters: The Differences, relating to the Claim of each to Part of *Charibert*'s Share, were accommodated, and if either of the two Kings ſhould dy without Male-Iſſue, it was agreed, that the other ſhould ſucceed him. No Mention was, on this Occaſion, made of young *Clotarius*, tho' he was as nearly allied to King *Guntram*, as *Childebert*; probably, becauſe the Kings had a Power, with the Nation's Conſent, to diſpoſe of their Dominions, without ſo ſtrict a Regard to Affinity. *Guntram*, however, either doubted, whether *Clotarius* was his Brother's legitimate Son, or elſe bore no great Affection to him; becauſe both *Chilperic* his Father, and more particularly *Fredegund*, had, on many Occaſions, given him Tokens of their Enmity. *Childebert*, at his Return, ſeverely puniſh'd ſeveral of his Nobles, who had introduc'd Innovations in his Abſence, and even conſpir'd to take away his Life. *Urſio*, *Berthefredus* and *Rauchingus* were put to Death; others fled, among whom in particular was *Leudefred*, Duke of *Alemannia*. He thereby forfeited his Dukedom, which was given to *Unceleno* (3). *Egidius*, Biſhop of *Rheims*, was indeed pardon'd at Court (4), and reconcil'd to *Lupus*: But he was ſoon after proſecuted, and depos'd in a Synod. Among other Things laid to his Charge, he was convicted of having counterfeited certain Deeds (5), in Order to get Poſſeſſion of ſome Crown-Lands, under Pretence, that they were granted him by the King.

The *Wiſi-Goths* make themſelves Maſters of the Kingdom of the *Suevi*, &c.

§ XXIII. I SHALL now reſume the Hiſtory of the *Goths* and *Longobards*, which will give a farther Light to that of the *Franks*. *Leovigild* had ſubdu'd the Kingdom of the *Suevi*, *A.* 585. *Miro* (call'd likewiſe *Theodemirus*) died, and was ſucceeded by *Euricus*, his Son: But *Audeca*, who had married the King's Daughter, dethron'd, and confin'd him in a Monaſtery. *Leovigild* fell upon *Audeca*, and forc'd him likewiſe to embrace an Eccleſiaſtical Life, and the Nation to acknow-

(3) FREDEGAR. *in Chronic. n.* 8. Leudefredus, Alemannorum Dux, in offenſam antedicti Regis incidit, etiam & latebram dedit. Ordinatus eſt loco ipſius Uncilenus Dux.

(4) GREGOR. *L.* 9. *c* 14.

(5) IBID. L. 10. c. 19. *When he was examin'd about ſome Crown Lands, he anſwer'd, that they were given him by the King, and that he could produce the Grant.* Villas vero, quas memoras, per iſtius Regis chartas emerui. Tunc proferente eaſdem in publico, negat Rex, ſe largitum fuiſſe: requiſituſque Otho, qui tum Referendarius fuerat, cujus ibi ſubſcriptio meditata tenebatur, adfuit; negat, ſe ſubſcripſiſſe. Conficta enim erat manus ejus in hujus præceptionis ſcripto.

ledge

ledge himſelf their Sovereign. A Commotion was, indeed, rais'd by a Perſon, nam'd *Maluricus*, but it was ſoon quell'd (1). Thus was all *Spain* brought under one Scepter, excepting ſome Cities that adher'd to the *Roman* Empire, in which were Garriſons, that were not expell'd 'till the Time of King *Siſebuthus*. The Army, which *Guntram* had ſent to *Septimania*, had indeed but little Succeſs: However, *Leovigild* continu'd to ſollicit a Peace with the *Franks*, 'till he died, *A.* 586. As he rais'd the *Gothick* Power to a very great Height, ſo likewiſe he amended their Laws (2), and added ſome Splendor to the external Appearance of their Kings; being the firſt who wore the Purple, and, at publick Aſſemblies, ſat in a Chair of State, rais'd above the Reſt (3). The *Oſtro-Goths* had before imitated the Emperors in theſe Points; but the *Wiſi-Goths* had obſerv'd but little Diſtinction in their external Pomp. *Reccaredus*, his Son, profeſs'd the *Catholick* Faith, immediately upon his Acceſſion to the Throne, and was follow'd by the *Goths*, as well as the Reſidue of *Arians* among the *Suevi* (4). *Ariamirus* had already re-introduc'd the *Catholick* Religion among the latter, and *Leovigild* had likewiſe given great Indulgences to the *Wiſi-Goths*, inſomuch, that now there wanted little more to unite the Minds of the People, as well in Point of Faith, as Obedience. At the Council of *Toledo*, the King produced the Articles of his Faith: to which he, and the Queen, the Biſhops, and ſome Nobles ſubſcrib'd: And here we find, at the ſame Time, what was then the real Difference between the *Catholicks* and *Arians*. In this Aſſembly, wholſom Meaſures were likewiſe taken, to regulate this, as it were, new Church; and, together with the Unity of Faith, to introduce an Uniformity in Rites and Ceremonies, which the Vulgar generally moſt regard (5). This Converſion was not only diſtinguiſh'd by having been brought to paſs without Perſecution; but was likewiſe the beſt Method of gaining the

§ XXIII. (1) *Of this ſee the Annotation concerning the Kings of the* Svevi.

(2) ISIDORUS *in Chron. Goth.* In legibus quoque ea, quæ ab Eurico incondita conſtituta videbantur, correxit, plurimas leges prætermiſſas adjiciens, pleraſque ſuperfluas auferens,

(3) IBID. Primuſque inter ſuos regali veſte opertus ſolio reſedit. Nam ante eum & habitus & conſeſſus communis, ut genti, ita & Regibus erat.

(4) *In the* ACT. CONC. TOLETAN. III. *the King is introduc'd, as ſaying:* Adeſt enim omnis gens Gothorum inclita, & fere omnium gentium genuina virilitate opinata, quæ licet ſuorum pravitate Doctorum, a fidei hactenus, vel unitate fuerit Eccleſiæ Catholicæ ſegregata, toto nunc tamen mecum aſſenſu concordans, ejus eccleſiæ communioni participatur: *And further:* Quin imo & Suevorum gentis infinita multitudo, quam præſidio cœleſti noſtro Regno ſubjecimus, alieno licet in hæreſin deductam vitio, noſtro tamen ad veritatis originem ſtudio revocavimus.

(5) ACTA CONCIL. TOLETAN. III. *ap.* AGUIRRE. *T.* II. *p.* 338.

entire Affection of the Provinces. *Leander*, Biſhop of *Sevil*, who con-
† § XVII. tributed greatly thereto, had before, during his Stay at *Conſtantinople* †, eſtabliſh'd a cloſe Intimacy with *Gregorius* (6), who then reſided there, as *Reſponſalis* from Pope *Pelagius*; but, about this Time, was himſelf made Pope. His Joy was the greater, as he could now ſend him an Account of theſe plentiful Fruits of his Labours: And nothing can be more worthy our Attention, than *Gregory*'s Anſwer, with which, at the ſame Time, he ſent him the *Pallium* (7). By another Letter of the Pope's, it appears, the King deſir'd him to procure for him, from *Conſtantinople*, the Treaty *Juſtinian* had made with *Athanagild*. *Gregory* tells him, that all *Juſtinian*'s Archives were conſum'd by Fire, and that the King ought not in Prudence to ſearch after a Treaty, which would, perhaps, not prove the moſt to his own Advantage (8). The *Franconian* War was, indeed, continu'd in *Septimania*, by *Guntram*, King of *Burgundy* (9), But *Claudius*, Duke of *Luſitania*, defeated the *Franconian* Army near *Carcaſſone*, *A.* 589 (10), and we find no Account of any Action after that. *Reccaredus* was, on the contrary, reconcil'd to *Childebert*, and apply'd to him for *Clodoſuinth*, his other Sifter, without any farther Regard to *Chilperic*'s Daughter, who led an unhappy Life with Queen *Fredegund*. The King and *Brunehild*, his Mother, at firſt pretended, that nothing could be concluded without *Guntram*'s Conſent. This Prince, indeed, at laſt approv'd of the Match (11), but whether

(6) Gregor. *in præf. expoſitione in Jobum:* Dudum Te, frater beatiſſime, in Conſtantinopolitana Urbe cognoſcens, cum me illic Sedis Apoſtolicæ reſponſa conſtringerent, & Te illuc injuncta pro cauſis fidei Wiſigothorum legatio perduxiſſet, omne in Tuis auribus, quod mihi de me diſplicebat, expoſui, *&c.*

(7) Gregor. M. *L.* 9. 121.

(8) Ibid. *L.* 9. *ep.* 122. Ante longum tempus dulciſſima mihi veſtra Excellentia, Neapolitano quodam juvene veniente, mandare curaverat, ut piiſſimo Imperatori ſcriberem, quatenus pacta in Chartophylacio requireret, quæ dudum inter piæ memoriæ Juſtinianum principem, & jura regni veſtri fuerant, emiſſa, ut ex his colligeret, quid vobis ſervare debuiſſet. Sed ad hoc faciendum duæ res mihi vehementer obſtiterunt. Una, quia Chartophylacium, prædicti piæ memoriæ Juſtiniani principis tempore, ita, ſurripiente ſubito flamma, incenſum eſt, ut omnino ex ejus temporibus pene nulla charta remaneret. Alia autem, quia, quod nulli dicendum eſt, ea, quæ contra te ſunt, apud temetipſum debes documenta requirere, atque hæc pro me in medium proferre. Ex qua re hortor, ut veſtra Excellentia ſuis moribus congrua diſponat, &, quæquæ ad pacem pertinent, ſtudioſe peragat, ut regni veſtri tempora, per longa ſint annorum curricula in magna laude memoranda.

(9) *That the War in* Septimania *was renew'd,* A. 589, *is demonſtrated in particular by* Pagius, ad *A.* 589, n. 9, 11.

(10) Jo. Biclariensis, in Chron. *repreſents the Overthrow of the* Franks, *as very great.* Gregor. *confeſſes,* L. 9. c. 31. *that* 5000 *Men were kill'd, and* 2000 *taken Priſoners.*

(11) Gregor. *L.* 9. *c.* 20.

it

it was actually consummated, is uncertain. *Reccaredus* may, in a Manner, be esteem'd the second Founder of the *Wisi-Gothick* Monarchy. He assum'd the Name of *Flavius*, which the Kings of the *Ostro-Goths* in *Italy*, and likewise, about this Time, *Autharis*, King of the *Longobards*, bore, probably in Imitation of the *Roman* Emperors (12). We likewise find, that after him, the Kings of the *Wisi-Goths* were anointed and crown'd. His Merits in the Cause of Religion occasion'd, among other Encomiums, his being stil'd *Christianissimus* and *Catholicus*, which latter was afterwards appropriated to the Kings of *Spain*, as a Title of Honour. According to *Isidorus* (13), there could be no Character drawn more excellent, than this Prince deserv'd: And *Spain* has had Reason to extol, in this *Wisi-Gothick* Prince, those very Virtues, for which *Trajan* and *Theodosius*, both *Spaniards* by Birth, were so highly esteem'd by the whole *Roman* Empire.

§ XXIV. THE Arms of the Emperor and of the *Longobards* now resounded throughout *Italy*. *Mauritius* prepared for a vigorous Attack on the latter, and Pope *Pelagius*, II, left no Stone unturn'd to encourage this his Zeal (1). The *Longobards* easily perceiv'd, that they would be enabled to make a better Resistance, under the Command of a King, and elected *Autharis* the Son of *Clephas*, who assum'd the Name of *Flavius*, which the Kings of the *Ostro-Goths* had likewise, in former Times, born. The Dukes resign'd one half of their Estates, that the King might be

History of the *Longobards*. *Autharis* becomes King, *&c.*

(12) BLONDELLUS in Assert. Geneal. Franc. p. 425 seq. *treats at large of the Use and Signification of the Name* Flavius.

(13) ISIDORUS *in Chron. Goth.* Provincias autem pater prælio conquisivit, iste pace conservavit, æquitate disposuit, moderamine rexit. Fuit autem placidus, mitis, egregiæ bonitatis, tantamque in vulgus gratiam habuit, & tantam in animo benignitatem gessit, ut, in omnium mentibus influens, etiam malos ad affectum sui amoris adtraheret: adeo liberalis, ut opes privatorum, ecclesiarum prædia direpta a patre, & fisco adsociata, juri proprio restitueret. Adeo quoque clemens fuit, ut populi tributa sæpe indulgentiæ largitione donaret. Multos etiam ditavit rebus, plurimos sublimavit honoribus, opes suas in miseris, thesauros suos in egenis recondens, sciens ad hoc illi fuisse collatum regnum, ut eo salubriter uteretur, bonis initiis bonum finem adeptus.

§ XXIV. (1) PELAGIUS *writes to* Gregory *his* Responsalis *at Court*: *T. V. Council. Labb. p.* 939. Loquimini ergo, & tractate pariter, quomodo nostris possitis celeriter subvenire periculis: quia ita hic coangustata est respublica, ut nisi Deus piissimi in corde principis inspiraverit, ut insitam sibi misericordiam suis famulis largiatur, & super illam Diacoposin, vel unum magistrum militum, & unum ducem dignetur concedere, in omni sumus angustia destituti: quia maxime partes Romanæ omni præsidio vacuatæ videntur, Exarchus scribit, nullum nobis posse remedium facere: quippe qui nec ad illas partes custodiendas se testatur posse sufficere. Imperet ergo illi Dominus nostris velociter periculis subvenire, antequam nefandissimæ gentis exercitus loca, quæ adhuc a republica detinentur, Deo sibi contrario, quod absit, prævaleant occupare. *The Letter is dated* IV. Non. Octobr. Indict. III.

provided

provided with a proper Revenue: And a more favourable Partition was made in Regard to the ancient Land-Proprietors (2). It is at all Hands allow'd, that *Autharis* laid, as it were, a freſh Foundation for the Eſtabliſhment of the Kingdom of the *Longobards*. And here the Regulation of *Feodal Tenures*, which contains a Part of their Polity, is particularly remarkable: By Virtue of this, their Kings had a continual Army in Readineſs, without Expences; and Perſons of all Ranks, in the Nation, fought the more bravely, as they had a Kind of Property in the Lands of the Kingdom they were to defend. The Emperor enter'd into a Treaty with the King of *Auſtraſia*, againſt the *Longobards*. This King had ſtill ſome Claim on *Italy*, in Reſpect to thoſe Places, which King *Theodebert* had taken; and now he had particular Cauſe to ſollicit the Emperor's Friendſhip, ſince that Court had ſided with *Hermenegild* in *Spain*, and Queen *Ingundis*, *Childebert*'s Siſter, remain'd with her Son in the Hands of the *Imperialiſts*. Several Letters, relating to thoſe Treaties, are ſtill extant (3). *Childebert*, in his Letter, ſtiles the Emperor *Dominus glorioſus ac ſemper Auguſtus*, and *Pater*. The Beginning of the Emperor's Letter, on the other Hand, runs thus: *In Nomine Domini Noſtri Jeſu Chriſti, Imperator Cæſar Flavius Mauritius Tiberius, Fidelis in Chriſto, Manſuetus, Maximus, Beneficus, Pacificus, Alemannicus, Gothicus, Anticus, Vandalicus, Erulicus, Gepidicus, Africanus, Pius, Felix, Inclitus, Victor ac Triumphator, ſemper Anguſtus, Childeberto, Viro glorioſo, Regi Francorum.* The King is neither ſtil'd *Lord*, nor *Son*, and *Mauritius* concludes only with the Compliment, which the Emperors uſually paid to the *Præfecti Prætorii*, *Magiſtri Militiæ* and *Patricii*: *Divinitas te ſervet per multos annos, parens cariſſime, atque amantiſſime.* *Childebert* went himſelf to *Italy*, *A.* 584, being then about fourteen Years of Age: But the *Longobards* made ſuch advantageous Offers, that they prevail'd on him to go back (4). The Emperor exclaim'd greatly againſt this Conduct, and demanded

(2) Paulus, *L.* 3. *c.* 16. Hujus in diebus ob reſtaurationem regni, duces, qui tunc erant, omnem ſubſtantiarum ſuaram medietatem regalibus uſibus tribuunt, ut eſſe poſſet, unde Rex ipſe, ſive qui ei adhærerent, ejuſque obſequiis per diverſa officia dediti, alerentur. Populi tamen aggravati pro Longobardis hoſpitia partiuntur. *I ſhall elſewhere take Occaſion to treat of the Origin of theſe Tenures.*

(3) Ap. Du Chesne. T. I. ep. 25. ſ.

(4) Gregor. *L.* 6. *c.* 42. Childebertus vero Rex in Italiam abiit. Quod cum audiſſent Longobardi, timentes ne ab ejus exercitu cæderentur, ſubdiderunt ſe ditioni ejus, multa ei dantes munera ac promittentes, ſe parti ejus eſſe fideles atque ſubjectos: patratiſque cum his omnibus quæ voluit Rex, in Gallias eſt regreſſus, atque exercitum commoveri præcepit, quem in Hiſpaniam dirigi juſſit, ſed quievit. Ab Imperatore autem Mauritio ante hos annos quinquaginta millia ſolidorum acceperat, ut Longobardos de Italia extruderet. Audito autem Imperator, quod cum his in pace conjunctus eſt pecuniam repetebat: ſed hic, fidus a ſolatiis, ne reſponſum quidem pro hac re voluit reddere.

manded

manded the 50,000 Guilders of Gold, which he had disburs'd on this Account, to be reſtored: Now as the Emperor's Friendſhip was expedient on Account of Queen *Ingundis*, and *Athanagild* her Son, *Childebert* ſent a freſh Army into *Italy*, the next Year †: But it ſerv'd to no End, becauſe the Commanders of it were divided (5). Hereupon an amicable Treaty was again ſet on Foot with *Authoris*, and an Offer was even made him of *Clodoſuinth*, King *Childebert*'s Siſter, in Marriage: But the Face of Affairs was ſuddenly chang'd, when *Reccaredus*, King of the *Wiſi-Goths*, was ſoon after reconcil'd to the Court of *Auſtraſia*, and demanded the ſame Princeſs; whereupon the Negotiation with the *Longobards* was laid aſide, and a freſh Treaty was concluded with the Emperor (6). *Authoris*, on the other Hand fix'd his Views on this Friendſhip with the *Bavarians*, whoſe Frontiers join'd with his, and was betroth'd to *Theodelinda*, Duke *Garibald's* Daughter (7). The *Franks* declar'd War againſt the Duke, in Order to prevent this Match; for they were apprehenſive the *Bavarians* would build ſo much on this new Alliance, as to caſt off the *Franconian* Yoke themſelves. *Theodelinda* fled, with *Gundobald*, her Brother, to her intended Spouſe, who was coming

† *A.* 585.

(5) Gregor. *L.* 8. *c.* 18. Childebertus vero Rex compellentibus miſſis Imperialibus, qui aurum, quod anno ſuperiore datum fuerat, requirebat, exercitum in Italiam dirigit. Sonus enim erat, ſororem ſuam Ingundem jam Conſtantinopolin fuiſſe tranſlatam. Sed cum duces inter ſe altercarentur, regreſſi ſunt, ſine ullius lucri conquiſitione. Paulus Diaconus *repeats this Relation*, L. 3. c. 22. *How ſtrongly the Court of* Auſtraſia *in particular endeavour'd to prevail on the Emperor, to deliver to them the* Gothick *Prince* Athanagild, *appears from the Letters cited in* Du Cheſne. *Among the Reſt we find one of* Brunehild, ep. 34. *to the Empreſs* Anaſtraſia, Mauritius's *Mother-in Law, in which are the following Words.* Et quia, Auguſta tranquiliſſima, caſu faciente parvuli nepotis mei didicit peregrinare infantia, & ipſa innocentia annis teneris cœpit eſſe captiva, rogo per Redemtorem omnium gentium, ſic vobis non videatis ſubtrahi piiſſimum Theodoſium, nec ab amplexu matris dulcis filius ſeparetur, ſic veſtra lumina ſemper exhilaret ſua præſentia, ſimul & matris viſera Auguſto delectentur de partu; ut jubeatis agere favente Chriſto qualiter meum recipere merear parvulum, in amplexu ut refrigerentur viſcera, quæ de nepotis abſentia graviſſimo dolore ſuſpirant: ut, quæ amiſi filiam, vel dulce pignus ex ipſa quod mihi remanſit non perdam; & quæ de morte generi crucior, per vos cito exhilarer nepote redeunte captivo.

(6) Idem, *L.* 9. *c.* 25. Igitur Childebertus Rex cum petentibus Longobardis, ſororem ſuam Regi eorum eſſe conjugem acceptis muneribus promiſiſſet; advenientibus Gothorum legatis ipſam, eo quod gentem illam ad fidem Catholicam converſam fuiſſe cognoſceret, repromiſit: ac legationem ad Imperatorem direxit, ut quod prius non fecerat, nunc contra Longobardorum gentem debellans, cum ejus conſilio, eos ab Italia removeret: Nihilominus & exercitum ſuum ad regionem ipſam capeſſendam direxit. Commotis ducibus cum exercitu illuc abeuntibus, confligunt pariter: ſed noſtris valde cæſis, multi proſtrati, nonnulli capti, plurimi etiam per fugam lapſi, vix in patriam redierunt; tantaque ibi fuit ſtrages de Francorum exercitu, ut olim ſimilis non recolatur. Paul. Diaconus *relates the ſame*, L. 3. c. 27, 28.

(7) Paul. Diaconus, *L.* 3. *c.* 29.

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to fetch her, and met her below *Verona* (8). History affords us no farther Account of what happen'd then in *Bavaria*, nor of *Garibald*'s ensuing Fate. We only find, that about *A.* 595, *Childebert* created *Taſſilo*, Duke, or, as *Paulus Diaconus* calls him, King of *Bavaria*, and that he ſoon after ſignaliz'd his Valour againſt the *Sclavi*, who inhabited the adjoining Country of *Carniola* (9).

Childebert ſends Troops into *Italy*, but in vain.

§ XXV. *CHILDEBERT*, tho' he could not prevail on his Kinſman, the King of *Burgundy*, to ſend Auxiliaries againſt the *Longobards* (1); nevertheleſs ſent another Army into *Italy*, *A.* 588. But it was defeated by the *Longobards* (2), and King *Authari* amus'd *Childebert* for ſome Time with fruitleſs Negotiations (3). It was hop'd, that the Expedition of *A.* 590, would have been the more ſucceſsful, as *Romanus* the *Exarchus* of *Ravenna*, at the ſame Time, fell upon the *Longobards* on the other Side. The *Franconian* Troops were headed by twenty general Officers, among whom *Andovald* and *Chedinus* were the Chief. They march'd through *Rætia* in the following Manner: *Andovald* paſs'd over Mount St. *Gotthard*'s and *Belizone*, towards *Liguria*; and *Chedinus* took his Way thro' *Chur* and *Chiavenna* to *Venetia*. The latter took ſeveral Places

(8) IBID. Denique poſt aliquod tempus, cum propter Francorum adventum, perturbatio Garibaldo Regi adveniſſet, Theudelinda ejus filia cum ſuo germano, nomine Gundoald, ad Italiam confugit, ſeque adventare Authari ſponſo nuntiavit. Cui ſtatim ille obviam cum magno apparatu, nuptias celebraturus, in campo Sardis, qui ſupra Verònam eſt, occurrens, eandem cunctis lætantibus in conjugium Idus Maias accepit. *(A.* 589.*)*

(9) IDEM, *L.* 4. *c.* 7. His diebus Taſſilo a Childeberto, Rege Francorum, apud Bajoariam Rex ordinatus eſt, qui mox cum exercitu in Sclavorum provinciam introiens, patrata victoria, ad ſolum proprium cum maxima præda remeavit.

§ XXV. (1) GREGOR. L. 9. c. 20. Childebert's *Ambaſſador makes the following Entreaty to the King of* Burgundy: Deprecatur etiam pietatem veſtram, ut ei ſolatium contra Longobardos tribuatis, qualiter expulſi de Italia, pars illa quam genitor ſuus vindicavit vivens, ad eum revertatur; reliqua vero pars per veſtrum ſuumque ſolatium, Imperatoris ditionibus reſtituatur. *But the King reply'd:* Non poſſum in Italiam exercitum meum dirigere, ut ultro eos morti tradam. Graviſſima enim lues Italiam nunc devaſtat.

(2) *See* § XXIV. not. 6.

(3) GREGORIUS *relates theſe Negotiations*, L. 9. c. 22. Interea Childebertus, Rex, exercitum commovet, & in Italiam ad debellandam Longobardorum gentem, cum eiſdem pergere parat. Sed Longobardi his auditis legatos cum muneribus mittunt, dicentes: Sit amicitia inter nos, & non pereamus, ac diſſolvamus certum ditioni Tuæ tributum. Ac ubicunque neceſſarium contra inimicos fuerit, ferre auxilium non pigebit. Hæc Childebertus, Rex, audiens, ad Guntchramnum, Regem, legatos dirigit, qui ea, quæ ab his offerebatur, in ejus auribus intimarent. Sed ille non obvius de hac conniventia, conſilium ad confirmandam pacem præbuit. Childebertus vero, Rex, juſſit exercitum in loco reſidere, miſitque legatos ad Longobardos, ut ſi, quæ promiſerant, confirmarent, exercitus reverteret ad propria; ſed minime eſt impletum.

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in the Country about *Trent*, and the River *Adige*: But *Autharis* was retreated into *Pavia*, and had order'd his Subjects to repair with their Cattle and Provisions into the fortify'd Places, and to avoid all Occasions of coming to a Battle. The Consequence happen'd to answer his Wishes. The unusual Inclemency of the Weather, and slender Accommodations, caus'd the *Franks* to return by Swarms (4). *Romanus*, on the other Hand, had taken *Modena*, *Mantua* and *Altino*; But when he propos'd to *Chedinus*, to besiege *Pavia* with their united Forces, this General had already made a Truce with the *Longobards*, for ten Months; by Virtue of which, some Places on the Confines of *Rætia*, which 'till then, had been in Dispute, were to remain in the Hands of the *Franks*. *Romanus* made heavy Remonstrances to the King, as well on Account of this Truce, as that the *Franks* had committed great Depredations, wherever they came, tho' as Friends, had consum'd their Edifices by Fire, and dragg'd the Inhabitants into Captivity (5). In another Letter, he relates, that the Dukes of *Reggio*, *Parma* and *Piacenza* were come to him to *Mantua*, and, fearing a Siege, had subjected themselves to the Emperor; and begs, at the same Time, that another Army may be sent into *Italy* before the Harvest (6).

§ XXVI. *AUTHARIS*, on the other Hand, endeavour'd to have the Truce converted to a lasting Peace; and entreated the Mediation of *Guntram*, King of *Burgundy* (1). He died indeed the same Year (2); but *Agilulf*, King of the *Longobards*. A Peace with the *Franks*.

(4) *Of this Expedition see* Gregor. *L.* 10. *c.* 3. *who concludes his Relation thus*: Per tres menses Italiam pervagantes cum nihil proficerent, neq; se de inimicis ulcisci possent, eo quod se in locis communissent firmissimis, neque Regem capere, de quo ultio fieret, qui se infra Ticinenses munierat muros, infirmatus ærum intemperantia exercitus, ac fame attritus, redire ad propria distinavit, subdens etiam illud, acceptis sacramentis, Regis ditionibus, quod pater ejus prius habuerat, de quibus locis & captivos & alias abduxere prædas. Et sic regredientes ita fame conficiebantur, ut prius & arma & vestimenta ad cœmendum victum demerent, quam locum genitalem contingerent. *We must here have Recourse to* Paul. Diacon. L. 3. c. 30, *and to the two Letters of the* Exarchus *cited in the Sequel.*

(5) Ep. 39. apud Du Chesne.

(6) Ibid. ep. 40.

§ XXVI. (1) Gregor. *L.* 10. *c.* 3. Longobardorum Rex legationem ad Guntchramnum Regem cum hujuscemodi verbis direxit: Nos, piissime Rex, subjecti atque fideles vobis, gentique vestræ, sicut patribus vestris, fuimus, & esse defideramus. Nunc autem desistite a persecutione nostra, & sit pax nobis, & concordia, ut, ubi necessarium fuerit, contra inimicos auxilium præbeamus, ut vestra scilicet nostraque gente salvata, ac nos pacificos cognoscentes, terreantur magis adversarii, qui in circuitu obstrepunt, de amicitia, quam de nostra discordia gratulentur. Pacifice hæc Guntchramnus Rex verba suscepit, misitque eos ad nepotem suum, Childebertum Regem.

(2) Autharis *had before, by an Edict, prohibited the* Longobards *to baptize their Children as Catholicks.*

but the Negotiations were nevertheless continued. The *Longobards* so highly esteem'd Queen *Theodelinda*, that they declar'd they would acknowledge for their King, whomsoever she should chuse for her Consort. This Honour was conferr'd on *Agiluff*, Duke of *Turin*, a Relation of her first Husband (3), who was proclaim'd King, at an Assembly of the whole Nation, at *Milan*, in following Year 591, in the Month of *May* (4). He sent *Eovinus*, Duke of *Trent*, to the *Franconian* Court, to conclude the Peace; and, at the same Time, *Agnellus*, Bishop of that Place, to redeem those Prisoners whom the *Franks* had carried into Captivity. Queen *Brunehild* had already releas'd many of them out of her own Purse (5). The Articles of the Peace are not particularly handed down to us in History: But we may conclude from the Circumstances the *Franks* and *Longobards*, were then in, and from the Regard which was had to this Peace, that the Terms were very equitable. And we need not wonder, that this War was discontinu'd. *Childebert* acted almost in the same Manner with *Mauritius*, as *Theodebert* had before done with *Justinian*. Had the Emperor obtain'd a quiet Possession of *Italy*, the *Franks* would not have been secure: And since of five Expeditions, four had proved unsuccessful, the latter had but little Prospect of making any Conquests of themselves. The *Franks* were, after this, so deeply engag'd at Home, that none of their Kings, 'till *Pipin*'s Time, interpos'd in the Affairs of *Italy*.

Continuation of the War between the *Exarchus* and the *Longobards*.

§ XXVII. But had the *Longobards* paid never so dear for their Peace with the *Franks*, it would have answer'd their End; since now they had their Hands free to act against the Emperor. The *Exarchus* had taken from them *Perugia*, and some other Places (1): However, the King not only re-took *Perugia*; but carried his Forces to *Rome* itself. *Gregory* I, then Pope, whom the Church surnam'd the *Great*, was descended from a noble Family in *Rome*, and before he embraced an Ecclesiastical Life had

licks. Pope Gregory *mentions this*, L. 1. c. 17. *ad universos Episcopos Italiæ:* Quoniam nefandissimus Autharis in hac, quæ nuper expleta est, Paschale solemnitate, Longobardorum filios in fide catholica baptizari prohibuit: pro qua culpa eum divina majestas extinxit, ut solemnitatem Paschæ ulterius non videret, vestram fraternitatem decet cunctos per loca vestra Longobardos admonere; ut, quia ubique gravis mortalitas imminet, eosdem filios suos in Ariana hæresi baptizatos, ad catholicam fidem concilient, quatenus super eos iram Domini omnipotentis placent.

(3) Paulus, L. 3. c. 34.

(4) Ibid. Congregatis in unum Longobardis, postea mense Maio, ab omnibus in regnum apud Mediolanum levatus est.

(5) Idem, L. 4. c. 1.

(6) Fredegarius *relates some Circumstances of this Peace, which I mention'd above,* § VIII. not. 8. *He is follow'd by* F. Daniel, p. 237. *But I have already shewn, in the same Passage, how uncertain this is.*

§ XVIII. (1) *About* A. 592.

possess'd

poſſeſs'd great Offices in the State *. How little ſoever remain'd of the ancient Conſtitution of the *Roman Empire* in *Italy*, yet he made Uſe of this Name (2), for the Benefit of his Country; eſpecially when the *Exarchus* happen'd to be dilatory (3). He was employ'd in expounding the Prophecy of *Ezekiel*, in his Sermons, when the King approach'd the City (4). *Rome* was incapable of ſtanding a long Siege (5). Many Soldiers had been taken from thence to garriſon other Places, and particularly *Narni* and *Perugia*; and Proviſions begun to be ſcarce (6). *Gregorius*, *Præfectus Urbis*, and *Caſtorius Magiſter Militum* neglected indeed no-

* *Conf. La vie de S. Gregoire, par le P. de* SAINTE-MARTHE, *p. 6. ſ.*

(2) *The Word* Reſpublica *is uſ'd by the* Greek *and* Latin *Writers of this Time to denote the* Roman *Empire.*

(3) *An Inſtance of this we ſee in his Letter to* Conſtantine, *Biſhop of* Milan, *L. 4. ep. 2.* Si autem videritis, quia cum Patritio nihil facit Ago, Longobardorum Rex, de nobis ei promittite, quia paratus ſum in cauſa ipſius impendere, ſi ipſe utiliter aliquid cum republica voluerit ordinare.

(4) *Hom. in Ezech.* 22. Nemo autem me reprehendat, ſi poſt hanc locutionem ceſſavero, quia ſicut omnes cernitis, noſtræ tribulationes excreverunt. Undique gladiis circumfuſi ſumus, undique imminens mortis periculum timemus. Alii detruncatis ad nos manibus redeunt, alii capti, alii interempti nunciantur. Jam cogor linguam ab expoſitione retinere: quia tædet animam vitæ meæ. *He ſays, moreover, in præf. ad L.* 11. *ſup. Ezech.* Quia multis curis prementibus Ezechielis, Prophetæ, librum coram charitate veſtra totum per ordinem perſcrutari non licuit; bonis deſideriis placuit parere, ut ſaltem extrema ejus viſio, quæ ei facta eſt de ædificio in monte conſtituto, quæ & cunctis eſt viſionibus ejus obſcurior, exponi debuiſſet. Et quidem voluntati veſtræ me parere neceſſe eſt. Sed duo ſunt, quæ hac in re perturbant animum meum, unum, quod hæc eadem viſio tantæ obſcuritatis nebulis tegitur, ut vix in ea aliquid intellectu interlucente videatur. Aliud, quod jam Agilulfum, Longobardorum Regem, ad obſidionem noſtram ſummopere feſtinantem, Padum tranſiſſe cognovimus; unde penſate, fratres chariſſimi, in caliginoſis & myſticis ſenſibus penetrare quid valeat mens miſera, timoris ſui perturbationibus occupata. *He complains,* L. 5. ep. 4. *of having himſelf ſeen the* Roman *Subjects dragg'd into Slavery by the* Longobards, *with Ropes about their Necks:* Poſt hoc plaga gravior fuit adventus Agilulfi, ita, ut oculis meis cernerem Romanos, more canum, in collis funibus ligatos, qui ad Franciam ducebantur venales.

(5) GREGOR. *L. 5. ep.* 40. Si enim poſſum, has celeriter plagas enumero. Primum, quod mihi pax ſubducta eſt, quam cum Longobardis in Tuſcia poſitis, ſine ullo Reipublicæ diſpendio feceram. Deinde corrupta pace de Romana civitate milites ablati ſunt. Et quidem alii ab hoſtibus occiſi, alii vero Narniis & Peruſii poſiti, &, ut Peruſium teneretur, Roma relicta eſt. *He exclaims againſt the* Exarchus's *ſlender Preparations,* L. 2. ep. 46.

(6) *This appears from the ſame Letter:* Et quia nos, qui intra civitatem fuimus, Deo protegente, manus ejus evaſimus, quæſitum eſt, unde culpabiles eſſe videremur: videlicet cur frumenta defuerint, quæ in hac urbe diu multa ſervari non poſſunt, ſicut in alia ſuggeſtione plenius judicavi.

thing (7): And *Innocentius*, Lieutenant in *Africa*, equipp'd a Fleet for the Service of the diſtreſſed City (8): But nothing prov'd ſo ſerviceable, as a Sum of Mony, whereby the King was prevail'd on to retire, and which the Pope found Means to raiſe. He complains, on this Account, in a Letter to the Empreſs, that he was, as it were, an Under-Paymaſter of the Army (9). The Court, notwithſtanding this, was diſſatisfied with the Pope's Conduct (10); But he exclaim'd much more ſeverely againſt the Oppreſſions, practis'd throughout all *Italy* by the *Imperial* Civil Officers; and, as an Inſtance, obſerv'd, that even the Pagans, in *Corſica*, were permitted, in Conſideration of a certain Sum of Mony, to purſue their Idolatry (11). The Inhabitants of *Rome*, and indeed all *Italy*, muſt undoubtedly have been highly affected, when they ſaw the favourite Courtiers of *Conſtantinople*, and even ſometimes Eunuchs, making their magnificent Entries into *Rome* (12), and, as it were, triumphing over the *Romans* themſelves; when, in general, they were only ſollicitous how to fill their own Purſes. We need not wonder to find, in Times ſo grievous and melancholy, that many retir'd into Monaſteries, for the Sake of Eaſe and Safety; and this was carried ſo far, that the Emperor *Mauritius* prohibited (13) the Admiſſion of any one into a Monaſtery, who was in

(7) Ibid. Sed de glorioſis viris, Gregorio, Præfecto, & Caſtorio, Magiſtro militum, non mediocriter ſum afflictus: quia & omnia, quæ potuerunt fieri, nullo modo facere neglexerunt & labores vigiliarum & cuſtodiæ civitatis, in eadem obſeſſione vehementiſſime pertulerunt, & poſt hæc omnia, gravi dominorum indignatione percuſſi ſunt.

(8) *This appears from a Letter of the Pope's, wherein he thanks him for this Care, and ſays, that there is no farther Occaſion for it:* Cognoſcentes igitur, quale ſtudium in præparandis dromonibus geſſeritis, ſollicitudinem veſtram deſiderato nuntio relevamus, indicantes, cum Longobardorum Rege uſque ad menſem Martium IV. Indictionis de pace, propitiante Domino, conveniſſe.

(9) *L.* 5. *ep.* 21. Viginti autem jam & ſeptem annos ducimus, quod in hac urbe inter Longobardorum gladios vivimus. Quibus quam multa hac ab eccleſia quotidianis diebus erogentur, ut inter eos vivere poſſimus, ſuggerenda non ſunt. Sed breviter indico, quia ſicut in Ravennæ partibus Dominorum Pietas apud exercitum Italiæ ſaccellarium habet, qui, cauſis ſupervenientibus, quotidianas expenſas faciat; ita & in hac urbe in cauſis talibus eorum ſaccellarius ego ſum.

(10) *The Pope vindicates himſelf very warmly,* L. 5. ep. 40. *which begins thus:* In ſereniſſimis juſſionibus ſuis Dominorum Pietas, dum me de quibuſdam redarguere ſtuduit, parcendo mihi minime pepercit. Nam in iis urbane ſimplicitatis vocabulo fatuum me appellat.

(11) *Vid. L.* 5. *ep.* 41.

(12) Sigonius de Regno Italiæ, p. 22, *obſerves, that the* Exarchus *uſually made a ſplendid Entry into* Rome.

(13) *The Pope, indeed, ſent this Order to the Monaſteries, but made preſſing Remonſtrances to the Emperor againſt it,* L. 3. ep. 65. *which he concludes thus:* Ego, qui juſſioni ſubjectus, eandem legem per diverſas terrarum partes tranſmitti feci: & quia lex ipſa omnipotenti Deo minime concordat, ecce per ſuggeſtionis meæ paginam ſereniſſimis Dominis nuntiavi. Utrobique ergo, quæ debui, exſolvi, qui & Imperatori obedientiam præbui, & pro Deo, quod ſenſi, minime tacui.

the

the Service of the Publick, or had ever receiv'd any Salary as ſuch *. *Gregory* makes, in particular, heavy Complaints of *Romanus*, then *Exarchus*, and, among other Charges, blames him for refuſing to make Peace with the *Longobards*, tho' his Force was unequal to theirs (14). Beſides this, *John*, Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, gave a freſh Handle to ſet the Emperor and Pope at Variance, by aſſuming the Title of *Epiſcopus Oecumenicus*. *Gregorius* inveigh'd greatly againſt this Innovation, and ſtiled himſelf, on the contrary, *Servus Servorum Dei*: But the Patriarchs of *Conſtantinople* had many Opportunities of inſinuating themſelves into Favour at Court, and of infuſing into the Emperors their Hatred or Diſlike of the Popes. The greater, on the other Hand, was the Renown of *Agilulf*. The good Underſtanding he lived in with the *Abares*, prov'd of great Advantage to him, not only as they cut off the Paſſage of the *Imperial* Troops by Land, to *Italy*, and made Work for them in *Illyricum*; but likewiſe with Regard to the *Franks*, to whom the *Can* ſent a Meſſage, that he would reſent any Hoſtilities they ſhould attempt againſt the *Longobards* (15). At Length, by the Pope's Mediation, a Truce was agreed on, *A.* 599 (16). The Letters (17) are extant, which he wrote on this Subject to the King and Queen. As *Theodelinda* had contributed greatly thereunto, the Pope exhorts her to cheriſh in her Huſband a peaceable Diſpoſition towards the *Romans*, and to repreſent to him the Benefit he might expect from a more cloſe Alliance with them (18). *Callinicus*, the *Exarchus*, without any Provocation, again broke

* IBID. In qua lege ſubjunctum eſt, ut nulli, QUI IN MANU SIGNATUS EST, converti liceat. Vegetius *obſerves, that the Soldiers were mark'd in the Arm, or Hand. He ſays*, L. 2. c. 5. Victuris in cute punctis milites ſcripti, & inſerti jurare ſolent. *We find, likewiſe, Traces thereof*, L. 3. *Cod. de Fabricenſ.* Stigmata (hoc eſt nota publica) Fabricenſium brachiis, ad imitationem Tyronum infligantur, ut hoc ſaltim modo poſſint latitantes agnoſci.

(14) GREGORIUS *complains on this Head*, L. 2. ep. 46. *And* L. 5. ep. 42. *he writes to a Biſhop, who was very intimate with the* Exarchus: Quæ, frater ſanctiſſime, de amici veſtri, Domini Romani, perſona in hac terra patimur, loqui minime valemus. Breviter tamen dico, quia ejus in nos malitia gladios Longobardorum vicit; ita, ut benigniores videantur hoſtes, qui nos interimunt, quam Reipublicæ judices, qui nos malitia ſua, rapinis atque fallaciis, in cogitatione conſumunt.

(15) PAULUS, *L.* 4. *c.* 25. Hac tempeſtate Agilulfi legati egreſſi a Cacano pacem perpetuam factam cum Abaribus nuntiarunt. Legatus quoque Cacani cum eis adveniens, ad Gallias perrexit, denuntians Francorum Regibus, ut ſicut cum Avaribus, ita pacem habeant cum Longobardis.

(16) PAULUS, *L.* 4. *c.* 13. *add.* GREGORIUS, *L.* 9. *ep.* 98.

(17) *L.* 9. *ep.* 42. *and* 43.

(18) IBID. *ep.* 43. Salutantes vos præterea paterna dilectione hortamur, ut apud excellentiſſimum

broke with the King, by invading *Parma* (19), and carrying *Godschalc*, the Duke, with his Consort, who was the King's Daughter, Captives to *Ravenna* (20). *Agilulf*, on the other Hand, destroy'd *Padua*, and many of the Inhabitants fled to *Venice* for Safety (21). He likewise took *Monsilice* (22), *Cremona* and *Mantua*, with the Assistance of some *Sclavi*, sent him by the Can of the *Abares* (23). A fresh Cessation of Arms was thereupon concluded. *Agilulf* admitted *Adelwald*, his Son, *A.* 605, to a Partnership in the Government (24), and reign'd, with great Glory, 'till the Year 616.

Of Queen *Theodelinda*.

§ XXVIII. *Theodelinda*, his Consort, was no less famous, than he (1). She left an excellent Monument to the Kingdom of the *Longobards*, in the Palace, which she built at *Mozza* †, near *Milan*. She there caus'd those Exploits, whereby the *Longobards* had gain'd most Renown, to be represented in Paintings, which were yet in Being, in the Time of *Paulus* (2), and thereby gradually instill'd in that unpolish'd Nation a Love of those Arts, which perpetuate the Memory of glorious Deeds, and, at the same Time, excite in the Spectator a Desire of imitating them. There likewise she built in Honour of S. *John*, the Baptist, whom the *Longobards* rever'd as their Tutelar-Saint, that famous Church, wherein several *German* Emperors were crown'd afterwards, as Kings of *Italy*. Diverse Things are still preserv'd there, in Memory of her, and, among

† *Modoecia.*

mum conjugem vestrum ita agatis, quatenus Christianæ Reipublicæ societatem non rejiciat. Nam sicut & vos scire credimus, multis modis est utile, si se ad ejus amicitiam conferre voluerit. Vos ergo more vestro, quæ ad gratiam & conciliationem partim pertinent, semper studete, atque, ubi causa mercedis se dederit, laborate, ut bona vestra amplius ante omnipotentis Dei oculos commendetis.

(19) PAULUS, *L.* 4. *c.* 21.

(20) IDEM, *L.* 4. *c.* 24.

(21) DANDOL. *in Chronic.*

(22) PAULUS, *L.* 4. *c.* 26.

(23) IDEM, *L.* 4. *c.* 29. Agilulfus, Rex, egressus Mediolano, mense Julio, obsedit civitatem Cremonensem cum Sclavis, quos ei Cacanus, Rex Avarorum, in solatium miserat, & cepit eam XII. Kal. Septembris & ad solum usque destruxit. Pari etiam modo expugnavit Mantuam, & interruptis muris ejus cum arietibus, dans veniam militibus, qui erant in ea, revertendi Ravennam, ingressus in eam die Iduum Septembrium. (*A.* 603.)

(24) IDEM, *L.* 4. *c.* 31. Levatus est Adoaldus, Rex super Longobardos apud Mediolanum in circo, in præsentia patris sui, Agilulfi, Regis, adstantibus legatis Theudeberti, Regis Francorum.

§ XXVIII. (1) F. ALEXIUS DE LEDESMA *wrote a particular Treatise concerning this Queen, but it has very much the Appearance of a Romance: After him* Zucchio *wrote her History.*

(2) PAULUS, *L.* 3. *c.* 23. Ibi etiam præfata Regina suum palatium condidit, in quo aliquid & de Longobardorum gestis depingi fecit, &c.

others,

others, a Crown of Gold, which is ſaid to have been given by King *Agilulf* (3); but in particular the Crown, call'd the Iron Crown, which was formerly us'd at the Coronation of the *German* Emperors in *Italy*. It is made of pure Gold, without any Alloy: A Ring of Iron ſurrounds the Inſide, which is ſaid to have been forg'd from a Nail of our Saviour's Croſs, and thence it is call'd the Iron Crown: But we cannot well give Credit to the Hiſtorians of *Milan*, when they pretend, that *Theodelinda* appropriated it for the Coronation of their Kings *. This Queen is generally extoll'd for having wrought the Converſion of her Husband (5); and, in this Reſpect, might be compar'd to *Clotildis*, Queen of the *Franks*, and *Ingundis*, Wife of *Hermenegild*, King of the *Wiſi-Goths*. This, however, is not yet fully prov'd, and it is much more probable, that *Agilulf* remain'd in the Community of the *Arians* (6(, tho' he did

(3) FONTANINI de Corona Ferrea Langobard. c. 9. *We there read theſe Words:* AGILULF. GRAT. DI. VIR GLOR. REX TOTIUS ITAL. SCO. JOHANNI BAPTISTE IN ECCLESIA MODICA. *I doubt whether this Inſcription is ſo ancient, as it is pretended to be.*

(4) *This is affirmed not only by* Zucchio, *but even by* Sigonius *de Regn. Ital.* p. 27. Loco inde acceſſit dignitas, poſtquam corona, de qua dixi, ferrea ibi cuſtodiri, atque ea ibi coronari Reges ſunt cœpti. Sic enim Mediolanenſes produnt annales, Mediolanenſem Archiepiſcopum eo jure a Gregorio Pont. decoratum, ut vacante Italiæ Regno, ipſe poſt XIV dies ſuffraganeorum ſuorum concilium advocaret, atque ex eorum ſententia regem conſtitueret, eumque corona ferrea, a Theodelinda inſtituta, Modœtiæ redimeret. Quod jus a Rege ullo Longobardorum uſurpatum, Paulus nuſquam oſtendit. Imo morem eis fuiſſe ait, ut haſtam Regi declarato porrigerent. Verum ne auctoritatem prorſus Mediolanenſibus abrogem, illud facit, quod coronam hanc ferream poſt Carolum Magnum omnibus Italiæ Regibus video deinceps fuiſſe ſolemnem. Et, quod hoc muneris Gregorium Theodelindæ petenti tribuiſſe, non ſit abſonum, vel ut gratiam reginæ referret, cui plurimum ſe debere ipſe in Epiſtolis confitetur; vel ut Archiepiſcopo acceſſionem dignitatis adjungeret, quam ſuperioribus annis Longobardorum immanitate afflictam, proſtratamque fuiſſe, ſentiret.

* Conf. MURATOR. de Cor. Ferr. p. 12. ſeq. *But admitting, that Queen* Theodelinda *gave this Crown, yet it is improbable, that ſhe appropriated it to Coronations; that Ceremony not appearing to have been then in Uſe among the* Longobards. *This Crown is become more famous by the learned Writings of* Fontanini *and* Muratorius.

(5) *We need not wonder to find ſo many modern Writers of this Opinion, ſince* Paulus *was ſo before them,* L. 4. c. 6.

(6) *From* S. Columbanus's *Letter to Pope* Boniface IV, *it appears plainly, that* Agilulf *continued an* Arian. Columbanus *wrote this Letter in Vindication of the* Tria Capitula, *and even at the Inſtances of the ſaid King. To this, in particular, relate the following Paſſages:* Quippe quia non ſine miraculo reor eſſe, quod video: Reges namque Arianam hanc labem in hac diu regione, calcando fidem Catholicam, firmarunt; nunc noſtram rogant roborari fidem. *And elſewhere he ſays:* Dolor namque ſuus *(ſc. Agilulfi)* eſt ſchiſma populi, pro Regina, pro filio, FORTE ET PRO SE IPSO. Fertur enim dixiſſe, SI CERTUM SCIRET, ET IPSE CREDERET.

not

not perſecute the *Catholicks*. But *Adelwald*, her Son, was baptiz'd a *Catholick*, at which Pope *Gregory* expreſs'd an uncommon Joy (7). This Pope cultivated her Friendſhip, with great Aſſiduity, not only by Letters, but likewiſe by ſending her, now and then, his Writings (8), or ſmall Preſents to her Children (9). She ſided with thoſe who refus'd their Conſent to the Repeal of the *Tria Capitula*: The Pope, therefore, proceeded with great Caution in the Point of acknowledging the fifth *Synod* (10).

The Biſhops in *Venetia* and *Iſtria* perſiſt in vindicating the *Tria Capitula*.

§ XXIX. WITH Regard to this laſt Circumſtance, *Gregory* attempted, about the Year 590, to hold a *Synod* at *Rome*, to obtain a Decree there, wholly to reject the *Tria Capitula*, and to acknowledge the fifth Council. He ſummon'd thither *Severus*, Patriarch of *Aquileia*, together with the Biſhops in *Venetia* and *Iſtria*, and referr'd, for that End, to an Edict of the Emperor's (1): But the Biſhops in *Venetia*, who, as I obſerv'd before, ſtill defended the *Capitula*, aſſembled at *Marano*, and ſent their Excuſes to the Emperor (2), that they could not conveniently be abſent from their Churches, becauſe the *Franks* would then find it an eaſy Matter to make themſelves Maſters of ſeveral of them, as

(7) GREGORIUS M. *L.* 14. *ep.* 12. *ad Theodelindam*: ſcripta quæ ad nos dudum a Genuenſibus partibus tranſmiſiſtis, gaudii veſtri nos fecere participes: propterea quod omnipotentis Dei gratia, & filium vobis donatum, & quod valde Excellentiæ veſtræ eſt laudabile, catholicæ eum fidei novimus ſociatum.

(8) PAULUS *obſerves*, L. 4. c. 5. *that the Pope ſent his* Dialogues *to Queen* Theodelinda.

(9) GREGORIUS M. *ſays to the Queen, in the before-cited Letter*, L. 14. ep. 14. Excellentiſſimo autem filio noſtro Adulouvaldo Regi tranſmittere phylacteria curavimus, id eſt, crucem cum ligno ſancto crucis Domini & lectionem St. Evangelii, theca Perſica incluſam, filiæ quoque meæ, ſorori ejus, tres annulos tranſmiſi, duos cum hyacinthis, & unum cum albula: quæ eis per vos peto dari, ut apud eos noſtra caritas, ex veſtra Excellentia condiatur.

(10) *What Contentions this Controverſy ſtill continu'd to make, may be ſeen in* Gregor. L. 4. ep. 3, & 39. Conſtantius, *Biſhop of* Milan, *had been unwilling to deliver, to the Queen, a Letter from the Pope, becauſe Mention was therein made of the fifth* Synod, *which* Juſtinian *caus'd to be held at* Conſtantinople: *The Pope anſwer'd thereto, in the before-cited* ep. 39. Quod autem ſcripſiſtis, quia epiſtolam meam Reginæ, Theodelindæ, tranſmittere minime voluiſtis, pro eo quod in ea quinta ſynodus nominabatur; ſi eam exinde ſcandalizari poſſe credidiſtis, recte factum eſt, ut minime tranſmitteretur. Unde nunc ita facimus, ſicut vobis placuit, ut quatuor Synodos ſolummodo laudaremus. *The Letter, which* Gregory *alter'd by* Conſtantius's *Advice, is* ep. 38. L. 4.

§ XXIX. (1) *L.* 1. *epiſt.* 16. Juxta Chriſtianiſſimi & Sereniſſimi rerum Domini juſſionem, &c.

(2) *See this Letter in* Baronius, in App. ad T. IX.

had

had already been done at ſome Places (3). *Severus* himſelf held a particular Convention with the Biſhops in *Iſtria* *, where they agreed, to appeal to the Emperor (4), and actually made Remonſtrances to him. *Mauritius* therefore wrote to the Pope, and deſir'd him, in Regard to the State of *Italy*, not to be too preſſing on the Biſhops of *Venetia* and *Iſtria* (5): After which he proceeded with more Lenity in this Matter; But when *Severus* died, *A.* 605, the Biſhops were divided among themſelves. The Partizans of the Emperor and the *Roman* Church, choſe *Candidian* at *Grado*; the others elected, at *Aquileia*, *John*, to be their Patriarch, with the Aſſiſtance of the King of the *Longobards*, and of the Duke of *Friuli* (6). Thus two Patriarchs were choſen, who both remain'd ſuch, even after the Diſpute, which had occaſion'd this Diviſion, had long been buried in Oblivion. Thoſe of *Aquileia* were, in ſucceeding Times, frequently call'd Patriarchs of *Friaul*, after *Calixtus* had fix'd his Reſidence in *Friuli* (7). They now reſide at *Udino*, not far diſtant from that City. The Cathedral may, indeed, ſtill be ſeen at *Aquileia*; but we can hardly find the Ground whereon the City ſtood (8). The Patriarchat of *Grado* was, *A.* 1451, remov'd by Pope *Nicholas* V, to *Venice* (9).

(3) *This Paſſage was added above, to* not. 6. *of* L. 13. § 26.

* *The Cities of* Venetia *were named above,* L. 12. § 21. Iſtria *was formerly included in* Gallia Tranſpadana, *as the laſt Province towards the Frontiers of* Illyricum. *The following Cities appertain'd thereto;*

Tergeſte,	Trieſte,
Juſtinopolis,	Capo d' Iſtria,
Parentium,	Parenzo,
Pola,	Pola.

(4) NORIS. *de Synod.* V. c. 9. § 5.

(5) Quia igitur & Tua ſanctitas cognoſcit præſentem ſtatus rerum Italicarum confuſionem, & quod oportet temporibus competenter verſari, jubemus Tuam ſanctitatem, nullatenus moleſtiam, iiſdem Epiſcopis inferre; ſed concedere eos otioſos eſſe, quouſque per providentiam Dei, & partes Italiæ pace aliter conſtituantur, & Epiſcopi Iſtriæ ſeu Venetiarum, iterum ad priſtinum ordinem redigantur. *An Order of this Kind was likewiſe ſent to the Exarch,* Romanus.

(6) PAULUS, *L.* 4. *c.* 34. His diebus defuncto Severo, Patriarcha, ordinatur Johannes, Abbas, in Aquileia vetere, cum conſenſu Regis, & Giſulphi, Ducis. In Grados quoque ordinatus eſt a Romanis Candidianus, Antiſtes. *And farther he ſays:* Candidiano quoque defuncto apud Grados, ordinatus Patriarcha, Epiphanius, qui fuerat primicerius notariorum, ab Epiſcopis, qui erant ſub Romanis, & ex eo tempore cœperunt duo eſſe Patriarchæ.

(7) PAULUS, *L.* 6. *c.* 51.

(8) *Vid.* MADRIS, *del antico ſtato d' Aquileia,* p. 9, ſeq.

(9) Laurentius Juſtinianus 1432. factus eſt Epiſcopus Caſtellanus, & ann. 1451. poſt Dominici, Patriarchæ Gradenſis, obitum, a Nicolao V. Papa, conſtitutus eſt primus Venetiarum Patriarcha, nec deinceps auditum Patriarchæ Gradenſis, aut Epiſcopi Caſtellani nomen, Gradenſis Epiſcopatus dignitate Venetiis tranſlata, & Epiſcopo Caſtellano ad patriarchalem titulum evecto. COINTE, *ad An.* 810. 38.

Guntram, King of *Burgundy*, dies. *Childebert* extirpates the *Guarni*.

§ XXX. *GUNTRAM*, King of *Burgundy*, died, *A.* 593. Tho' this Prince was involv'd in frequent Wars, yet he ſeems to have been more fond of the Arts cultivated in Time of Peace. His Concern for Religion; his Deſire of preſerving a good Underſtanding in the Royal Family; and his Humanity to his Subjects, whom he ſtudied to favour (1), render'd him one of the moſt fortunate, and moſt glorious Kings in the *Merovingian* Line. The Nation, on this Account, unmindful of ſome Exceſſes (2), to which he was led by the Depravity of thoſe Times, rever'd him, as a Saint, after his Death (3): Princes gain more Honour by ſo ſpontaneous a Declaration of a whole Nation, than they could by being deify'd in ancient *Rome*, which was ſometimes forc'd to erect Temples and Altars in Honour of her Emperors, even amidſt the Monuments of their Cruelty. *Childebert* now obtain'd likewiſe *Burgundy*, purſuant to the Treaties ſubſiſting. I ſhall not here detain the Reader with the Wars, he immediately after carried on againſt his Kinſman *Clotarius* and the *Britons*, but only relate the Deſtruction of the Kingdom of the *Guarni* (4). This Nation was govern'd by her own Kings, of whom Mention is here and there made in the *German* Hiſtory; and the laſt Notice we have of them, is of *Hermegiſclus*, whoſe Wife was the Daughter of *Theoderick*, King of *Auſtraſia*, and whoſe Son, *Radiger*, became famous by the Adventure *Procopius* relates of him (5). According to the ſame Relation, the *Guarni* muſt have dwelt then between the *Elb* and the *Rhine*, and their Dominions have reach'd as far as the Sea. They rebell'd, about this Time, againſt *Childebert*, and ſuffer'd, on this † *A.* 595. Occaſion, ſo ſignal an Overthrow †, that their Name is not, after this, mention'd in the Hiſtory of the *Franks* (6). The Reſidue of them ſeems

§ XXX. (1) *I ſhall here only quote a Paſſage from* Gregory, L. 8. c. 1. *as an Inſtance of the King's Humanity to his Subjects:* Digreſſus vero a Niverno ad Aurelianenſem urbem venit, magnum ſe tunc civibus ſuis præbens. Nam per domos eorum invitatus adibat, & prandia data libabat: multum ab his muneratus, muneraque ipſis profiua benignitate largitus eſt.

(2) *We meet with ſome Inſtances, in* Gregory, *of* Guntram's *too great Readineſs to ſhed human Blood: Particularly,* L. 5. c. 36, *where he is ſaid, at the Inſtances of Queen* Auſtrechildis, *to have caus'd two Phyſicians to be put to Death, becauſe they had not been ſucceſsful in reſtoring her to her Health.*

(3) *See his Life in the* Act. SS. Antwerp. ad D. XXVIII. Martii.

(4) *Of the* Varni, *ſee the* II *Annotation.*

(5) PROCOP. *de B. Goth.* L. 4. c. 20.

(6) FREDEGARIUS, *c.* 15. Eo anno exercitus Childeberti cum Varnis, qui rebellare conaverunt, fortiter dimicavit, & ita Varni trucidati ac victi ſunt, ut parum ex iſtis remanſiſſet. *From the Words,* rebellare conaverunt, *we might conclude, that the* Varni *were before, in ſome Meaſure, ſubject to the* Franks.

to

to have been conceal'd among the neighbouring *Saxons* and *Friſians*, with whom they, beſides, probably poſſeſs'd many Things in common.

§ XXXI. THE Union of *Auſtraſia* and *Burgundy* increas'd the Hopes, which the *Franks* had already form'd of *Childebert*'s excellent Qualities (1), when he was ſnatch'd away by Death, *A.* 596, in the 26th Year of his Age. *Childebert* dies. *Theodebert* ſucceeds in *Auſtraſia*. *Theoderick*, in *Burgundy*. *Theodebert*, his eldeſt Son, tho' not begotten in Wedlock, ſucceeded in *Auſtraſia*, and choſe *Metz* for his Reſidence; *Theoderick* obtain'd, beſides the Kingdom of *Burgundy*, ſome Countries, which had before appertain'd to *Auſtraſia*, viz. *Alſace*, *Sundgow* and *Turgow*, together with a Part of *Champagne*; and *Orleans* remain'd the Capital of this Kingdom (2). *Brunehild* ſecured to herſelf the Guardianſhip of both her Grand-ſons (3): She remain'd herſelf at *Theodebert*'s Court, and entruſted the Government of *Burgundy* to ſome Perſons of Fidelity, on whom ſhe could rely. Among theſe, we find in particular *Syagrius*, Biſhop of *Autun*. She entreated Pope *Gregory* to ſend him the *Pallium*, which he refus'd to do without the Emperor's Knowledge (4). Now, as the Royal Dignity was devolv'd, throughout the whole Kingdom of the *Franks*, to three Princes, all then Minors, and the Power was lodg'd in the Hands of *Brunehild* and *Fredegund*, we may eaſily conceive what miſchievous Events muſt enſue. The latter took Advantage of the Conſternation, which *Childebert*'s Death had caus'd in the Kingdom, and ſurpris'd *Paris*, with ſome adjacent Places, before his Sons expected any Hoſtilities. They, at laſt, appeared at the Head of their Troops, and an Engagement enſued, near the *Seyne*, where *Clotarius* carried the Day (5). Thus *Fredegund*, who accompanied him to the Field, had

§ XXXI. (1) *How great a Prince* Childebert *then was, appears from Pope* Gregory's *Words, when he ſaith to this King*, L. 6. ep. 6. Quanto ceteros homines regia dignitas antecedit, tanto ceterarum gentium regna regni veſtri profecto culmen excellit. Eſſe autem Regem, quia ſunt & alii, non mirum eſt: ſed eſſe catholicum, quod alii non merentur, hoc ſatis eſt.

(2) FREDEGARIUS, *c.* 16.

(3) *Tho' this Affair about the Guardianſhip ſeems pretty obſcure, yet it is very probable, that the ſame fell now into* Brunehild's *Hands.* Conf. DANIEL. T. 1. p. 252, fin. *and* 245.

(4) GREGOR. *L.* 9. *ep.* 11. *ad Brunechilden, Reginam:* Suſceptis itaque epiſtolis veſtris valde nobis Excellentiæ veſtræ ſtudium placuiſſe ſignamus, atque fratri & coepiſcopo noſtro, Syagrio, pallium dirigere ſecundum poſtulationem veſtram voluimus. Propter quod & Sereniſſimi Domini Imperatoris, quantum nobis Diaconus noſter, qui ad eum reſponſa eccleſiæ faciebat, innotuit, prona voluntas eſt, & concedi hoc omnino deſiderat, &c. *The* 108*th Letter, in this Book, is directed to* Syagrius *himſelf, when he ſent him the* Pallium.

(5) FREDEGARIUS, *c.* 17. Eo anno Fredegundis cum filio, Clotario, Rege, Pariſios, vel

had the Satisfaction, before her Death (6), to see her Son's first Triumph over the Grand-sons of her Enemy.

The State of *Britain*, &c.

§ XXXII. I MUST not here omit the Conversion of the *Anglo-Saxons*, because they plentifully rewarded the *Franks* for the Pains they took in bringing the same to pass, by using the like Endeavours afterwards among the *German* Nations in *Germania*. After their Establishment in *Britain*, they had but little Share in the Transactions of the other *Germans*; for their Wars with the Inhabitants of that Island, and their intestine Divisions, gave them sufficient Employment: *Britain* was, about this Time, inhabited by four different Nations. The ancient *Britons*, after having suffer'd many Overthrows from the *Saxons*, were retreated into the Countries, now call'd *Wales* and *Cornwall*, where, for some Time, they yet maintain'd their Liberty. The *Saxons* possess'd the other Southern Part, as far as the *Esk* and *Tweed*, and the Mountains between those Rivers. The North-Part was inhabited, *Westwards*, by the *Scots*, who were come from *Ireland*, but were orignally of *Spanish* Extraction: *Eastwards* by the *Picts*, who were come from the *North-East*, and remotest Parts of *Scythia*, and were distinguished by this Appellation, because they painted various Figures on their Bodies. The *Saxon* Nations had establish'd seven Kingdoms. The *Jutes* founded the Kingdom of *Kent*, in which was included the *Isle of Wight*: The *Angles* possess'd *Mercia*, *East-Anglia* and *Northumberland*: The *Saxons*, *Essex*, (*East-Saxony*) *Wessex* (*West-Saxony*) and *Sussex* (*South-Saxony*). After all these Kingdoms were united into one, by *Egbert*, they were comprehended under the Denomination of *England*. Tho' each was govern'd by a separate King, yet they had one and the same Constitution, common to them all. The whole Nation met in a general Assembly, and always chose one of these Kings as Chief over the Rest. This King presided at the Convention, and headed their Army, when they were all concerned in the same War: And hence we may likewise trace their original Descent; for the *Saxons*, who remain'd in *Germany*, had almost the same Constitution. As to the State of Religion, *Christianity* had been introduc'd into *Britain*,

reliquas civitates ritu barbaro occupavit, & contra filios Childeberti, Regis, Theudebertum & Theudericum, movit exercitum, loco nominato Latefao. Castra uterque ex adverso ponentes, Clotarius super Theudebertum, & Theudericum irruens, eorum exercitum graviter trucidavit.

(6) *She died*, A. 598. F. le Cointe, ad A. 597, *takes Notice of some Circumstances, which were inserted in her History, but were, in all Probability, fictitious.*

§ XXXII. (1) *Of these* Picts, *and whether they were of* German *Extraction, see* XXXII *Annotation.*

tain, and flouriſh'd there, while it was yet under the Dominion of the *Roman* Empire, and the Light of the Goſpel had extended itſelf to the *Scots* in *Ireland*: The *Britons* retain'd their Biſhops, even amidſt the Calamities they ſuffer'd, by the Irruptions of the *Saxons* (2): But they differ'd in ſome particular Rites from the Church of *Rome*, eſpecially in the Celebration of *Eaſter* (3). This Controverſy was of a long Date. The *Eaſtern Chriſtians*, at firſt, celebrated this Feaſt at the ſame Time with the *Jewiſh* Paſſover, which was kept at a ſtated Time: For it falls on the firſt Full-Moon after the *Æquinox* in the Spring, and conſequently on the fourteenth Day of the Month (4), which, as well as the Year, is, by the *Jews*, regulated according to the Courſe of the Moon. The *Weſtern* Church, on the other Hand, appointed the Feaſt to be kept on the next enſuing *Sunday*. This Diſtinction created, at firſt, no Diviſion among the True-Believers (5): But when it aroſe to a Controverſy, the *Nicene* Council decreed, that *Eaſter* ſhould, in Honour of our Saviour's Reſurrection, be every where kept, according to the Cuſtom of the *Weſtern* Church, on the *Sunday* after the Full-Moon (6): But a freſh Scruple aroſe; how to proceed, in Caſe the Full-Moon happen'd on a *Sunday*. The Church of *Rome* deferr'd it to the following *Sunday*: And, for better Information, a particular Calculation was made. This was call'd the *Cyclus Paſchalis*, and, in moſt Provinces, the *Metropolitan* Biſhop gave annually Notice to the other Biſhops, when *Lent* was to be at an End, and *Eaſter* to be celebrated. Other Churches, on the contrary, and particularly the *Britons* and *Scots*, kept *Eaſter*, in this Caſe, on the ſame *Sunday*, when the Full-Moon appear'd; hence they were likewiſe diſtinguiſh'd by the Name of *Quartadecimani* (7).

§ XXXIII. THE

(2) SPELMANN *in Præf. ad Concil. Angl.* Uſſerius, *in Antiqu. Eccl. Britannicæ.* Stillingfleet *in Origin.* &c.

(3) *The very Word* Eaſter *is deriv'd from the* Anglo Saxon *Tongue.* Beda, *de temporum ratione, c.* 13. Aprilis EOSTUR MONATH, qui nunc Paſchalis menſis interpretatur, quondam a Dea illorum, quæ EOSTRE vocabatur, & cui in illo feſta celebrant, nomen habuit.

(4) Quarta decima Luna. *Hence thoſe were call'd* Quartadecimani, *who celebrated* Eaſter *on the ſame Day with the* Jewiſh *Paſſover.*

(5) SOCRATES, *L.* 5. *c.* 22. Certe Apoſtolus & Evangeliſtæ, nuſquam ſervitutis jugum illis impoſuerunt, qui ad prædicationem fidei acceſſiſſent: Sed Paſchæ diem alioſque feſtos dies, arbitrio æquitatique eorum, qui beneficia illis diebus acceperant, colendos reliquerunt. Proinde quoniam homines feſtos dies amant, propterea quod laborum remiſſionem ipſis afferunt, ſinguli locatim, prout cuique libitum fuit, ſalutaris paſſionis memoriam ex quadam conſuetudine celebrarunt. Nam nec Servator, neque Apoſtoli id obſervandum eſſe nobis lege aliqua præſcripſerunt.

(6) EUSEB. *de Vit. Conſtant. L.* 3. *c.* 17. *ſq.*

(7) *What Pains were taken to introduce an uniform Celebration of* Eaſter *among the* Anglo-Saxons, *and* Scots, *appears from* Beda, L. 3. c. 25. *and* L. 5.

Converſion of the *Anglo-Saxons*. Of their Lan, guage, &c.

§ XXXIII. THE Hatred, which the *Britons* bore to the *Saxons*, was the Reaſon, why they had no Regard for their Converſion *. Another Opportunity was determin'd for them by Providence. *Ethelbert*, King of *Kent*, who, in the Manner I have already mention'd, now preſided over the *Saxon* Kings, had married *Bertha*, the Daughter of *Charibert*, King of *Paris*. The free Exerciſe of her Religion was one of the Marriage-Articles, and *Leuthard*, a *Franconian* Biſhop, was permitted to attend her. She perform'd her Devotion in an ancient Church near the Reſidence, *Canterbury* †, which yet remain'd from the Times of the *Britons*. Her Devotion was the more edifying, becauſe from her moſt tender Years ſhe had been inſtructed in the Sciences, then in Vogue, of which her Father himſelf was a great Admirer. The Nation begun, by Degrees, to believe, that the Doctrine of the only True GOD was far preferable to their Pagan Superſtition (1): But as the *Franconian* Biſhops were not ſufficiently zealous to enliven theſe growing Hopes, Pope *Gregory* the Great reſolv'd himſelf to ſend Labourers into this Vineyard. After *Arianiſm* had been ſuppreſs'd throughout all *Gaul* and *Spain*, it was a Subject worthy of his Care, to conſider on Means, whereby a powerful Kingdom might be converted, and the Authority of the See of *Rome* eſtabliſh'd over the Remains of the ancient *Britiſh* Church. He choſe, for this Purpoſe, *Auſtin*, a Monk of the Monaſtery of S. *Andrew*, at *Rome*, of which he had himſelf been formerly a Member, and gave him Letters to ſome Biſhops in *Gaul*, to Queen *Brunehild*, and to her two Grand-Sons, the Kings of *Burgundy* and *Auſtraſia* (2). *Auſtin*, and his Companions, were favourably receiv'd at both Courts; they met with great Encouragement, and as their Ignorance of the Language and Manners of the Nation, which they were to convert, was no ſmall Impediment, took with them ſome *Franconian* Prieſts, who underſtood both the *Latin* and *Engliſh* Tongues (3). They landed, about forty in Number, in the Iſle of *Thanet*,

† *Durovernum.*

L. 5. c. 16. *We find particularly,* L. 5. c 24. *that the* Britons *retained their ancient Cuſtom longeſt, and even to* A. 731, *when* Beda *concluded his Book.*

§ XXXIII. * BEDA, *L.* 1. *c.* 22. Et hoc addebant, ut nunquam genti Saxonum, ſive Anglorum, ſecum BRITANNIAM incolenti, verbum fidei prædicando committerent.

(1) *The Pope ſays himſelf, that the* Anglo-Saxons *were greatly inclin'd to Chriſtianity,* L. 6. ep. 58. *ad Reges Theodericum & Theodebertum:* Pervenit ad nos, Anglorum gentem ad fidem Chriſtianam, Deo miſerante, deſideranter velle converti, ſed ſacerdotes e vicino negligere, & deſideria eorum ceſſare ſua adhortatione ſuccendere. *Such is, likewiſe, the Import of* ep. 59, *directed to Queen* Brunehild.

(2) GREGORIUS M. *L.* 6. *ep.* 58 & 59.

(3) BEDA, *L.* 1. *c.* 25. Acceperunt autem præcipiente beato Papa, Gregorio, de gente Francorum interpretes.

near

near the Coaſts of *Kent*. *Auſtin* had no ſooner ſent Notice of his Arrival, than the King himſelf repair'd thither, gave Ear to their Propoſal (4), and permitted them to preach. When their Labours ſucceeded, *Auſtin* returned to *Gaul*, in Order to be conſecrated a Biſhop (5). After his Return to *England*, ſeveral Thouſands were baptiz'd at *Chriſtmas*, *A.* 597, whereupon the Pope ſent him the *Pallium*, and conſtituted him his Vicar. The Queen was, on every Occaſion, ſo aſſiduous, that the Pope compares her to S. *Helen*, *Conſtantine's* Mother (6), and exhorts her to be particularly ſollicitous about the Converſion of her Conſort (7), which

(4) BEDA *relates this firſt Diſcourſe with the following Circumſtances:* Poſt dies ergo aliquot venit ad inſulam Rex, & reſidens ſub Dio, juſſit Auguſtinum cum ſociis ad ſuum ibidem advenire colloquium. Caverat autem, ne in aliquam domum ad ſe introirent, veteri uſus augurio, ne ſuperventu ſuo, ſi quid maleficæ artis habuiſſent, eum ſuperando deciperent. At illi non dæmoniaca, ſed divina virtute prædíti veniebant, crucem pro vexillo ferentes argenteam, & imaginem Domini Salvatoris in tabula depictam, letaniaſque canentes, pro ſua ſimul & eorum, propter quos, & ad quos venerant, ſalute æterna Domino ſupplicabant.

(5) *Pope* Gregory *calls* Auſtin, *ordinatum a Germaniarum Epiſcopis. L.* 8. *ep.* 30. *ad Eulogium, Epiſcopum Alexandrinum*: Quoniam vero in bonis, quæ agitis, ſcio, quod & aliis congaudetis, veſtræ vobis gratiæ vicem reddo, & non diſſimilia nuncio: quia dum gens Anglorum in mundi angulo poſita, in cultu lignorum ac lapidum perfidia nuncuſque remaneret, ex veſtræ mihi orationis adjutorio placuit, ut ad eam monaſterii mei monachum in prædicationem tranſmittere, Deo auctore, debuiſſem. Qui data a me licentia, a GERMANIARUM EPISCOPIS, Epiſcopus factus, cum eorum quoque ſolatiis, ad prædictam gentem in finem mundi perductus eſt, & jam de ejus ſalute & opere ad nos ſcripta pervenerunt: quia tantis miraculis vel ipſe, vel hi, qui cum eo tranſmiſſi ſunt, in gente eadem coruſcant, ut Apoſtolorum virtutes in ſignis, quæ exhibent, imitari videantur. In ſolemnitate autem Dominicæ nativitatis, quæ hac prima Indictione tranſacta eſt, plus quam decem millia Angli ab eodem nuntiati ſunt fratre & coepiſcopo noſtro baptizati. *The Name* Germania *is frequently us'd, in theſe Times, to denote the Dominions of the* Franks *in general, or* Auſtrafia *in particular. Many Letters are extant from Popes, directed* ad Epiſcopos Germaniarum & Galliarum. Childebert *ſays, in a Letter to the Patriarch of* Conſtantinople (*ap.* Du Cheſne, *T.* 1. *p.* 874.) Glorioſi Apoſtolatus veſtri præcellens opinio quæ fit, loca ſingula percurrens implevit, ut etiam ad nos Germaniam peragraret. Beda *ſays, that he was conſecrated by the Archbiſhop of* Arles.

(6) *Queen* Bertha's *Zeal is commended by* Gregorius, *L.* 11. *ep.* 29. Omnipotentem Deum benediximus, qui converſionem gentis Anglorum mercedi veſtræ dignatus eſt propitius reſervare. Nam ſicut per recordandæ memoriæ Helenam, matrem piiſſimi Conſtantini, Imperatoris, ad Chriſtianam fidem corda Romanorum accendit, ita & per gloriæ veſtræ ſtudium in Anglorum gente ejus miſericordiam confidimus operari.

(7) *He excites her to convert her Spouſe*, Ibid. Et quidem jamdudum glorioſi filii noſtri, conjugis veſtri, animos prudentiæ veſtræ bono, ſicut revera Chriſtiani, debuiſtis inflectere, ut pro regni & animæ ſuæ ſalute fidem, quam colitis, ſequeretur: quatenus & de eo, & per eum, de totius gentis converſione, digna vobis in cœleſtibus gaudiis retributio naſceretur. Nam poſtquam, ſicut diximus, & recta fide gloria veſtra munita, & LITERIS DOCTA eſt, hoc vobis nec tardum, nec debuit eſſe difficile. Et quoniam, Deo volente,

which ſoon after enſu'd (8). But it would be foreign to my Purpoſe, to relate here the Circumſtances, how the *Chriſtian* Religion gain'd daily more Ground throughout the ſeven Kingdoms, and that the *Scots* and *Britons* at laſt conform'd to the Church of *Rome* (9). The *Anglo-Saxons*, with their Faith, obtain'd likewiſe a new Method of writing, and, by Degrees, forgot their former Letters, which, 'till then, had been common to them, as well as other *German* Nations (10). They now begun to bring their Laws into Form, in Writing, ſome of which, by King *Ethelbert* himſelf, are ſtill extant. Theſe, and as many other Writings, as are tranſmitted to us in the *Anglo-Saxon* Tongue, contain a Treaſure of the ancient *Northern* Dialects, whereas, on the contrary, other *German* Nations retain very few Traces of their Language.

History of the two Kings, *Theodebert* and *Theoderick*, &c. † *A.* 599.

§ XXXIV. *BRUNEHILD* had as many Adverſaries in *Auſtraſia*, as formerly, and the King was, at Length, prevail'd on to diſmiſs her from Court. She repair'd † to her other Grand-Son in *Burgundy*, where ſhe was receiv'd with greater Honours (1). A good Underſtanding ſubſiſted, nevertheleſs, for ſome Time, betwixt the two Brothers. In the Year 600, they march'd againſt *Clotarius*, and took from him the greateſt Part of his Dominions, inſomuch, that he retain'd no more, than a Tract of Land betwixt the *Seyne*, the *Iſere*, and the Sea (2). Both Kings

lente, aptum nunc tempus eſt, agite, ut, divina gratia cooperante, cum augmento poſſitis, quod neglectum eſt, reparare. Itaque mentem glorioſi conjugis veſtri in dilectione Chriſtianæ fidei, adhortatione aſſidua, roborate, veſtra illi ſollicitudo augmentum in Deum amoris infundat, atque ita animos ejus, etiam pro ſubjectæ ſibi gentis pleniſſima converſione ſuccendat, ut & magnum omnipotenti Domino devotionis veſtræ ſtudio ſacrificium offerat, & ea, quæ de vobis narrata ſunt, & creſcant, & vera eſſe modis omnibus approbentur: quia bona veſtra non ſolum jam apud Romanos, qui pro vita veſtra fortius oraverunt, ſed etiam per diverſa loca, & uſque ad Conſtantinopolin, ad ſereniſſimum principem pervenerunt.

(8) Beda, Lib. 1. c. 32. Add. Gregorius, L. 11. ep. 66. *ad Ethelbertum Regem.* Pagius's *Calculation, that he was baptiz'd, A.* 597, *proves falſe.* Uſſerius, in Ind. Chronol. ad Antiq. Eccleſ. Britan. *places it in the Year* 599. *But the Pope's Letter, which I cited before,* Not. 6 *and* 7, *is dated* Indictione IV. (601.); *and* Ethelbert *was not yet baptiz'd at that Time. He is ſtiled a Saint. See his Life in the* Act. SS. Antv. ad D. 24 Februar.

(9) Rapin Thoyras *makes ſome good Obſervations on* Auſtin's *Perſon and Converſions,* T. 1. p. 270.

(10) *Of this ſee the* 33*d Annotation.*

§ XXXIV. (1) Fredegar. *cap.* 19.

(2) Idem, *c.* 20. Theudericus & Theudebertus, Reges, contra Chlotarium Regem movent exercitum, & ſuper fluvium, Aroannam, nec procul a Doremello, vico, prælio confligentes junxerunt. Ibique exercitus Chlotarii graviſſime trucidatus eſt. Ipſoque cum his, qui remanſerunt, in fugam verſo, pagos & civitates ripæ Sigonæ, quæ ſe ad Chlotarium tradiderant, depopulantur

Kings likewiſe tried their Fortune, *A.* 602, againſt the *Gaſcons* (3). This was a *Spaniſh* Nation, dwelling near the *Pyrenæan* Mountains, about where the Countries of *Ipuſcoa* and *Navarre* are now ſituate. They had maintain'd a Kind of Liberty, and ſometimes infeſted the *Goths* in *Spain*; and, at other Times, made Incurſions into *Aquitain*, which border'd on their Country. Both Kings were warlike and valiant, the uſual Characteriſtick of the *Franks*. *Theodebert* is, at the ſame Time, deſcrib'd as ſimple and cruel, and indeed he murder'd *Bilichild*, his own Wife. *Theoderick* was a good-natur'd Prince: But Queen *Brunehild* is accus'd, in Hiſtory, of having miſled him by her Advice. She directed all Affairs in *Burgundy*, according to her own private Views. As thoſe, who were her Favourites, rais'd themſelves to great Fortunes; ſo her Diſpleaſure prov'd fatal to thoſe, who had the Misfortune to fall under it. In Order to enjoy this Power the longer, ſhe perſuaded the King not to marry (4), fearing, leſt a Queen ſhould leſſen her Authority. This Fear was founded on Experience: For Queen *Bilichild*, of *Auſtraſia*, was her greateſt Adverſary there, and aim'd moſt at her Ruin; tho' ſhe had, in her Infancy, bought her as a Slave, and given her an Education (5). On the other Hand, the King was encourag'd in various Amours; and when, at laſt, he married, in the Year 607, *Ermenberga*, Daughter of *Viderick*, King of the *Wiſi-Goths* in *Spain*, *Brunehild* and *Theudelana*, his Siſter, gave him ſuch an Averſion to his Conſort, that he ſent her back the next Year (6). Her Father, enrag'd at this Treatment, enter'd into a

populantur & vaſtantur. Civitates ruptæ nimis, pluritas captivorum ab exercitu Theuderici & Theudeberti exinde deducitur. Chlotarius oppreſſus, vellet, nollet, per pactionis vinculum firmavit, ut inter Sigonam & Ligerem, uſque mare Oceanum, vel Britannorum limitem, pars Theuderici haberet: & per Sigonam & Iſarem Ducatum integrum Denteleni, uſque Oceanum mare, Theudebertus reciperet. Duodecim tantum pagi inter Iſeram & Sigonam, & mare littoris Oceani, Chlotario remanſerunt.

(3) IDEM, *c.* 21. Theudebertus & Theudericus exercitum contra Vaſcones dirigunt, ipſoque Deo auxiliante, dejectos ſuæ dominationi redigunt & tributarios faciunt. Ducem ſuper ipſos, nomine Genialem, inſtituunt, qui eos feliciter dominavit.

(4) IDEM, c. 36. Add. Jonas in Vit. S. Columbani. *This Author is greatly enrag'd at Queen* Brunehild, *becauſe his Saint was forc'd, by her Order, to quit the Monaſtery at* Luxevil.

(5) FREDEGAR. *c.* 35.

(6) IDEM, *cap.* 30. *ſeq.* Theudericus Aridium, Epiſcopum Lugdunenſem, Rocconem, & Æborinum, Comeſtabulum, ad Betericum, Regem Spaniæ direxit, qui exinde Ermenbergam, filiam ejus, Theuderico matrimonio aſſociandam, adducerent. Ibique datis Sacramentis, ut a Theuderico nunquam a regno degraderetur, ipſam accipiunt, & Theuderico Cabillono præſentant, quam ille gaudens diligenter ſuſcepit. Eadem factione aviæ ſuæ Brunechildæ virilem coitum non cognovit. Inſtigantibus verbis Brunechildæ aviæ, & Theudilanæ germanæ efficitur odioſa. Poſt anni circulum Theudericus Ermenbergam exſpoliatam a theſauris in Spaniam retranſmiſit.

League with *Clotarius*, King of *Soiſſons*, *Theodebert*, King of *Auſtraſia*, and *Agilulf*, King of the *Longobards*, to fall upon *Theoderick* with their united Forces (7): But all their Preparations ended in nothing. *Fredegarius*, indeed, and the other Hiſtorians, who wrote under the Succeſſors of *Clotarius*, expreſs ſo great a Prejudice againſt this Queen, that their Relations become very ſuſpected (8). I ſhall not, however, determine that Matter here, but only continue to relate, how *Childebert*'s Houſe haſten'd their own Perdition.

A War enſues betwixt them, *&c.*

§ XXXV. *THEODEBERT* undertook, *A.* 610, to take from *Theoderick*, King of *Burgundy*, *Alſace*, *Sundgow*, and the other Countries, which formerly appertain'd to *Auſtraſia*, but, at the laſt Partition of the Kingdom, fell to the Share of *Burgundy*. He invaded *Alſace* without any Declaration of War: But the moſt eminent Perſons of the Nation, on both Sides, interpos'd, and it was agreed, that the two Kings ſhould have an Interview at *Seltz*, on the *Rhine*, and amicably adjuſt their Claims (1). *Theoderick* appear'd with 10,000 Men; but *Theodebert* ſurrounded him with a much larger Army, and thereby obliged him to reſign the before-mention'd Countries. The *Alemanni*, who were ſubject to the Crown of *Auſtraſia*, at the ſame Time, invaded the adjacent Dominions of *Burgundy*. *Abbelinus*, *Herpinus*, and other Counts, made indeed ſome Reſiſtance, but were defeated by the *Alemanni*, who, in particular, laid waſte the Territories about *Wiſſlisburg*, and carried off a conſiderable Booty (2).

(7) IBID. *c.* 31. Bettericus hæc indignans legationem ad Chlotarium direxit. Legatus Chlotarii cum Betterici ad Theudebertum perrexit. Iterum Theudeberti legati cum Chlotarii & Betterici Legatariis ad Agonem, Regem Italiæ acceſſerunt, & unanimiter hi quatuor Reges cum exercitu undique ſuper Theudericum inruerant, ut regnum ejus auferrent, & cum morte damnarent, eo quod tantam de ipſo reverentiam ducebant. Legatus vero Gothorum evectu navali de Italia per mare in Spaniam revertitur. Sed hoc conſilium divino nutu non ſortitur effectum. Quod cum Theuderico compertum fuiſſet, fortiſſime ab eodem deſpicitur.

(8) F. LE COINTE *rejects* Fredegarius's *Relation of* Theoderick's *Marriage with* Ermenberga, *and of his Concubines. We cannot, indeed, join with him, in diſbelieving the Account of* Ermenberga: *He has, however, at leaſt, prov'd thus much, that* Fredegarius *and* Jonas *give very improbable Accounts of this Queen, and that* Aimoinus, *and the Writer of the* Geſta Francorum, *add yet more Fictions thereto.*

§ XXXV. (1) FREDEGARIUS, *c.* 36. Anno XV. Regni Theuderici, cum Aleſaciones, ubi fuerat enutritus, præcepto Patris ſui, Childeberti, tenebat, a Theudeberto ritu barbaro pervaditur. Unde placitum inter hos Reges, ut FRANCORUM JUDICIO finiretur, Soloiſſa, caſtro inſtituunt.

(2) IDEM, *c.* 37.

§ XXXVI.

§ XXXVI. *THEODERICK* resolv'd to be reveng'd on his Brother, and publickly declar'd, that he was not the Son of King *Childebert*, but palm'd upon him by his Mother (1). He enter'd into Alliance with the King of *Soissons*, and promis'd, if he would stand neuter in this War, and not assist the King of *Austrasia*, to give him that Tract of Land between the *Seyne* and *Oyse*, which he had been oblig'd, in the late War, to part with to *Theodebert*. He drew up his Army at *Langres*, and invaded *Austrasia*. *Theodebert* march'd to meet him, and a bloody Engagement ensued near *Tull*, wherein the latter lost the Day. He fled to *Metz*, and, not being secure there, pass'd through the *Vogesian* Forest to *Cologn*. *Leonisius*, Bishop of *Mentz*, excited *Theoderick* not to desist, 'till he had compleated *Theodebert*'s Ruin (2). He led his Army thro' the *Arduennian* Forest, and encamp'd near *Zulph*. Here *Theodebert*, who had, in the mean Time, gain'd the *Saxons*, *Thuringians*, and other *German* Nations, to his Party, ventur'd a second Engagement, which the Historian represents, as the most bloody the *Franks* ever fought; but he succeeded no better than at *Tull*; and all the Treasures at *Cologn* fell into the Conqueror's Hands. *Theodebert* fled for Refuge over the *Rhine*; but *Bertharius*, *Theoderick*'s Chamberlain, overtook, and brought him to his Brother at *Cologn*, where he was depriv'd of the Royal Dignity, sent Prisoner to *Chalons* (3), and soon after murder'd (4); *Meroveus*, his Son, having been before put to Death (5). *Theoderick* caus'd the Homages of the most eminent *Franks* of *Austrasia* to be receiv'd in the Church of S. *Gereon* in the same City, and proceeded from thence to *Metz*, in Order to take entire Possession there, as in the Capital of the Kingdom, he had conquer'd (6).

Theoderick overcomes the King of *Austrasia*, &c.

§ XXXVII. *CLOTARIUS* had, in the mean Time, made himself Master of the Country betwixt the *Seyne* and *Oyse*. *Theoderick* made this a Pretence for declaring War against him; but he died of a Flux, at

Theoderick dies: *Brunehild* sets up *Sigebert*, his Son, for King, &c.

§ XXXVI. (1) Fredegar. *c.* 37.

(2) Ibid. *c.* 38. Beatus, & Apostolicus Vir Leonisius, Mogancensis urbis Episcopus, diligens utilitatem Theuderici & odiens stultitiam Theudeberti, ad Theudericum veniens dixit: quod cœpisti, perfice, &c.

(3) Ibid. Dirigensque Theudericus ultra Rhenum, post tergum Theudeberti, Bertharium, Cubicularium, qui diligenter Theudebertum insequens, cum jam cum paucis fugeret, ipsum captum Bertharius Coloniæ conspectui Theuderici præsentat, exutum vestibus regalibus, Theudebertus exspoliatus, equusque ejus cum stratura regia, hoc totumque Berthario a Theuderico conceditur.

(4) Jonas, *in vita S. Columbani.*

(5) Fredegarius, *l. c.* Filius ejus, nomine Meroveus, parvulus, jussu Theuderici adprehensus a quodam per pedem, ad petram percutitur, cerebrum ejus capite eruptum, amisit spiritum.

(6) Aimoinus.

Metz, the ſame Year (1). He left four Sons: *Viz. Sigebert*, *Childebert*, *Corbus* and *Meroveus*: And *Brunehild* was for placing *Sigebert*, the eldeſt, on the Throne of *Auſtraſia* and *Burgundy*: But many Nobles in *Auſtraſia* oppos'd her, and particularly *Arnulf* and *Pipin*, who afterwards both attain'd to great Honours, in thoſe Countries. Theſe invited *Clotarius*, who advanced as far as *Andernach*. *Brunehild* reſided then, with the young Princes, at *Worms*. She ſent Ambaſſadors to him, and begg'd he would not injure his Infant Nephews, nor deprive them of any of the Dominions, they had lawfully inherited from their Father (2). *Clotarius* offer'd to leave it to the Deciſion of the Nation (3). *Brunehild* ſent *Sigebert* and *Warnacharius*, *Major-domus*, with ſome other Perſons of Diſtinction, over the *Rhine*, to levy Troops among the Nations in *Germania*: But *Warnacharius* ſecretly ſided with *Clotarius*'s Party, and rather retarded the Levy of the *German* Troops. *Brunehild* repair'd, with the Princes, to *Burgundy*. She had here incurr'd as great an *Odium* among the Nobles, as in *Auſtraſia*, and they enter'd into a Conſpiracy with *Warnacharius* againſt the whole Royal Line, that they might be no more ſubject to her (4). *Sigebert*, accompany'd by his three Brothers, march'd out againſt *Clotarius*, with all the Forces he could raiſe. The latter met them, between *Chalons ſur Marne* and the River *Axona*, and was already join'd by many of the *Auſtraſians*. *Sigebert*'s Army was compos'd of none but Traitors: They fled, before it came to an Engagement. *Clotarius* purſu'd them, as far as the *Saone*, where the diſloyal *Burgundians* deliver'd to him *Sigebert*, *Meroveus* and *Corbus*, as Priſoners. *Childebert*, the fourth Brother, eſcap'd indeed, but was never heard of more. *Sigebert* and *Corbus* were, by *Clotarius*'s Order, immediately put to Death: *Meroveus* being his God-ſon, he ſpar'd him, and gave him a good Education: But we likewiſe find no farther Account of him in Hiſtory (5).

The fatal End of Queen *Brunebild*.

§ XXXVIII. *BRUNEHILD* was then at *Urba*, with *Theudelana*, her Grand-Daughter. Here ſhe was taken by *Erpo*, great Maſter

§ XXXVII. (1) FREDEGAR. *c.* 39.

(2) IBID. *c.* 40.

(3) IBID. Chlotarius reſpondebat & per ſuos legatos Brunechildi mandabat, judicio Francorum electo, quicquid præcedente Domino, a Francis inter eoſdem judicabitur, pollicetur ſe implere.

(4) IBID. *c.* 41. Burgundiæ Farones vero tam Epiſcopi, quam ceteri leudes, timentes Brunichildem, & odium in eam habentes, cum Warnachario conſilium inientes tractabant, ut neque unus ex filiis Theuderici evaderet, ſed eis omnibus oppreſſis & Brunichildem delerent & regnum Chlotarii expeterent.

(5) IBID. *c.* 42.

of

of the Horſe, and deliver'd to *Clotarius* (1). This Prince now laid to her Charge, all that ſhe had ever been accus'd of, as ſuppoſed Truths. The Revenge, he took, was ſhocking. She was carried on a Camel about the Army for a Spectacle, was afterwards tied to a wild Horſe, and thus dragg'd to Death. Her unfortunate Remains were burnt (2), as if one Death could not ſuffice to quench the fiery Rage of her Enemies. Thus was the Daughter and Wife of a great King, after having ſeen her Son and two Grand-Sons on the Throne, forc'd to dy as a Malefactor, and to ſerve as a Triumph and publick Spectacle to the Son of her moſt inveterate Enemy, before the Eyes of thoſe very People, over whom ſhe had before reign'd! In the Monaſtery of St. *Martin*, which ſhe founded, at *Autun*, is ſhewn a Tomb, in which her Aſhes are ſaid to be depoſited (3). The *Franconian* Hiſtorians, who wrote in the Reign of *Clotarius*,

§ XXXVIII. (1) FREDEGARIUS, *cap.* 42. Factione Warnacharii, Majoris Domus, cum reliquis maxime totis proceribus de regno Burgundiæ, Brunnichildis ab Herpone, Comeſtabulo, de pago Ultrajurano, ex villa, Urba, una cum Theudelana, germana Theuderici producitur, & Chlotario, Rionava, vico ſuper Vincenna fluvio præſentatur. Urba, *commonly call'd* Orbe, *lies in* Franche Comté. Rionava *lay on the ſmall River* Navigenne, *which falls into the* Saone.

(2) *The Accounts we have of this Execution, leave us no Room to doubt of it. The firſt is that Fragment, which is annex'd, as an* Appendix *to* Marius's Chronicon, *and was written in* Clotarius's *Reign.* Per idem tempus, diviſa in tribus olim regnis Francia, in unum a præfato Rege Francorum regnum conjungitur: atque perſequente Theoderico, Rege, germanum ſuum, Auſtraſiorum Regem, Theudebertum, vincentes Franci in Burgundiam moventes Auſtraſios, ad extremum ipſum, occiderent. Neque mora, victor Theudericus Mettis cum obiiſſet, Sigeberto, filio parvulo, cum avia ſua, Brunechilde, regnum male uſurpatum reliquit: qui, vivente adhuc germano ſuo, nepotem proprium ad petram in albis elidi juſſit. Per idem tempus victi filii ſui a Rege præfato Chlothachario capiuntur: ac præfata regina, prædictorum avia, ab eo capta, diverſoque pœnarum genere afflicta, deinde camelo impoſita, multis ſui ſpectaculum præbuit: poſtremo, ferociſſimi conligata pedibus equi tergo, extremum ſpiritum exhalavit; cujuſque deinceps corpuſculum incendentes populi, ſepulcrum ignis fuit, ac judicium paternum, ſine miſericordia in germano & nepote quondam datum, in filiis redundavit, eoſque, a quibuſdam, ut aiunt, interemtos, monarchiam prænuncupatus Rex in tribus regnis obtinuit, quam feliciter religioſeque gubernans, quadrageſimo nunc, cum prioribus regni ſui, anno, vitam ducit. *Add to this, what* Jonas *ſays*, in Vit. S. Columbani, *which he wrote a few Years after:* Clotharius memor prophetiæ viri Dei Columbani, collecto exercitu, fines regni, quæ ſuæ ditioni debebantur, conatur recipere. Contra quem Sigebertus cum hoſtium cuneis pugnaturus advenit, quem Clotharius captum peremit, fratreſque ejus duos, Theoderici filios, cum avia Brunehilde cepit, pueros ſeparatim peremit, Brunehildem vero primo ignobiliter camelo impoſitam, hoſtibus gyrando monſtravit, poſtque, indomitorum equorum caudis irretitam, miſerabiliter vita privavit. Fredegarius *relates it in the following Words*, l. c. Per triduum eam, diverſis tormentis adfectam, jubet prius camelo per omnem exercitum ſedentem perducere: poſthæc coma capitis, uno pede & brachio ad velociſſimi equi caudam ligare; ibique calcibus, & velocitate curſus membratim diſrumpitur.

(3) *This Monument is deſcrib'd by* F. le COINTE, ad A. 613. n. 6. *and* F. DANIEL, p. 271. *'Tis Pity, that no more ancient Accounts are extant of this Tomb, which might, at the ſame Time, give ſome*

rius, or of his Succeſſors, certainly cenſure this Princeſs too ſeverely (4). But in Accuſations of this Kind, it is difficult to come at the Truth, even if ſufficient Accounts are extant for the moſt narrow Inquiries; how then can we dive into Matters ſo remote, of which we meet with Relations ſo few, ſo ſlender, and withal ſo ſuſpected? *Brunehild* was certainly a great Queen, who poſſeſs'd many excellent Qualities. Nature had endow'd her with Beauty, Underſtanding, Courage and Eloquence; and, by a long Experience, ſhe had obtain'd a great Knowledge in all Affairs relating to Government. She was, likewiſe, a Princeſs eminent for many good Actions. The great Encomiums beſtow'd on her by Pope *Gregory* the *Great*, and other Prelates, were, perhaps, no more than ſhe deſerv'd: But an Ambition for Rule, Love and Revenge enſnare the Mind more eaſily, when accompanied by an unbounded Liberty. The State of Affairs in the Kingdom, and in the Royal Houſe, as we have hitherto found them, caus'd every Paſſion to be exerted in her with its utmoſt Vigour. Since, therefore, *Brunehild* follow'd the Dictates of her Temper, and ran all Hazards in her Attempts againſt her Enemies, we muſt not wonder, that we find them, on their Side, obſerving no Meaſures, in their Revenge. Whoever once delivers himſelf up to Fortune, muſt, on his Part, be prepar'd for the ſevereſt Shocks. Great Perſons, in this World, are but too apt to forget, how many Things they enjoy no otherwiſe, than in common with other Men. The Fall of a Throne and Scepter is often providentially intended, to remind others the better of their uncertain State.

ſme Account of her Death. We only find, in one of thoſe Records, that the Queen choſe this for her Burying-Place. In the Necrologium *of the Monaſtery, ſhe is ſaid to have died* ad IV. Kal. Maii, *vid.* RUYN. in Add. ad GREGORIUM, p. 1396.

(4) *Many learned Men have endeavoured to vindicate the Memory of this Queen; as,* TILLET, FAUCHET, MARIANA, Lib. 5. cap. 10. F. le COINTE ad An. 613. PASQUIER dans les Recherches, T. 3. c. 8. Mr. de CORDEMOIS, &c.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE *ANCIENT GERMANS.*

BOOK XV.

To the YEAR DCCXV.

SECT. I. *THE Kingdom of the* Franks *re-united under* Clotarius. *He abdicates* Auſtraſia *in Favour of* Dagobert, *his Son. Of* Arnolphus, *Biſhop of* Metz, *and of* Pipin. II. *A Peace in the Kingdom of the* Franks. *Amendment of the Laws. Particularly of thoſe of the* Bavarians *and* Alemanni. III. Dagobert, *after* Clotarius's *Death, lays claim to* Neuſtria *and* Burgundy. *He reſigns to* Charibert, *his Brother, a Part of* Aquitain. IV. *Hiſtory of the* Sclavi. *Particularly of thoſe, who dwelt in* Carinthia *and* Carniola, &c. *Of* Samus *their King.* V. *He is involv'd in a War with the* Franks. *The King of the* Longobards *ſends Auxiliaries to the* Franks. *The* Swabians *behave gallantly. The Loſs ſuſtain'd by the* Franks. *The* Sorbii *revolt.* VI. Dagobert *prepares for a freſh Expedition: Makes a League with the* Saxons, *in Prejudice of the* Sclavi. *Reſigns* Auſtraſia *to* Sigebert, *his Son.* VII. *He interferes in the Differences among the* Wiſi-Goths. *The Kingdom divided among his Sons. The growing Power of the* Maires de Palais. *Of* Leutharius, *Duke of the* Alemanni. VIII. Rudolph, *Duke of* Thuringia, *rebels.* Sigebert *marches out againſt him.* IX. *Hiſtory of the Empire, under* Foca *and* Heraclius: *Differences occaſion'd by the* Monothelitæ. X. *Origin of the Kingdom of the*

the Saracens. Mahomed *ſets up for a Prophet. Of the Religion founded by him.* XI. *Progreſs of the* Saracens *under their firſt* Caliphs. *They conquer* Syria, Judæa *and* Eygpt: *Get a Footing in* Africa: *Deſtroy the Kingdom of the* Perſians. XII. *Pope* Martin *holds a Synod at* Rome *againſt the* Monothelitæ. *What Share the* Franconian *Church had in this Controverſy? The Emperor* Conſtans *cauſes* Martin *to be impriſon'd and carried from* Rome. XIII. *He goes to* Italy: *But effects nothing againſt the* Longobards. Conſtantine, *his Son, makes a Truce with the* Saracens. *The* Monothelite *Tenets are condemn'd by the* VI *Council at* Rome. Africa *is entirely loſt. The total Subverſion of the Empire.* XIV. *Continuation of the Hiſtory of the* Longobards. *In* Grimoald's *Reign they forſake the* Arian *Sect. Origin of the modern* Italian *Tongue. Of the Laws of the* Longobards. *How far the* Roman *Laws were retain'd in* Italy? XV. Sigebert, *King of* Auſtraſia, *dies.* Grimoald, *the* Maire de Palais, *oppreſſes Prince* Dagobert. Auſtraſia *falls into the Hands of* Clovis. *After his Death,* Clotarius *ſucceeds in* Neuſtria *and* Burgundy, Childerick *in* Auſtraſia. XVI. Ebroin, *the* Maire de Palais, *attempts to make* Theoderick *King.* Childerick *makes himſelf likewiſe Maſter of* Neuſtria *and* Burgundy. Ebroin *is confin'd in a Monaſtery.* XVII. Childerick *is murder'd.* XVIII. Theoderick *regains the Throne.* Ebroin *becomes a ſecond Time* Maire de Palais. XIX. Dagobert II *returns from* England, *and becomes King of* Auſtraſia. XX. Pipin *is made* Maire de Palais *of the whole Kingdom of the* Franks. XXI. *Tranſactions under* Clovis III, Childebert III, *and* Dagobert III. *Commotions among ſome* German *Nations.* Pipin's *Expeditions againſt the* Friſii *and* Alemanni. XXII. *The Chriſtian Religion propagated in* Auſtraſia. S. Remaclus *founds the two Monaſteries* Stablo *and* Malmundar. S. Lambert *converts the* Toxandri. *Origin of the City of* Liege. XXIII. S. Gallus *preaches among the* Swabians. *Deſcription of a Feaſt in Honour of* Odinus. S. Kilian *preaches in the Country about* Würtzberg: S. Emineranus *and* S. Rupert *among the* Bavarians. XXIV. *Converſion of the* Friſii. Suibertus *repairs to the* Bructuarii. Willibrod, *Biſhop of* Utrecht. XXV. *Of* Pipin's *Death and Family.* Charles (Martel) *Duke of* Auſtraſia. XXVI. *Downfal of the Kingdom of the* Wiſi-Goths. *Firſt Landing of the* Saracens *in* Spain. XXVII. *They vanquiſh King* Ruderick *and make themſelves Maſters of* Spain. XXVIII. Pelagius *gathers the Reſidue of the* Goths *together.* XXIX. *Obſervations concerning the Conſtitution of the* Wiſi-Gothick *Kingdom. Of their Language, Writings, and Laws. Of the Office call'd* Officium Muzarabicum.

§ I. THUS

§ I. THUS *Clotarius* re-united the Kingdom of the *Franks*. Soon after, he ſummon'd a Convention of the Spiritual and Temporal Lords, at *Paris*, to regulate the Government (1). They decreed, among other Laws, that the Biſhops ſhould be choſen by the Clergy and Laity, confirm'd by the King, and then be conſecrated by the *Metropolitan*; but the King, at the ſame Time, reſerv'd to himſelf the Power of granting a Biſhoprick without any Election (2). They likewiſe agreed, that all new Taxes ſhould ceaſe (3), and that thoſe, who had loſt their Effects in the late Wars, ſhould have them reſtor'd (4). *Clotarius* was inclin'd to Peace, which prov'd advantageous to his Kingdom after ſo many bloody Wars; but he had almoſt loſt the Eſteem of the Nobles, becauſe, in their Opinion, he was too fond of the Chace, and gave too much Vent to his Paſſion for Women (5). He reſign'd *Auſtraſia* to *Dagobert*, his Son, *A.* 622, but not ſo fully as it had been done in former Reigns. He retain'd to himſelf the Countries as far as the *Arduennian* Foreſt and the Mountain *Vogeſus*, and whatever elſe the Kings of *Auſtraſia* had formerly poſſeſs'd in *Gaul*. This is the firſt Inſtance, among the *Franks*, of a Son's reigning ſeparately, before his Father's Deceaſe (6). *Clotarius* plac'd a particular Confidence in *Arnulph* and *Pipin*, who had contributed greatly to his obtaining *Auſtraſia*. The former having reſign'd ſome eminent

The Kingdom of the *Franks* is re-united under *Clotarius*, &c.

§ I. (1) *Vid. Acta in* JAC. SIRMONDI *Concil. Galliæ* T. I.

(2) *Can.* 1. Ut, decedente Epiſcopo, in loco ipſius, ille Chriſto propitio debeat ordinari, quem Metropolitanus, a quo ordinandus eſt, cum Provincialibus ſuis, clerus, vel populus civitatis, abſque ullo commodo, vel datione pecuniæ, elegerint. *In the* Decretum Clotarii, *whereby he confirms theſe Canons, we read:* Ut, Epiſcopo decedente, in loco ipſius, qui a Metropolitano ordinari debet, cum Provincialibus a Clero & populo eligatur, & ſi perſona condigna fuerit, per ordinationem Principis ordinetur; vel certe, ſi de Palatio eligitur, per meritum perſonæ & doctrinæ ordinetur.

(3) *Vid.* DECRETUM CHLOTARII REGIS, *l. c.* Ut ubicunque cenſus novus impie additus eſt, & a populo reclamatur, juſta inquiſitione miſericorditur emendetur, &c.

(4) IBID. Quicquid parentes noſtri anteriores principes, vel nos per juſtitiam viſi ſumus conceſſiſſe, & confirmaſſe, in omnibus debeat confirmari. Et qua unus de fidelibus ac Leodibus, ſuam fidem ſervando Domino legitimo, interregno faciente viſus eſt perdidiſſe, generaliter, abſque aliquo incommodo, de rebus ſibi juſte debitis præcepimus reveſtiri.

(5) FREDEGARIUS, *c.* 42. Ipſe Chlotarius, patientiæ deditus, litteris eruditus, timens Deum, eccleſiarum & ſacerdotum magnus munerator, pauperibus eleemoſynam tribuens, benignum ſe omnibus & pietate plenum oſtendens. Venatione ferarum nimia aſſiduitate utens, & poſtremo mulierum & puellarum ſuggeſtionibus nimium annuens, ob hoc quidem blaſphematur a Leudibus.

(6) *From this Time Authors begin to count the* 16 *Years of* Dagobert's *Reign, he therefore reign'd ſix Years before, and* 10 *after his Father's Death, which* F. Mabillon *proves at large* in Diſſ. de annis Dagoberti. F. Chiflet, *on the other Hand, inſiſts upon it,* in Diſſ. de annis Dagoberti, *that theſe* 16 *Years muſt be counted from* Clotarius's *Death.*

Posts, was now Bishop of *Metz* (7): And he constituted *Pipin Maire de Palais.* He was descended from a noble Family, in the Country about the *Maes* (8), where *Carolemannus*, his Father, possess'd a great Estate in *Hasbania* (9). The mutual good Understanding which subsisted between these two great Men, prov'd no less advantageous to their Country, than to themselves and their Posterity. From them both descended the *Carolingian* Line. *Ansegisil*, *Arnulph*'s Son, married *Begga*, *Pipin*'s Daughter, and *Pipin*, her Great-Grand-Son, the third of this Name, at last ascended the Throne. The *Maires de Palais* had hitherto the highest Office at Court: But in this Book we shall find them ever raising their Influence in the Administration, 'till at Length they even obscured the Regal Power.

A Peace in the Kingdom of the *Franks*. Amendment of their Laws, &c.

§ II. THE Kingdom of the *Franks* enjoy'd a Tranquility in this Reign, which it was little accustom'd to; and what is generally said of a War betwixt *Clotarius* and the *Saxons*, is without Foundation (1). Times like these prov'd the more favourable for the Propagation of the *Christian* Faith, and the Transaction of other Affairs, which are best manag'd during a Peace, in particular for an Amendment of the Laws. *Theoderick*, *Clovis*'s Son, had deliver'd to the *Franks*, *Alemanni* and *Bavarians*, their Laws in Writing: And *Childebert* had taken Care to suit them more and more to the *Christian* Religion. *Clotarius* and *Dagobert* now caus'd them to be again revis'd, as we find in the Preface to the

(7) Vit. S. Arnulphi in Sec. II. Bened. ad An. 640. S. Arnulph's *Extraction has given Occasion to many Disputes.* Jean du Bouchet, *in his Work intitled:* La veritable Origine de la seconde & troisieme Lignée de la Maison de France, &c. *attempts to prove, that* Arnulph *was of a* Roman *Extraction, and descended from* Ferreolus, *who was* Præfectus Prætorio Galliarum *under the Emperor* Honorius: *And that* Ansbert, *his Grand-Father, married* Blithildis, *Daughter to* Clotarius I. *But* Valesius *observes, that these Ancestors were not heard of, 'till the Times of* Carolus Calvus; *and* Chantereau le Febure, *refutes this Genealogy at large. Many other Learned Men have likewise interfer'd in this Dispute, of which* F. le Long *mentions some particular Circumstances in his* Bibliotheque Historique de France, n. 9887. *The* Abbot des Camps, *attempts to derive* Arnulph *from* Meroveus *in the Male Line.* V. JOURN. DES SCAVANTS. A. 1720. Ed. Amst.

(8) *See the* 34 *Annot. of the Family of the* Pipins.

(9) Hasbania, Haspengow, la Hasbaye. *A Tract of Land on the* Maese, *which now appertains partly to the Dukedom of* Brabant, *and partly to the Diocese of* Liege, *and its Extent was about from* Louvain *to* Liege. *The principal Town was* Fanum S. Trudonis, S. Truyen.

§ II. (1) *In the* Gesta Francorum *we find indeed an Expedition related of* Clotarius *against the* Saxons. F. Daniel *confirms the Account*, T. 1. p. 275. *But* Valesius *demonstrates it to be a Fable, which is likewise affirm'd by* Echard, p. 193. *and by the Compiler of the* Antiquités de la Monarchie Francoise, &c. T. 1, p. 149.

Laws

Laws of the *Alemanni* and *Bavarians* (2). Theſe Nations may be juſtly commended for their Adherence to certain Laws; and it is an Indication of their Liberty, that they were not enacted nor amended, but at a general Aſſembly of the whole Nation. They appear indeed ſlender and unpoliſh'd to us, but have nevertheleſs their intrinſick Worth, becauſe we meet, in them, with many Traces of the Conſtitution and Manners of the Ancients, and as it were the firſt Foundation of the *German* Laws. *Dagobert* was beloved and eſteemed in *Auſtraſia*. His Subjects flatter'd themſelves with the Hopes, that he would ſubdue the *Sclavi* and *Abares*, and extend the Dominion of the *Franks* as far as the Frontiers of the Empire (3); but in the Event Matters prov'd quite otherwiſe.

Dagobert lays Claim to *Neuſtria* and *Burgundy*, &c.

§ III. *CLOTARIUS* died *A.* 628; and left a Son, by his ſecond Wife, nam'd *Charibert*; but *Dagobert* attempted to make himſelf Maſter of the whole Kingdom. He ſummon'd his *Oſtro-Franks*, and haſten'd to *Soiſſons*, where the *Burgundians* and *Neuſtrians* paid Homage to him (1), and thoſe who at firſt appear'd for *Charibert* were now oblig'd to forſake his Intereſt. Thus he became the firſt of *Clovis*'s Deſcendants, who retain'd his Father's Kingdom without any Diviſion. Yet, at the Perſuaſion of ſome Nobles, he left to his younger Brother a Part of *Aquitain*, namely the Diſtricts of *Cahors*, *Agen*, *Perigord*, *Saintonge*, and all that Tract from the *Garonne* to the *Pyrenæan* Mountains (2). The latter

(2) *See the Preface to the* Bavarian *Laws above*, B. XII. § 42. *The* Leges Alamannorum *begin in the following Terms*: Incipit Lex Alamannorum, quæ temporibus Chlotarii Regis, una cum principibus ſuis, id ſunt XXXII, Epiſcopis, & XXXIIII. Ducibus & LXXII, Comitibus, vel cetero populo conſtituta eſt. *Of both Laws ſee a farther Account in the* 20 *Annot.*

(3) FREDEGARIUS, *c.* 58. Timorem vero ſic ſortem ſua concuſſerat utilitas, ut jam devotione arriperent ſuæ ſe tradere ditioni, ut etiam GENTES, QUÆ CIRCA LIMITEM AVARORUM, ET SCLAVORUM conſiſtunt, eum promte expeterent, ut ille poſt tergum eorum iret feliciter, & Avaros & Sclavos, ceteraſque gentium nationes, uſque MANUM PUBLICAM, ſuæ ditioni ſubjiciendum fiducialiter ſpondebat.

§ III. (1) FREDEGARIUS, *c.* 56. Dagobertus cernens genitorem ſuum fuiſſe defunctum, univerſos leudes, quos regebat in Auſter, jubet in exercitu promovere: miſſos in Burgundia & Auſter (*I. Neuſter*) direxit, ut ſuum deberent regimen eligere. Cumque Remis veniſſet, Sueſſionas peraccedens, omnes Pontifices & leudes de regno Burgundiæ inibi ſe tradidiſſe noſcuntur. Sed & Neuſtraſii, Pontifices & Proceres plurima pars, regnum Dagoberti viſi ſunt expetiiſſe.

(2) IDEM, *c.* 57. Cumque regnum Chlotarii tam Neptrico, quam Burgundiæ, a Dagoberto fuiſſet præoccupatum, captis theſauris & ſuæ ditioni redactis, tandem miſericordia motus, conſilio ſapientium uſus, citra Ligerem & limitem Spaniæ, qui ponitur partibus Waſconiæ, ſeu & montis Pyrenæi pagos & civitates, quod fratri ſuo Chariberto, ad tranſigendum ad inſtar privato habitu, ad vivendum potuiſſet ſufficere, noſcitur conceſſiſſe: pagum Tholoſanum, Catorcinum, Agenenſem, Petrocoreum, & Santonicum, vel quod ab his verſus

ter fix'd his Reſidence at *Toulouſe*, and gain'd much Renown within theſe few Dominions; for he entirely ſubdu'd the *Gaſcons* (3). He died *A.* 631, and as *Chilperic*, his Son, did not long ſurvive him, theſe Countries fell again into *Dagobert's* Hands. After the Death of *Clotarius*, he had choſen *Paris* for his Reſidence, on which Occaſion the *Neuſtrians* expreſs'd a great Jealouſy of the *Auſtraſians*, by whom he was, at firſt, very much influenc'd. And as the King begun to give himſelf up to Luxury (4), *Pipin's* Office became the more arduous: But he preſcrib'd to himſelf a Method, the ſafeſt in all Events; he feared GOD, injur'd no one, and always proceeded with the utmoſt Caution (5).

History of the *Sclavi*, &c.

§ IV. THE Wars, which *Dagobert* carried on againſt the *Sclavi*, oblige me here to take ſome Notice of the State of theſe People. After the many Irruptions, I related above, they ſo far ſucceeded, that ſome of them gain'd a ſure Footing in *Dalmatia*, from whom the Kings of *Servia* and *Croatia* are deſcended (1). Others had fix'd their Habitations in *Pannonia*, and in *Noricum*, where we now find the Countries of *Carniola*, *Carinthia*, *Stiria*, and *Marca Vinidorum* (2); and are generally call'd *Carentani*: But we, likewiſe, meet with *Sclavi* and *Venedi*, on this Side the *Danube*, in *Germania Magna*, in thoſe Countries where the Kingdoms of the *Marcomanni* and *Quadi*, the *Suevi*, *Vandals* and *Goths* formerly flouriſh'd: For, when thoſe Nations were partly remov'd, and partly weaken'd by bloody Wars, the *Venedi* paſs'd over the *Viſtula*,

ſus montes Pyrenæos excluditur. Hoc tantum Chariberto regendum conceſſit, quod & per pactionis vinculum ſtrinxit, ut amplius Charibertus nullo tempore adverſus Dagobertum de regno patris repetere præſumeret. Charibertus ſedem Tholoſæ eligens, regnat in parte provinciæ Aquitanicæ. Poſt annos tres, poſtquam regnare cœpiſſet, totam Waſconiam cum exercitu ſuperans, ſuæ ditioni redigit, aliquantulum largius fecit regni ſui ſpatium.

(3) *That* Charibert *reign'd as King in theſe Countries, appears, among others, from* Fredegarius, cap. 61 & 67.

(4) FREDEGARIUS, *cap.* 60. Luxuriæ ſupra modum deditus tres habebat, ad inſtar Salomonis, Reginas, maxime & plurimas concubinas. Reginæ vero hæ erant, Nantechildis, Welfegundis & Berchildis. Nomina concubinarum eo, quod plures fuiſſent, increvit huic Chronicæ inſeri.

(5) IDEM, c. 61. *relates the prudent Behaviour of this* Major-domo, *in the following Words*: Hæc cernens Pippinus, cum eſſet cautior cunctis, conſilioſus valde, pleniſſimus fide, ab omnibus dilectus, pro juſtitiæ amore, qua Dagobertum conſilioſe inſtruxerat, dum ſuo uſus fuerat conſilio, ſibi tamen nequicquam oblitus juſtitiæ, neque recedens a via bonitatis, cum ad Dagobertum accederet, prudenter agebat iu cunctis, & cautum ſe in omnibus oſtendebat. Zelus Auſtraſiorum adverſus eundem vehementer ſuggerebat, ut etiam ipſum cum Dagoberto conarentur facere odioſum, ut potius interficeretur. Sed juſtitiæ amor & Dei timor, quem diligenter amplexus fuerat, ipſum liberavit a malis.

§ IV. (1) *Of this ſee Annot.* 26.

(2) *We find the Name of* Marca Vinidorum *in* Fredegarius, c. 72.

and,

and, by Degrees, extended their Dominions along the *Oder*, as far as the *Elb*, and along the *Baltick*, whence, in ſucceeding Times, the Names of *Vandals* and *Venedi* were ſo often confounded. The former Inhabitants were, nevertheleſs, in all probability, not wholly extirpated, tho' we cannot exactly aſſign, what Agreement they came to with the new Comers (3). *Fredegarius* mentions the *Sorbi*, as Neighbours to the *Thuringians* (4). None were ſo famous, in the Tranſmigration of theſe *Sclavonians*, as *Zecchus* and *Lecchus*, two Brothers, who, according to the common Tradition of the *Bohemians* and *Poles*, carried freſh Colonies over the *Viſtula*, in this Century: When *Zecchus* fix'd his Habitation in the ancient *Bojohemum*, and founded the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, as *Lecchus* did that of *Poland*: But this Relation is full of doubtful Circumſtances (5). We ſhall become better acquainted with theſe Nations, when we treat of the War carried on againſt them by the *Franks*, and particularly by the Kings of *Germania*. I muſt now confine myſelf to thoſe *Sclavi*, who dwelt in *Noricum* and *Pannonia*. Theſe had, after that Time, been, in ſome Meaſure, ſubject to the *Abares*, but, at laſt, fortunately caſt off that Yoke. About this Time, a *Frank* reign'd over them, nam'd *Samo*, who, at firſt, us'd to viſit their Country, on Account of Commerce only; but ſo diſtinguiſh'd himſelf in the War with the *Abares*, that they elected him their King (6). The Glory he acquir'd in his Reign, not only in the Wars with the ſaid Nation, but even with the *Franks*, juſtifies the Confidence they repos'd in him.

§ V. SOME *Franconian* Merchants had been plunder'd in the Dominions of the *Sclavi*. *Dagobert* ſent, therefore, an Ambaſſador to their King (1), who, not meeting with the Anſwer he expected, expreſs'd himſelf

A War between the *Franks* and *Sclavi*, &c.

(3) *Conf.* Hanckius de Reb. Sileſ. § 38.

(4) *Vid.* § *ſeq.*

(5) *See the 36th Annot. of the Origin of the* Poles.

(6) FREDEGARIUS *treats of this* Samo, c. 48. *where he connects the Beginning of his Reign with the Year* 623.

§ V. (1) FREDEGARIUS *deſcribes this Ambaſſy*, c. 68. Eo anno Sclavi, cognomento Winidi, in regno Samonis negotiantes, Francorum cum plurimam multitudinem rebus exſpoliaſſent, hoc fuit initium ſcandali inter Dagobertum & Samonem, Regem Sclavinorum. Dirigenſque Dagobertus Sicharium, legatarium ad Samonem, petens, ut negotiantes, quos ſui interfecerant, & res, quas inlicite uſurpaverant, cum juſtitia faceret emendare. Samo nolens Sicharium videre, nec ad ſe eum venire permitteret. Sicharius veſtes indutus ad inſtar Sclavinorum, cum ſuis ad conſpectum pervenit, Samoni univerſa, quæ injuncta habebat, nuntiavit: ſed ut habet gentilitas, & ſuperbia pravorum, nihil a Samone, quæ ſui admiſerunt, eſt emendatum, niſi tantum placita vellens inſtituere, ut de his & aliis intentionibus, quæ inter has partes ortæ fuerant, juſtitia redde-

himſelf in Terms ſo menacing and opprobrious, that he was himſelf ſent back in a yet more ignominious Manner. The King of the *Franks* was, therefore, oblig'd to declare War, almoſt againſt his Will. Now, as a League ſubſiſted between him and *Ariovald*, King of the *Longobards*, the latter ſent him Auxiliaries from *Italy*. Theſe and the *Swabians*, under the Command of *Rotbertus*, their Duke, were ſucceſsful: But the *Auſtraſians* themſelves ſuffer'd greatly, when they ventur'd to attack a Fort, in which the *Sclavi* had plac'd a ſtrong Garriſon. It is thought to have been *Voitsberg* in *Stiria* (2). The *Sclavi*, after having vigorouſly repell'd the Storm, fell upon the *Franks*, in their Camp, maſſacred many of them, and put the Reſt to the Flight, who left their whole Baggage a Prey. This Succeſs ſo elevated the *Sclavi*, that, from this Time, they made frequent Incurſions into the bordering *Franconian* Countries, particularly into *Thuringia*. *Dervan*, Prince of the *Sorbi*, who had hitherto acknowledg'd the Supremacy of the *Franks*, revolted now to *Samo* (3), and many other *Sclavonian* Nations had, very probably, a Share in theſe Occurrences.

Dagobert prepares for a freſh Expedition.

§ VI. *DAGOBERT* rais'd a freſh Army in *Neuſtria* and *Burgundy* (1). When he came to *Mentz*, Ambaſſadors appear'd from ſome

redderetur invicem. Sicharius, ſicut ſtultus legatus, verba improperii, quæ injuncta non habuerat, & minas adverſus Samonem loquitur, eo quod Samo & populus regni ſui Dagoberto deberent ſervitium. Samo reſpondens jam ſaucius dixit: Et terra, quam habemus, Dagoberti eſt, & nos ſui ſumus, ſi tamen nobiſcum diſpoſuerit amicitiam conſervare. Sicharius dicens; Non eſt poſſibile, ut Chriſtiani, Dei ſervi, cum canibus amicitias conlocare poſſint. Samo e contrario dixit: ſi vos eſtis Dei ſervi, & nos ſumus canes, dum vos aſſidue contra ipſum agitis, nos permiſſum accepimus, vos morſibus lacerare. Ejectus eſt Sicharius de conſpectu Samonis.

(2) FREDEGARIUS, *c.* 68 Cum hæc Dagoberto nunciaſſet, Dagobertus jubet de univerſo regno Auſtraſiorum contra Samonem & Winidos movere exercitum: ubi tribus turmis phalangæ ſuper Winidos exercitus ingreditur: etiam & Longobardi, ſolatione Dagoberti, idemque hoſtiliter in Sclavos perrexerunt. Sclavi his & aliis locis e contrario præparantes, Alamannorum exercitus cum Chrodoberto, Duce, in parte, qua ingreſſus eſt, victoriam obtinuit. Langobardi itidemque victoriam obtinuerunt, & plurimum numerum captivorum de Sclavis Alemanni & Longobardi ſecum duxerunt. Auſtraſii vero cum ad caſtrum WOGASTIBURC, ubi plurima manus fortium Winidorum immoraverant, circumdantes, triduo prœliantes, plures ibidem de exercitu Dagoberti gladio trucidantur, & exinde fugaciter omnes tentoria, & res, quas habuerunt, relinquentes, ad proprias ſedes revertuntur. *The Caſtle of* Wogaſtiburg *is, according to* Lazius, *the preſent* Voitſberg, *in* Stiria. *His Opinion is follow'd by* Eccard, T. 1. p. 202.

(3) IBID. Multis poſt hæc vicibus Winidi in Thuringiam & reliquos vaſtando pagos, in Francorum pagos irruunt. Dervanus, Dux gentis Urbiorum, qui ex genere Sclavinorum erant, & ad regnum Francorum jam olim adſpexerant, ſe ad regnum Samoni cum ſuis tradidit. Urbii *were thoſe* Sclavi, *which otherwiſe are call'd* Sorbii, Sorbi, *or* Sorabi.

§ VI. (1) FREDEGARIUS, *c.* 74.

neighbour-

neighbouring *Saxon* Nations, who had, ſince the Time of *Clotarius* I, been forc'd to pay an annual Tribute of 500 Cows, for the King's Kitchen. They propos'd, that if the King would remit this Contribution, their Country-Men were ready to undertake, at their own Peril, the War with the *Sclavi*, and to keep them from the *Franconian* Dominions. Expeditions againſt an Enemy, ſo far diſtant, prov'd very diſagreable to the *Neuſtrians* and *Burgundians*, as War is attended with great Danger, and, tho' this ſhould prove never ſo fortunate, they could hope for but little Advantage, eſpecially as the *Auſtraſians* had loſt both their Courage and Force, thro' private Diſcontent. He was, therefore, perſuaded to accept of the Propoſal. The Ambaſſadors, according to the Cuſtom, at that Time among the *German* Nations, ſwore to the Agreement on their Arms: But the *Saxons* were either not very active, or met with little Succeſs (2). For the *Venedi* continued to invade the Dominions of the *Franks* in ſeveral Places, and *Dagobert* found, at laſt, that *Auſtraſia* could not be better ſecur'd, than by granting to the Nation a King, which they earneſtly deſir'd. He, therefore, at a Convention at *Metz* †, declar'd *Sigebert*, his Son, tho' not yet three Years of Age, King of *Auſtraſia* (3). The Adminiſtration of the Government, and Inſpection over the young King's Houſhold, were truſted to *Cunebert*, Biſhop of *Cologn*, and to Duke *Aldalgiſil*, Son to S. *Arnulph* (4): But he kept *Pipin*

† *A.* 633.

(2) IBID. Saxones miſſos ad Dagobertum dirigunt, petentes, ut ei tributa, quæ fiſci ditionibus diſſolvebant, indulgeret: ipſi vero eorum ſtudio & utilitate Winidis reſiſtere ſpondent, & Francorum limitem de illis partibus cuſtodire promittunt, quod Dagobertus conſilio Neuſtraſiorum adeptus præſtitit Saxonibus, qui his petitionibus ſuggerendum venerant. Sacramentum, ut eorum mos erat, ſuper arma placata, pro univerſis Saxonibus firmant. Sed parum hæc promiſſio ſortitur effectum, tamen tributum Saxones, quod reddere conſueverant, præceptione Dagoberti habent indultum. Quingentas vaccas inferendales, annis ſingulis, a Chlotario ſeniore cenſiti, reddebant, quod a Dagoberto caſſatum eſt.

(3) *This* Sigebert *was, according to* Fredegarius's *Relation, a natural Son. He ſays of* Dagobert, *c.* 9. An. IX. regni ſui cum Auſter regio cultu circuiret, quandam puellam, nomine Ragnetrudam, ſtratui adſcivit ſuo, de qua eo anno habuit filium, nomine Sigebertum. *In the next Chapter, he names his Wives, of which he had three at once, and among whom we do not find* Ragnetruda. *On the contrary,* in Vit. Sigeberti, *his Mother is nam'd* Regina.

(4) FREDEGARIUS, *c.* 75. Anno XI. regni Dagoberti cum Winidi juſſu Samonis fortiter ſævirent, & ſæpe tranſcenſo eorum limite, *(ad)* regnum Francorum vaſtandum, Thoringiam & reliquos pagos ingrederentur, Dagobertus Mettis urbem veniens, cum conſilio Pontificum, ſeu & procerum, omnibuſque primatibus regni ſui conſentientibus, Sigebertum, filium ſuum, in Auſteris Regem ſublimavit, ſedemque Mettis civitatem habere permiſit. Chunibertum, Coloniæ urbis pontificem, & Adalgiſelum, Ducem, *(ad)* palatium & regnum gubernandum inſtituit. Theſaurum, quod ſufficeret, filio tradens, condigne, ut decuit, eum hujus culmine ſublimavit, & quodcunque eidem largitus fuerat, ſingillatim præcep-

Pipin, and ſome other Nobles, near his Perſon, in Order to conſult with them about the Affairs of the *Oſtro-Franks*, and, by their Means, to be the more ſecure of the Fidelity of thoſe Nations. The *Auſtraſians*, after this, defended themſelves bravely againſt the *Venedi* (5), on which Occaſion *Rudolph*, Duke of *Thuringia*, diſtinguiſh'd his Valour. Queen *Nanthildis* was, ſoon after, deliver'd of a Son, who reign'd afterwards, by the Name of *Clovis* II. *Dagobert*, upon this, made a Regulation, at a General Aſſembly, that *Clovis* ſhould, after his Death, ſucceed in *Neuſtria* and *Burgundy*, and that *Sigebert* ſhould have, for his Share, whatever the former Kings of *Auſtraſia* poſſeſs'd in the other Provinces of *Gaul* (6).

He interferes in the Affairs of the *Wiſi-Goths*, &c.

§ VII. DURING the War with the *Sclavi*, *Dagobert* interfer'd likewiſe in the Affairs of the *Wiſi-Goths*. This Kingdom was become very powerful, after the *Gothick* Kings had entirely driven the *Imperialiſts* out of *Spain*. *Dagobert* was perhaps hereby prompted to ſend Auxiliaries to *Siſenandus*, when he rebell'd againſt *Suintilas*, according to the uſual Policy of Potentates, who expect ſo ſtrict a Fidelity from their own Subjects, and foment Diviſions among their Neighbours. *Dagobert* order'd ſome Troops to march to his Aid from *Burgundy*: But they came no farther, than *Sarrogoça*, where the *Goths* proclaim'd *Siſenandus* King (1). Several generous Foundations teſtify *Dagobert*'s Liberality to the Church (2). But the Zeal he expreſs'd for the Propagation of its Doctrines, is obſcured by the forcible Means he made Uſe of for that End (3). He was particularly ſevere in perſecuting the *Jews*, to which he is ſaid to have been perſuaded by the Emperor *Heraclius*, who undertook to extirpate them (4). *Siſenandus*, King of the *Wiſi-Goths*,

præceptionibus roborandum decrevit. Deinde Auſtraſiii eorum ſtudio limitem, & regnum Francorum, contra Winidos utiliter defenſaſſe noſcuntur.

(5) *Of the ſucceſsful Exploits of this* Rudolph, *againſt the* Venedi, *ſee* § 8. 1.

(6) FREDEGARIUS, *c.* 76.

§ VII. (1) FREDEGARIUS, *c.* 73.

(2) *Some pretend, that he founded the Monaſtery of S.* Peter, *at* Erfurt: *But* Eccard *queſtions this*, p. 210.

(3) In Vita S. Amandi, c. 11. *we find, that* Aicharius, *Biſhop of* Noyon, *prevail'd on the King to publiſh an Edict, of this Import:* Si quis non ſponte per baptiſmi lavacrum ragenerari voluiſſet, coactus a Rege, ſacro abluëretur baptiſmate.

(4) FREDEGAR. *c.* 65. Heraclius, cum eſſet literis nimium eruditus, Aſtrologus efficitur, per quod cernens a circumciſis gentibus, divino nutu imperium eſſe vaſtandum, ad Dagobertum, Regem Francorum, dirigens, petit, ut omnes Judæos regni ſui ad fidem catholicam baptizandos præciperet: quod protinus Dagobertus implevit. F. le Cointe *obſerves, that the Cauſe here aſſigned, for the Hatred* Heraclius *bore to the* Jews, *is fictitious.*

proceeded

proceeded likewiſe very cruelly againſt them, notwithſtanding that *Iſidorus*, and other Teachers of the Church, were ſo far from approving of theſe forcible Converſions (5), that they were prohibited by the Council of *Toledo* (6). *Dagobert* died, *A.* 638, and the States of *Neuſtria* and *Burgundy* immediately plac'd *Clovis*, his younger Son, on the Throne. *Nanthildis*, his Mother, and *Æga*, the *Maire de Palais*, were his Guardians (7). *Pipin* return'd to *Auſtraſia*, with the other *Oſtro-Franks* of Diſtinction, whom *Dagobert* had kept at his Court, and there ſhar'd the Cares of the Government, as *Maire de Palais*, with his old Friend the Biſhop of *Cologn*. The Queen-Dowager found it likewiſe adviſeable to conſtitute a ſeparate *Maire de Palais*, in *Burgundy*, which Poſt the deceas'd King had aboliſh'd at the Deſire of the *Burgundians* (8). Thus, during the Minority of both Kings, the *Maires de Palais* bearing the Sway in *Auſtraſia*, *Neuſtria* and *Burgundy*, the Foundation was laid for that Power and Authority, which we ſhall, in ſucceeding Times, find theſe Officers inveſted with. *Pipin* died ſoon after †, and *Grimoald*, his Son, was reſolv'd to ſucceed in his Father's Poſt at any Rate. *Otto*, who had hitherto been intruſted with the Education of the young King, aim'd at it likewiſe. *Grimoald*, before all Things, ſecur'd the Intereſt of the Biſhop of *Cologn*: Nor was *Otto* deſtitute of Adherents. A publick Rupture hereupon enſued, which continued three Years, 'till *Otto* was kill'd by *Leutharius*, Duke of the *Alemanni* (9). I muſt, by the Way, obſerve, that this Duke *Leutharius* is very famous in Genealogy, where

† *A.* 639.

(5) ISIDORUS, Chron. Goth. *ær.* 651. *ſays of* Siſenandus: Qui in initio regni ſui Judæos ad fidem Chriſtianam permovens, æmulationem quidem Dei habuit, ſed non ſecundum ſcientiam. Poteſtate enim compulit, quos provocare fidei ratione oportuit. Sed ſicut ſcriptum eſt, ſive per occaſionem, ſive per veritatem Chriſtus adnuntietur. *Which is repeated by* Rodericus Toletanus.

(6) CONCIL. TOLET. IV. *c.* 56. De Judæis autem præcipit ſancta ſynodus, nemini deinceps ad credendum vim inferre. Cui enim vult, Deus miſeretur: & quem vult, indurat. Non enim tales inviti ſalvandi ſunt, ſed volentes, ut integra ſit forma juſtitiæ.

(7) FREDEGARIUS, *c.* 79. Omneſque Leudes de Neuſter & Burgundia cum Maſſolaco, villa, ſublimant in regnum. Æga vero cum Regina, Nantechilde, quam Dagobertus reliquerat, regebat palatium.

(8) IDEM, *c.* 89. Cumque Nantechildis cum filio ſuo, Chlodoveo, Rege, poſt diſceſſum Æganæ, Aurelianis, in Burgundiæ regnum veniſſet, ibique omnes Seniores, Pontifices, Duces & Primates de regno Burgundiæ ad ſe venire præcepit: ibique cunctos Nantechildis ſigillatim adtrahens, Flaochatus, genere Francus, Major Domus, in regnum Burgundiæ, electione Pontificum, & cunctorum Ducum, a Nantechilde, Regina, in hunc gradum honoris nobiliter ſtabilitur.

(9) IDEM, *c.* 88. Otto, qui adverſus Grimoaldum inimicitia per ſuperbiam tumebat, factione Grimoaldi, a Leuthario, Duce Alemannorum, interficitur.

he is ſaid to have given Riſe to the Counts of *Alſatia*, from which fruitful Branch of Heroes are deſcended the Houſes of *Habsburg*, *Lorrain*, and *Baden* (10).

Rudolph, Duke of *Thuringia*, rebels, &c.

§ VIII. *RUDOLPH*, Duke of *Thuringia*, had been ſeveral Times ſucceſsful againſt the *Sclavi*, which made him ſo vain, that he thought much of being ſubject to *Adalgiſil*. *Sigebert*'s Youth, and the Diſſentions among the Nobles at Court, about the Place of *Maire de Palais*, excited him now to that Degree, that he at laſt publickly rebell'd againſt the King (1). He had not only ſome Adherents at *Sigebert*'s Court, who promis'd to farther his Deſigns, but he depended likewiſe on the Aſſiſtance of a powerful Nobleman in *Bavaria*, nam'd *Farus*, whoſe Father, being at Variance with *Arnulph* and *Pipin*, had been murder'd in *Dagobert*'s Reign. But *Sigebert* aſſembled all his Vaſſals in *Auſtraſia* †, and paſs'd the *Rhine* with an Army (2). *Farus* hazarded an Engagement with him; but was himſelf kill'd in the Field. The *Franks* hereupon march'd through the *Buch-Wald*, into *Thuringia*. *Rudolph* had built a Fort on a Hill near the *Unſtrut*, where he and his Adherents had ſecur'd their Wives and Children, together with their beſt Effects, and they ventur'd to ſtand a Siege. When the Army arriv'd here, the Commanders were divided. Some mov'd for an immediate Attack; but others, particularly *Grimoald*, and Duke *Adalgiſil*, adviſ'd, that the Army ſhould firſt take ſome Reſt (3). The Heat of the former prevail'd; but as they attempted to mount the ſteep Aſcent, *Rudolph* repell'd them with ſo much Advantage, that a great Number, together with their Commanders, loſt their Lives. The young King could not refrain from Tears at the Loſs of ſo many valiant Men; and thoſe, who were with him thought it

† *A.* 640.

(10) *This Genealogy is properly illuſtrated by* F. Vignier, *in his Treatiſe intitled:* La veritable origine des Maiſons d' Alſace, de Lorraine, &c. Eccard *treats of it yet more circumſtantially* in Originib. Habsburgo-Auſtriac. Lib. 1. c. 2.

§ VIII. (1) Fredegarius, *c.* 77. Radulfus, Dux, filius Chamari, quem Dagobertus in Thuringia Ducem inſtituit, pluribus vicibus cum exercitu Winidorum dimicans, eoſque victos vertit in fugam. Hujus victoriæ ſuperbia elatus, & contra Adalgiſelum, Ducem, diverſis occaſionibus inimicitias tendens, paullatim contra Sigebertum jam tunc cœpit rebellare.

(2) Idem, *c.* 87. Juſſu Sigeberti omnes Leudes Auſtraſiorum, in exercitu gradiendum, banniti ſunt.

(3) Idem, *l. c.* Sigebertus Rhenum cum exercitu tranſiens, gentes undique de univerſis regni ſui pagis ultra Rhenum cum ipſo adunatæ ſunt. Primo in loco filium Chrodoaldi, nomine Farum, qui cum Radulfo unitum habebat conſilium, exercitus Sigeberti trucidans rupit, ipſumque interfecit: omnem populum hujus Fari, qui gladium evaſit, captivitati deputant. Omneſque primates, & exercitus dextras invicem dantes, ut nullus Radulfo vitam concederet. Fredegarius, c. 52. *treats of* Chrodoaldus, *and calls him* quendam e proceribus de gente nobili Ayglolfina.

moſt

moſt adviſeable to accommodate Matters amicably with the Duke, that they might themſelves return in Safety over the *Rhine* (4). After this Time, *Rudolph*, indeed, acknowledg'd, to all Appearance, *Sigebert*'s Supremacy; but govern'd actually in *Thuringia*, as a King, and made Leagues with the *Sclavi*, and other neighbouring Nations, thereby to be the better able to keep his Ground (5).

§ IX. IN the mean Time, while the Kingdom of the *Franks* enjoy'd this Tranquility, unhappy Diviſions aroſe in the *Roman* Empire in the *Eaſt*. The Army had conceiv'd a very great Hatred for *Mauritius*. The *Abares* had taken ſome Thouſands of *Roman* Soldiers Priſoners, which they offer'd to the Emperor for a ſmall Ranſom; but he refuſing it, they maſſacred them. It was thought a Piece of military Diſcipline in ancient *Rome*, not to redeem Captives (1): But this, in Times ſo effeminate as theſe, would not go down. The Army imputing it to the Avarice of *Mauritius*, rebell'd, and ſet up *Focas* for Emperor. He ſoon made the Emperor Priſoner, and firſt caus'd his Sons to be murder'd, in his Preſence, and then himſelf. *Mauritius* bore his unhappy Fate, with great Conſtancy, and ſeem'd not ſo much concern'd for his Sufferings, as for the Sins, whereby he might have provok'd the Divine Wrath: The Re-

Occurrences in the Empire under *Focas* and *Heraclius*, &c.

(4) IDEM, *c.* 87. *p.* 656. Sigebertus deinde, Buchoniam cum exercitu tranſiens, Thoringiam properans. Radulfus hæc cernens caſtrum, lignis munitum, in quodam monte ſuper Uneſtrude fluvio in Thuringia conſtruens, exercitum undique, quantum plus potuit, colligens, cum uxore & liberis in hoc caſtro ad ſe defenſandum ſtabilivit: ibique Sigebertus cum exercitu regni ſui veniens, caſtrum undique circumdat exercitus. Radulfus vero intrinſecus ad prœlium fortiter præparatus ſedebat. Sed hoc prœlium ſine conſilio initum eſt. Hoc adoleſcentia Sigeberti Regis patravit, cum alii eodem die vellent procedere ad bellum, & alii in craſtino, nec unitum habentes conſilium. Grimoaldus & Adalegiſelus duces hæc cernentes, Sigeberti periculum zelantes, eum undique ſine intermiſſione cuſtodiunt. Bobo, dux Arvernus cum parte exercitus Adalegiſeli, & Ænovalaus, comes Sogiantenſis, cum pagenſibus ſuis, & cetera exercitus manus plurima contra Radulfum ad portam caſtri protinus pugnandum perrexerunt. Radulfus cum aliquibus ducibus exercitus Sigiberti fiduciam haberet, quod ſuper ipſum non voluiſſent viribus inruere; de caſtro per portam prorumpens, ſuper exercitum Sigiberti cum ſuis inruens, tanta ſtrages a Radulfo cum ſuis de exercitu Sigiberti fit, ut mirum fuiſſet. Magancenſes in hoc prœlio non fuerunt fideles. Ferturque ibi plurima millia hominum fuiſſe trucidata gladio. Radulfus patrata victoria in caſtrum ingreditur. Sigibertus cum ſuis fidelibus gravi amaritudinis mœrore abreptus, ſuper equum ſedens, lacrymas oculis prorumpens, plangebat quos perdiderat, &c.

(5) IDEM, *l. c.* Radulfus ſuperbia elatus ad modum Regis in Thoringia ſe eſſe cenſebat, amicitias cum Winidis firmans, ceteraſque gentes, quas vicinas habebat, cultu amicitiæ obligabat. In verbis tamen Sigiberto regimen non denegabat, ſed in factis fortiter ejuſdem reſiſtebat dominationi.

§ IX. (1) LIVIUS, *Lib.* 22. 59.

membrance of which made him ſeveral Times break out in theſe Words: *Lord, thou art juſt, and juſt are thy Judgments* *. Pope *Gregory* the *Great*, who was at Variance with *Mauritius*, form'd great Hopes of *Focas*'s Reign, as appears from the Letters, wherein he congratulates him, and the Empreſs *Leontia*, on their Acceſſion to the Throne (2). He entreated him indeed to be thoughtful how to free *Italy* from the *Longobards*: But *Focas* was too deeply engag'd in the unhappy War with the *Perſians* (3); for *Coſroës* had taken *Syria*, *Palæſtine* and *Phœnicia*: His Carriage was moreover ſuch, that when *Heraclius* ſet up for Emperor †, he was joyfully receiv'd. *Heraclius* had likewiſe bloody Wars with the *Perſians*, in which he made Uſe of *Turkiſh* Auxiliaries, as *Juſtin* had formerly done. Theſe dwelt then beyond Mount *Caucaſus*, and invaded the *Perſian* Dominions, on the Side of *Derbent*, with ſuch Advantage, that the Fame thereof reach'd even the *Franks* (4). He obtain'd a glorious Victory, *A.* 621: And an advantageous Peace enſued, *A.* 628, by Virtue of which the *Perſians* reſtor'd ſome Provinces to the *Roman* Empire. His Reign is particularly memorable (5) on Account of two Circumſtances, the Hereſy of the *Monothelites*, and the great Revolution of the *Saracens*. I have already more than once taken Notice (6) of the Commotions rais'd in the Empire by the *Eutychians*, and mention'd in particular what Pains *Juſtinian* took to maintain the Authority of the Council of *Chalcedon*, where *Eutyches* had been condemn'd: But the *Acephali* found now another Means of concealing their Error, and keeping open their Way to Preferment in the Church. As they were forc'd

† *A.* 610.

* Theophylact. *Lib.* 8. 11.

(2) Gregorius, *Lib.* 13. *ep.* 31, 38.

(3) *He ſays*, ep. 38. *(where he entreats him to give a good Reception to* Boniface, *the Deacon:)* Cui rogo, ut Serenitas veſtra, nobis valeat celerius miſereri, quando afflictionem noſtram verius ex ejus relatione cognoverit. Qualiter enim quotidianis gladiis & quantis Langobardorum incurſionibus, ecce jam per triginta quinque annorum longitudinem premimur, nullis explere ſuggeſtionis vocibus valemus. Sed in omnipotente Deo confidimus, quia ea, quæ cœpit, conſolationis ſuæ nobis bona perficiet, & qui ſuſcitavit in Republica pios Dominos, etiam extinguet crudeles inimicos.

(4) *In* Fredegarius, cap. 66. *we find a remarkable Paſſage concerning theſe* Portæ Caſpiæ: Heraclius legationem ad Portas Caſpias, quas Alexander Magnus, Macedo, ſuper Caſpium mare æreas fieri, & ſerrare juſſerat, propter inundationem gentium ſæviſſimarum, quæ ultra montem Caucaſi culminis habitabant, eaſdem portas Heraclius aperire præcepit. *Whoever is deſirous to inquire more narrowly into theſe ſo remote Pieces of Antiquity, will take the more Pleaſure in reading* Baleri's *learned Treatiſe* de Muro Caucaſeo.

(5) Georgius Pisidius, *Arch-Deacon of the Church at* Conſtantinople, *wrote the Hiſtory of* Heraclius, *and particularly that* de Bello Avarico. F. Maltraite *gave us Hopes of ſeeing them in Print, but we have not yet that Satisfaction.*

(6) *Vid. Lib.* 11. § 28. *&* *Lib.* 13. § 28.

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to acknowledge both Natures in our Saviour's Perſon, ſo on the other Hand they taught, that he had only one Will, and that according to his Divine Nature, whence they were call'd *Monothelitæ* (7). They won the Emperor *Heraclius* over to their Party, who publiſh'd ſuch a Confeſſion of Faith †, and Pope *Honorius* himſelf fell into the Snare, laid for him by the artful *Greeks* (8). After his Deceaſe the Emperor refus'd to confirm the new-elected Pope, *Honorius*, 'till he had ſubſcrib'd to this *Ecthesis*, as he called it: *Iſaacius*, the *Exarchus*, repair'd for that Purpoſe to *Rome* (9); but took this Opportunity to carry off the Treaſure, depoſited in the *Lateran* Palace (10). The Emergencies of the Empire ſerv'd as a Cloak, to palliate the Avarice of the *Greeks*, and their Deſire of pillaging *Italy* more and more.

† *Ecthesis.*

§ X. How foreign ſoever an Account of the *Saracens* may ſeem to my Deſign, yet I muſt here mention the Foundation of their Monarchy. They gave the laſt Shock to the *Roman* Empire in the *Eaſt*; and we ſhall find them, when leaſt expected, invading *Spain*, vanquiſhing the *Wiſi-Goths*, and even trying their Fortune againſt the *Franks* in *Gaul*. In ſucceeding Ages, at the Time of the *Cruſadoes*, how did not almoſt all the *Weſtern Chriſtians* exert both their Valour and Devotion againſt them. The Inhabitants of *Arabia*, who are known by the general Name of *Saracens* (1), were divided into many Branches, moſt of which call'd themſelves Deſcendants of the Patriarchs. The *Koreiſh*, in particular, who were poſſeſs'd of *Mecca*, pretended to be deſcended from *Iſhmael*. Some of theſe Nations had, indeed, profeſs'd the *Chriſtian* Faith; but the various Hereticks, who, when perſecuted in the *Roman* Empire, took Refuge there, had corrupted the ſame very much. Moſt of them were a Kind of *Pagans*, but, amidſt their Idolatry, retain'd ſome Traces of the ancient and reveal'd Worſhip of a SUPREAM BEING (2). Some held with

Origin of the Kingdom of the *Saracens*.

(7) *Vid.* COMBEFISII *Hiſtoria Monothelitarum*, § 1——4.

(8) *It is much doubted, whether Pope* Honorius *actually embrac'd the Doctrine of the* Monothelites. Vid. PAGIUS, ad An. 633. n. 13. 1.

(9) PAGIUS, *ad A.* 638. *n.* 3, 4.

(10) ANASTASIUS. *Conf.* COMBEFISIUS, *l. c.* § 12.

§ X. (1) *Various are the Conjectures of the Learned about the Origin of the Name of* Saracens. *Thoſe ſeem to hit it beſt, who, with* LUC. HOLSTENIUS, in Not ad Stephanum Byzantium de Urb. p. 283. *and* HERBELOT, in Bibl. Orient. p. 777. *derive it from the City of* Saraca. *They are, likewiſe, call'd* Agareni, *or* Hagareni, *from the Word* Hagiar, *which is properly the Name of* Arabia Petræa. *The Followers of* Mahomed *call themſelves* Moſlemana, *that is,* the Faithful, *or* Reſigned to GOD.

(2) *Vid.* ABRAH. ECHELLENS. *in Supplem. Hiſt. Orient. cap.* 6.

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the *Magi*, and adher'd to the ancient Religion of the *Perſians*; but more, and among thoſe, in particular, the *Koreiſh*, were of the Sect of the *Sabii* (3); which had, in former Times, been very famous in the *Eaſt*. They acknowledg'd one only GOD, but, in a certain Meaſure, ador'd the Stars, which, they imagin'd, were govern'd by certain particular Spirits. Tho' *Trajan*, and other *Roman* Emperors, triumph'd as Conquerors of *Arabia*, yet the *Romans* ſubdu'd but a ſmall Part of this vaſt Country, namely, that which is properly call'd *Arabia Petræa*. The other *Arabians* preſerv'd their Liberties, 'till *Mahomed* laid a Foundation, at one and the ſame Time, for a new Religion and a new Empire: He was a Native of *Mecca*, bred to Trade (4); but, by Nature, capable of appearing in a higher Sphere: He poſſeſs'd a good Aſpect, Sagacity, Valour and Eloquence; and knew, at the ſame Time, how to conceal an infatiable Ambition, under the Appearance of Zeal, Devotion and Love for the Poor (5). In the Year 611, he ſet up for a Prophet, under Pretence, that the Angel *Gabriel* had appear'd to him. The chief Purport of his Doctrine was, that there was One only GOD, and that he was his Prophet. From the Revelations, he boaſted of, he afterwards compos'd the Book, which is known by the *Arabian* Name *Al-Coran*. When his Proſelytes begun to be numerous, the *Koreiſh* oppos'd him ſo ſtrenuouſly, that he was oblig'd to fly from *Mecca* †. He repair'd to *Medina*, and this Flight was fix'd upon, by his Followers, as the Beginning of that *Æra*, which they make Uſe of to this Day. Hitherto he had only endeavour'd to gain Converts by Perſuaſion: But now his real Views appear'd. He pretended, that GOD had permitted him to defend himſelf; and when he ſucceeded in this, he went farther, and ſaid, he was empower'd to extirpate Idolatry by Force. The Conqueſt of *Mecca* was, as it were, his firſt Eſſay; and he was now acknowledg'd a

† *A.* 622, *d.* 16. *Jul.*

(3) *Of the* Religio Sabiorum, *ſee* PRIDEAUX's Connection of the Hiſt. of the Old and New Teſtam. *and* SALE's Præl. Diſc. p. 14.

(4) ELMACIN. in Hiſtor. Saracen. Lib. 1. cap. 1. *Among the* Arabian *Writers*, Abulfeda *is famous for writing* Mahomed's *Life*. Maraccius *and* Prideaux *diſtinguiſh'd themſelves by writing the ſame Life. But Count* Boulainvilliers *charges them with being too credulous, and receiving every Fable as true. He himſelf is almoſt ſuſpected of having conceiv'd too good an Opinion of* Mahomed. *Mr.* Sale *relates this Pſeudo-Prophet's Hiſtory with moſt Veracity, in the Preliminary Diſcourſe to his* Engliſh *Tranſlation of the* Coran.

(5) *In theſe Colours he is repreſented by* Spanheimius, *Hiſt. Eccl. Sec.* 7. *cap.* 5. Id certum, naturalibus egregie dotibus inſtructum Muhamedem, forma præſtanti, ingenio callido, moribus facetis, ac præ ſe ferentem liberalitatem in egenos, comitatem in ſingulos, fortitudinem in hoſtes, ac præ ceteris reverentiam divini numinis: *And, c.* 7. Severus fuit in perjuros, avaros, falſos teſtes, &c. Magnus idem patientiæ, charitatis, miſericordiæ, beneficentiæ, gratitudinis, honoris in parentes, ac ſuperiores, præco, ut & divinarum laudum.

Prophet

Prophet throughout almoſt all *Arabia*; under which Title he exerted an unlimited Authority. He died at *Medina*, *A.* 632, where his Tomb is to be ſeen to this Day. Soon after his Death, thoſe *Saracens*, who had, 'till then, been in Pay under the *Romans*, revolted, and join'd the Reſt of their Country-Men (6). Now what could there be out of the Power of ſo mighty a Nation to execute? whoſe natural Fire had inſpired as well their Valour, as their Experience, and who were, at the ſame Time, prompted, not only by an Ambition of founding a great Kingdom, but by a Zeal for their Religion; which was in a particular Manner adapted, ſo as to gain Proſelytes from every Sect. Many of the ancient Rites of the *Koreiſh*, particularly Circumciſion, and the Adoration of the Temple at *Mecca*, were retain'd; and, by Polygamy, it conform'd to the Manners of almoſt all the *Eaſt*. In the *Coran* itſelf, we find ſeveral Things agreable to the Sentiments of the *Jews*, and many likewiſe to the *New Teſtament*; but theſe latter ſeem rather to have been taken from ſome ſpurious Writings, than from the true Sources of *Chriſtianity*; and *Mahomed* could not form a right Judgment of the Morality thereof, by Reaſon of the Depravation of thoſe Times. It was, at the ſame Time, adapted to keep up in the People an implicit Obedience, and an Intrepidity in War; for, beſides the Doctrine of inevitable Deſtiny, they were taught, that thoſe, who were kill'd in War againſt the Enemies of their Faith, are immediately admitted into Paradiſe (7). Next to theſe Things, the Nature and Situation of *Arabia*, the Declenſion both of the *Roman* and *Perſian* Empire, and even the unhappy State of the Church, in which the Force of ſalutary Doctrine was almoſt ſwallow'd up in Controverſy; all theſe, I ſay, contributed greatly to the ſo ſpeedy Extenſion of the Dominion of the *Saracens*.

§ XI. *MAHOMED* had, indeed, before his Deceaſe, appointed his Son-in-Law, *Ali*, to be his Succeſſor; but *Abubeker* was, by a Majority, choſen *Caliph*, (for ſo the Princes of the *Saracens*, *Mahomed*'s Succeſſors, are call'd). *Ali* repair'd, in Diſcontent, to his Army, and this Diviſion in the Government ſoon occaſion'd a Schiſm in Religion. *Abubeker* firſt fix'd his Reſidence at *Cufa*, and afterwards at *Bagdad*. *Omar*, his Succeſſor, conquer'd *Syria* and *Phœnicia*, and ſoon after, *Egypt*, *Judæa*, and the City of *Jeruſalem*, which remain'd in the Hands of theſe Infidels, 'till *Godfrey* of *Bouillon* took it from them. He, likewiſe, took large Tracts of Land from the *Perſians*, and, in *Oſman*'s

Progreſs of the *Saracens*; they make great Devaſtations in *Syria*, *&c.*

(6) PAGIUS *ad A.* 631. *n.* 2.

(7) RELANDUS *de Religione Mohametdan. L.* 2. § 38. *& in Diſſ. de Jure Milit. Moham.* § 3. *n.*

Reign,

Reign, the *Muſslemen* had an Opportunity of eſtabliſhing themſelves in *Africa*: For when *Gregory* aſſum'd the Imperial Dignity in that Country, the Inhabitants demanded the Aid of the *Saracens*. Theſe, indeed, vanquiſh'd *Gregory*, but impos'd a Tribute themſelves on the Provinces. The greateſt Indication of their Power is, that, after ſeveral Victories, they at laſt, *A.* 651, ſubverted the *Perſian* Empire, which, till then, had been ſo formidable to the *Romans*. After *Oſman*'s Death, *Ali* was, indeed, at laſt, choſen *Caliph*; but the Schiſm, which was once propagated in the Religion of the *Saracens*, continues to this Day. *Ali*, in his Expoſition of *Mahomed*'s Doctrine, had left a greater Scope of Liberty, than *Abubeker* and his Followers; but *Omar* and *Oſman* wrote againſt him. The *Turks* follow the Interpretation of *Oſman*, and the *Perſians* and *Arabians* that of *Ali*.

Pope *Martin* holds a Synod againſt the *Monothelites*.

§ XII. BUT the *Romans* took no Example from theſe Preſages of impending Judgments: Several Churches had zealouſly oppos'd the *Monothelites*, and particularly Pope *Theodorus*. The Emperor *Conſtans*, therefore, publiſh'd another *Typus*, written by *Paul*, Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, wherein the Uſe of the Words, *of one or two Wills*, was prohibited. In the mean Time, thoſe, who were of the former Opinion, were, upon all Occaſions, promoted (1). The Orthodox complain'd greatly, that Truth and Error were put upon an equal Footing. The Court, the People and the Army were all divided. Pope *Martin* held a Council, *A.* 649, in the *Lateran*, with the Biſhops of *Italy*, *Sicily*, *Sardinia* and *Corſica*. Here he rejected this *Typus*, and condemn'd the Doctrine of one Will, as a Branch of the *Eutychian* Hereſy. The whole Fault was imputed to the Patriarch, without derogating from the Reſpect due to the Emperor *. *Martin* ſent (2) this Decree to the *Franconian* Church (3), and intreated the two Kings, *Sigebert* and *Clovis* (4), to

§ XII. (1) *Conf.* COMBEFISIUS, *p.* 54. C.

(2) BARONIUS *has publiſhed this* Encyclica, *ad An.* 649.

* *The Fathers, at the Synod, ſay of this* Typus: Factus eſt ex ſubreptione, non ex ſtudio aut mente piiſſimi noſtri Imperatoris, ſed ex ſuaſione importuna, & falſiloquio Pauli, &c. *Pope* Martin *ſtiles the Emperor, in the Letter he ſent to him:* Piiſſimum Dominum, diligentem Deum, ſincerum Chriſti Miniſtrum, optimum Imperatorem. *In the* Acta Concilii VI, *he is call'd* ſanctæ Memoriæ Imperator.

(3) *The Letter is extant, which he wrote to* Anandus, *Biſhop of* Tongres, ap. Cointe, An. 651. n. 26. *wherein is the following remarkable Paſſage:* Unde prævidimus volumina geſtorum Synodalium in præſenti vobis dirigere, una cum Encyclica noſtra. Ex quorum ſerie omnia ſubtiliter poteſtis addiſcere, & tenebras illorum nobiſcum, ut filii lucis, extinguere. Idcirco ſtudeat frater-

(4), to aſſemble the Biſhop of their Kingdoms, that they might ſend ſome eminent and experienc'd Men to *Rome*, to go from thence to *Conſtantinople*, and repreſent to the Emperor, with the greater Energy, the Senſe of the *Chriſtians* in the *Weſt*. It is uncertain, whether, or how far the *Franconian* Church, which had, 'till then, been neutral in theſe Controverſies of the *Greeks*, interfer'd here. Nor, indeed, did the Emperor give the Pope Time to execute his Deſign. The *Exarchus*, *Calliopas*, receiv'd Orders to go to *Rome* †, and take him away by Force (5). They pretended, that he had carried on an Intelligence with *Olympius*, the former *Exarchus*, who attempted to aſſume the Imperial Dignity at *Rome* (6), and that his Election had not been carried on fairly. He was caſt into a Priſon at *Conſtantinople*, and, at laſt, baniſh'd into the *Peninſula*, which lies on the *Helleſpont* * : And *Eugene* ſucceeded him at *Rome*.

† 654.

* *Cherſoneſus Thracica.*

§ XIII. IN the Year 663, the Emperor *Conſtans* took a Tour to *Italy*, with the View of making, tho' late, a vigorous Attack on the *Longobards* ; but it was even then reported, that he intended to remove the Seat of the *Roman* Empire to *Rome*. He paſs'd thro' *Greece*, and landed at *Tarento* : He then laid Siege to *Benevento* : But when *Romoald*, King *Grimoald*'s Son, to whom his Father had conferr'd the Government of that Dukedom, made a vigorous Defence, and the King himſelf was on his March, with a ſelect Army, to relieve the Place, he rais'd the

The Emperor *Conſtans* goes to *Italy*, &c.

fraternitas tua omnibus eadem innoteſcere, ut tam abominandam hæreſin nobiſcum execrentur, qamque ſuæ ſalutis ſacramenta addiſcere valeant, atque Synodali conventione omnium fratrum & Coepiſcoporum noſtrorum partium illarum effecta, ſecundum tenorem Encyclicæ a nobis directæ, ſcripta una cum ſubſcriptionibus veſtris nobiſmet deſtinanda concelebrent, confirmantes atque conſentientes eis, quæ pro orthodoxa fide & deſtructione hæreticorum veſaniæ, nuper exortæ, a nobis ſtatuta ſunt. Et Sigebertum, præcellentiſſimum filium noſtrum, Regem Francorum, pro ſuæ Chriſtianitatis remedio conſultiſſime admone, atque precare, dirigere nobis ex corpore fratrum noſtrorum dilectiſſimos Epiſcopos, qui ſedis Apoſtolicæ legatione, divina concedente propitiatione, fungi debeant, & quæ in noſtro concilio peracta ſunt, cum his ſynodalibus apicibus veſtris, ad Clementiſſimum principem noſtrum ſine dubio adſportare ; ut noſtrorum laborum particeps effectus, mercedis cumulum adipiſci valeat, & ſui regni protectorem inveniat eum, cujus cauſa flagitari dignoſcitur. Hoc namque & in ejus epiſtola exhortari eum cognovimus.

(4) *That the ſame was ſent to* Clovis, *appears* ex Vit. S. Eligii & S. Audoeni. *But both Lives are either not ſo old, as they are pretended to be, or elſe ſpurious.*

(5) *This Calculation is adjuſted by* Pagius ad An. DCL. n. 5.

(6) Pag. 26. *In the* EXC. ANASTASII, Dorotheus, Patricius Siciliæ, *is introduc'd, as ſpeaking thus:* Quinquaginta capita ſi haberet, non oporteret eum vivere, eo quod ſolus ſubvertit & perdidit univerſum occidentem, & delevit : Et revera unius conſilii fuit cum Olympio, & inimicus homicida imperatoris, & Romanæ urbanitatis.

Siege, and repair'd to *Naples*; in which March, the Count of *Capua* way-laid him, and greatly harrass'd his Troops. *Romoald*, in the mean Time, defeated the General *Saburrus*, whom the Emperor had left behind with 20,000 Men. From thence *Constans* went to *Rome*, which had long seen no Emperor. Pope *Vitalian*, with all the Clergy, and great Numbers of the People, went six *Roman* Miles from the City, to meet him, and receiv'd him with great Demonstrations of Respect (1). *Constans* presented the Altar of S. *Peter*'s with Ornaments wrought in Gold: But the *Romans* were deceiv'd in the Hopes they had conceiv'd of his coming thither. He caus'd many Things that were esteem'd, either for their Art or Value, at *Rome*, and, among the Rest, even the Copper-Plates that cover'd the *Pantheon*, to be carried off, to enrich *Constantinople* (2), and, at the Expiration of twelve Days, return'd to *Naples*, and from thence, thro' *Reggio*, into *Sicily*. He made some Stay in this Isle, and was murder'd at *Syracusa*, *A.* 668. The Ships, that were laden with the Spoils taken from *Rome*, fell into the Hands of the *Saracens*, and, instead of embellishing *Constantinople*, were carried to *Alexandria* (3). *Constantine Pogonatus*, his Son, found it difficult to keep the *Saracens* even from *Constantinople*, 'till, *A.* 678, he made a Truce with them for 30 Years. During this Peace, he propos'd to establish Unity in the Church; and as both the Orthodox and *Monothelites* continu'd 'till then unmolested, by Virtue of the before-mention'd *Typus*, he issu'd Writs for holding a Council, which was open'd in *September*, *A.* 680 (4). The Emperor himself assisted at the Meetings, where the Pope's Nuntioes sat on his left, and the Patriarchs of *Antioch* and *Constantinople* on his right Hand. The Heresy of the *Monothelites* was at last condemn'd at this Council, and even Pope *Honorius*'s Name was not spar'd. His Son, *Justinian* II, governing very imprudently, was depos'd by *Leontius*, *A.* 695. During these Divisions, the *Saracens* became entire Masters of *Africa*, *John*, the *Patricius*, having withdrawn the *Roman* Troops, *A.* 698; and, as it were, left the Country a Prey to the Infidels (5). So miserable was the Downfal of the Empire in the *East*; and so unhappy were the Effects of that absolute Power, introduc'd by *Justinian*, when it fell into Hands incapable of managing it. The Court of *Constantinople* retain'd, indeed, a great Pomp in Titles, Habits, Equipages and Theatrical Entertainments. It was become a Science to be

§ XIII. (1) PAULUS, *Lib.* 5. *cap.* 6——10.

(2) PAULUS, *Lib.* 5. *cap.* 11.

(3) IDEM, 5. 13.

(4) *Vid.* ACTA SYN. OECUMEN. VI.

(5) *Of this Conquest of* Africa, *see* MARMOL. *Lib.* 2. EM. A SCHELSTRAT. *de Eccles. African.* Diss. 4. c. 7. Theophanes *imagines the Controversies of the* Monothelitæ, *among other Things, to have contributed to the Loss of* Africa.

acquainted

acquainted with all thoſe external Things (6), and to know the Ceremonies, that were to be obſerv'd at every Feaſt; while on the other Hand, all Embelliſhments of the Mind, and, with them, all Spirit and Courage, Arts and Sciences, vaniſh'd. Even on the Medals extant of thoſe Times, the Inventions and Repreſentations are as debas'd, as the Metal itſelf. The Number of Books became ſmall. When the *Saracens* ſack'd *Alexandria*, which City was always famous for producing ſo many famous Men, learned in the *Egyptian* and *Grecian Philoſophy*, and ſo many excellent Teachers of the *Chriſtian* Doctrine, they made Uſe of the infinite Number of Books, they found there, to heat their Baths (7). Pope *Martin*, likewiſe, complain'd of the Scarcity of Books in *Rome* (8). The Barbarians were not ſatisfied with the Conqueſt of the Provinces of the *Roman* Empire, they reſolv'd even to triumph over the Learning of former Times, and the Works of ſo many ingenious Writers.

§ XIV. THE State of the Empire being ſuch, we need not wonder to find the *Longobards* eſtabliſhing themſelves yet more firmly in *Italy*. After *Agilulf*'s Death, *Adelwald*, his Son, could not maintain his Crown (1). The *Longobards* expell'd him, and choſe *Arialdus*, who had married *Gundeberga*, his Siſter, for their King. This Prince was an *Arian*, which, probably, induc'd Pope *Honorius* to take the Part of the exil'd King, and to excite the *Exarchus* to do the ſame (2). *Rotharis*, his Succeſſor, is not only famous for having extended the Borders of his Kingdom, but much more ſo for having given a written Law to the *Longobards*, who, 'till then, had been rul'd by their ancient Cuſtoms only. This

Continuation of the Hiſtory of the *Longobards*, &c.

(6) *For a Proof of this, we need only read what* Codinus *and others ſay of the Geremonials of the* Grecian *Court.*

(7) ABULFARAI, *in Hiſt.* DYNAST. *p.* 144.

(8) *In Ep. ad Amandum, ap.* P. le COINTE, *ad An.* 651. *n.* 26. Reliquias ſanctorum, de quibus præſentium lator nos admonuit, dari præcepimus. Codices jam exinaniti ſunt a noſtra bibliotheca & unde ei dare nullatenus habuimus. *Some Writers have, indeed, charg'd Pope* Gregory, *the* Great, *with having caus'd ancient Manuſcripts, and particularly this, to be burnt. But* Gretſerus *has refuted them.*

§ XIV. (1) PAULUS, *Lib.* 4. *c.* 43.

(2) *This appears from a Letter of Pope* Honorius, ad Iſaacum, Exarchum, *in* Baronius: Delatum eſt ad nos, Epiſcopos Tranſpadanos, Petro, Pauli filio, ſuadere conatos eſſe, ut Adalvaldum, Regem, deſereret, Ariovaldoque Tyranno ſe applicaret. Quamobrem, quia Petrus pravis eorum conſiliis reſpuit obedire, & ſacramenta Regi, Agoni, Adalvaldi patri, præſtita ſancte cupit ſervare, & quia hoc Deo & hominibus eſt ingratum, ut, qui tale facinus vindicare deberent, eorum ipſi ſuaſores exiſtant; rogamus vos, ut, poſtquam Adalvaldum, divino in regnum, ut ſperamus, auxilio, reduxeritis, prædictos Epiſcopos Komam mittere velitis, ne ſcelus hujuſmodi impunitum relinquamus.

Edict (as it was call'd) contains 368 Chapters (3). In his Reign, there reſided two Biſhops in almoſt every City of the *Longobards*, one a *Catholick*, and the other of the *Arian* Perſuaſion (4). *Rodoald*, his Son, did not reign long. He was ſucceeded by *Aribert*, who was of *Bavarian* Extraction; for *Gundoald*, his Father, was Brother to Queen *Theodelinda*. He left two Sons, who divided the Kingdom between them, ſo that *Godobert*'s Capital was *Milan*, and that of *Bertarid*, *Pavia*. The Power of the Kingdom was hereby greatly weaken'd, and *Grimoald*, Duke of *Benevento*, took Occaſion from thence to uſurp the Throne. *Godebert* was murder'd, and *Bertarid* eſcap'd by Flight (5). We can make no other Exception againſt *Grimoald*'s Reign, but the Injuſtice whereby he obtain'd the Crown. The Advantages he gain'd over the Emperor *Conſtans*, render'd his Arms very formidable; and, at the ſame Time, gave him an Opportunity of extending his Dominions. The *Longobards* took from the *Greeks Bari*, *Taranto*, *Brindeſi*, and the whole Country, which now is call'd *Terra d' Otranto*. The Emperors retain'd only *Naples*, *Otranto*, *Gallipoli*, *Gaëta*, and ſome other Cities on the Coaſt of *Calabria Ulterior*. But it is yet more remarkable, that this King profeſs'd the *Catholick* Faith, and by Degrees converted his Nation. *Bertarid*, on the other Hand, could hardly find a Place, to paſs away his Exile in Safety. He, at firſt, took Refuge among the *Abares*; and afterwards fled to *Dagobert* II, King of *Auſtraſia*: But here he was, likewiſe, purſu'd by *Grimoald*, and he was juſt upon embarking for *England*, when he receiv'd the News of the latter's Death. This encourag'd him to return to *Italy*, where the Minds of the People were ſo ſuddenly chang'd, that they joyfully made him their King (6). After having reign'd ſome Years, he admitted *Cunibert*, his Son, to a Partnerſhip in the Government (7). The Face of Affairs begun now to appear more favourable for the *Longobards* in *Italy*, after the Difference in Point of Religion ceas'd, and they began to have a greater Regard to Juſtice and Polity. *Rotharis*, by his Laws, had laid a Foundation for this, and *Grimoald* amended them, in ſome Reſpects. To their Honour *, they had one Cuſtom in common with all the *German* Nations; their Laws were always decreed

(3) PAULUS, *L.* 4. *c.* 44. Hic Rotharis Rex, Longobardorum leges, quas ſola memoria, & uſu retinebant, ſcriptorum ſerie compoſuit, codicemque ipſum Edictum appellari præcepit.

(4) IDEM, *l. c.* Hujus temporibus pene per omnes civitates regni ejus duo Epiſcopi erant, unus catholicus, & alter Arianus,

(5) IDEM, *L.* 4. *c.* 53.

(6) IDEM, *L.* 5. *c.* 32, 33.

(7) IDEM, *L.* 5. *c.* 37.

* GIANNONI *makes ſome good Obſervations on the Excellency of the* Longobardick *Laws*, p. 355, ſq.

at

at a Convention of the States. And it may ſerve, as a great Inſtance of the Mutability of all human Things, that they were preferr'd in a Country, where the *Roman* Laws had ſo long prevail'd: This was, perhaps, in ſome Meaſure, owing to their Conciſeneſs and Perſpicuity; the *Roman* Laws being now hardly intelligible. Next to this, the Conſtitution of Feodal Tenures contributed greatly thereunto: For as the Natives became, in Time, deſirous of having a Share in the Wars and publick Employments; ſo they likewiſe ſubmitted to thoſe Laws and Ordinances, on which this Conſtitution was founded. Hence therefore it was, that ſo many Cities choſe afterwards, of their own Accord, to retain many of the Laws of the *Longobards*. The latter permitted the Natives of *Italy*, to uſe the *Roman* Laws, which is chiefly to be underſtood of the *Codex Theodoſianus*, or rather of the *Breviarium Aniani* (8). And in the Provinces which appertain'd to the *Exarchate*, the Inſtitutes of *Juſtinian*, and the ſucceeding Emperors, were in Vogue, on which the Popes particularly inſiſted; inſomuch, that the *Roman* Laws never entirely ceaſed in *Italy*. The *Longobards*, in the mean Time, forſook their ancient *German* Language, and accuſtom'd themſelves to the *Italian*, the different Dialects of which, are, to this Day, a Teſtimony of thoſe foreign Nations, who came into *Italy* (9). Now theſe Countries being thus divided between the Emperor and the *Longobards*, the Popes ſucceeded, the more eaſily, in their Views (10). They had ſometimes ſuffer'd very much from the Emperors in the *Eaſt*, as the Inſtances of *Silverius*, *Vigilius* and *Martin*, demonſtrate; but by Degrees, they found an Opportunity of reſtraining one Power, by the Means of another; and could, at the ſame Time, not only maintain the Rights of the Papal Chair, againſt the Court of *Conſtantinople*, but againſt the Avarice of the Patriarchs there, and likewiſe carry their Authority to a greater Height in *Italy*.

§ XV. *SIGEBERT* died *A.* 650, in the 21ſt Year of his Age, and 18th of his Reign; and is rever'd by the Church as a Saint, in Regard to his many liberal Foundations. He left, indeed, a young Prince, named *Dagobert*; but *Grimoald*, *Maire de Palais* gave out, that he was dead, and ſet up *Childebert*, his own Son, for King (1), under Pretence

The Death of *Sigebert*, King of *Auſtraſia*, *&c.*

(8) JAC. GODOFREDUS *in Prolegom. ad Cod. Theodoſ. c. 7. p.* 196.

(9) GIANNONI, *p.* 284.

(10) IDEM, *p.* 269.

§ XV (1) GESTA FRANC. c. 43. Ado *ſays, that* Grimoald *intruſted this young* Dagobert, *to the Care of the Biſhop of* Poitiers. *The Author of the* Chronicon Moiſſacenſe, *who liv'd in the Reign of* Ludovicus Pius, *and* Notgerus, in Vit. S. Remacli, *mention only, that* Grimoald *endeavour'd to raiſe his Son to the Throne. But* Pagius ad A. 656. n. 14. *and* Echard, p. 235. *obſerve, that this* Childebert *was actually reckon'd in the Series of their Kings.*

of

of his having been adopted by *Sigebert*. The young Prince was ſent to a Monaſtery in *Ireland*, and *Dido*, Biſhop of *Poitiers*, undertook to carry him thither. *Clovis*, King of *Neuſtria* and *Burgundy*, ſeemingly approved of his Proceedings, and invited *Grimoald* to come to *Paris*. But he was way-laid, taken, and deliver'd Priſoner to the King, in which Captivity he died (2). Nor do we find any farther Account of *Childebert*, his Son. *Dagobert* received no Advantage from hence; for *Clovis* took *Auſtraſia*, and united under himſelf, the whole Kingdom of the *Franks*. He died (3), *A.* 656, and left three Sons. *Clotarius* III, the eldeſt, ſucceeded at firſt in the whole Kingdom, under the Guardianſhip of *Balthildis* his Mother. She was born of *Anglo-Saxon* Parents, and ſold in her Infancy as a Slave, but her Conduct in this Guardianſhip, was not the leſs glorious. As *Auſtraſia* was deſirous of having a ſeparate King, *Childerick*, the ſecond Prince, was choſen, *A.* 660, at an Aſſembly of the States (4), and Duke *Wulfoald* was made his *Maire de Palais* (5). *Theodorick*, the youngeſt Son, was therefore at firſt excluded: But Providence had reſerved the Kingdom for him, after the Deceaſe of both his Brothers.

Ebroin, Maire de Palais, attempts to ſet up *Theodorick* for King.

§ XVI. When *Clotarius* died, *A.* 670, in the Prime of his Years, without any, or at leaſt without Male-Heirs, *Ebroin*, *Maire de Palais*, cauſed, by his Raſhneſs, a great Confuſion in the Kingdom of the *Franks*. Hiſtorians repreſent this Man in Colours as different, as were the Changes of his Fortune. He was proud, valiant, ready at inventing, and as quick in executing Projects to ſerve his Ends; indefatigably laborious, revengeful and cruel; no Treachery, no Violence were too great for him, if conducive to the Point he aimed at (1). He now reſolv'd to place *Theodorick*, the youngeſt Brother, on the Throne, in Order to enjoy the more ſafely, the Sway he had hitherto born: But as he undertook to execute this Project of himſelf, the Nobles became diſcontented, and offer'd to *Childerick*, King of *Auſtraſia*, his Brother's Kingdom. One of the principal in this Confederacy, was *Leodegarius*, Biſhop of *Autun*, from

(2) Vit. S. Remacli, *c.* 21. & Gest. Francor. *c.* 43.

(3) Vid. Mabillonii Diſſ. de anno mortis Dagoberti I, & Clodovei junioris. Pagius *confirms this Calculation*, ad An. 656. n. 76. ſeq.

(4) Pagius, *ad An.* 660. *n.* 6.

(5) *We find a Queen, nam'd* Hymnechildis, *mention'd as his Guardian.* F. Pagi, ad A. 661. n. 4. ſq. *conjectures, that ſhe was King* Sigebert's *Widow, and that the Agreement, made with the* Auſtraſians, *was this, that* Childerick *ſhould marry* Bilichild, Sigibert's *Daughter, and that this her Mother ſhould, in the mean Time, be Guardian.*

§ XVI. (1) *But we muſt here take Notice, that we are forc'd to borrow the Accounts of him, from the Life of* Leodegarius, *Biſhop of* Autun, *his Enemy.*

whoſe

whoſe Life, we are forc'd to borrow theſe Circumſtances (2). *Childerick* immediately ſet out, with his *Maire de Palais*, and ſucceeded ſo well, wherever he went, that *Ebroin*, in great Conſternation, took Refuge in a Church, and was at laſt oblig'd to take it as a Favour, that he had Permiſſion to repair to the Monaſtery of *Luxevil* (3), where he actually took the Habit (4). Thoſe who had ſecured *Theodorick*'s Perſon, had already cut off his Hair, to ſhew their Zeal. *Childerick* did him no farther Harm, but aſſign'd to him the Monaſtery of St. *Denis*, for his Reſidence. The *Franks* ty'd *Childerick* down to certain Articles (5); one of which was, that each Kingdom ſhould, for the future, have a ſeparate *Maire de Palais*, a Native of their own. This is look'd upon, as the Beginning of the great Declenſion of the Empire of the *Franks*: For in the Sequel of this Hiſtory, we meet with hardly any other Subject, than the Wars between the *Maires de Palais*, which not only weaken'd the Conſtitution at Home; but likewiſe gave ſeveral Nations an Opportunity of withdrawing their Allegiance from the *Franks*.

(2) *Two Lives are extant of* S. Leodegarius, *one of which was written by* Urſinus, *and the other by ſome anonymous Author.* Vid. Act. SS. Ord. S. Benedicti, T. II. p. 680. ſeq.

(3) *Of this Revolution, ſee the following Circumſtances,* in Anon. Vit. S. Leodegarii, cap. 3. p. 602: Rex Clotarius a Domino vocatus de hac luce migravit. Sed cum Ebroinus ejus fratrem germanum, nomine Theodericum, convocatis optimatibus ſolenniter, ut mos eſt, debuiſſet ſublimare in regnum, ſuperbiæ ſpiritu tumidus eos noluit deinde convocare. Ideo magis cœperunt metuere, eo quod Regem, quam ad gloriam patriæ publice debuerat ſublimare, dum poſt ſe retineret eum pro nomine, cui malum cupierat, audenter valeret inferre. Cumque multitudo nobilium, qui ad Regis novi properabant occurſum, mandante Ebroino, itineris accepiſſent repudium; inito in commune conſilio, relicto eo, omnes expetunt Childericum, juniorem ejus fratrem, qui in Auſtraſia acceperat regnum. *In* Urſinus's *Account of his Life, we read,* cap. 4. p. 618: Tum vero beatus Leodegarius, Epiſcopus, id audiens, celeritate ad palatium profectus eſt, & cum aliis de Rege conſtituendo, tractare cœpit. Cumque comperiſſent Childericum, Auſtraſiorum Regem adoleſcentem pro ſua ætate regnum optime adminiſtraſſe, quædam Francorum pars cum voluit habere Regem. Sed Ebroinus, qui Major domus fuerat ſub Rege Clotario, Theodericum germanum cupiebat ſubſtitueret ratri in regno. Ejus autem nomen tum erat odioſum apud Francos, ut qui illo rurſus jugo premendos ſe vererentur, quod ſub Clotario per eum experti eſſent. Itaque, Ebroini conſilio poſthabito, Childericum Francorum Regem, elegerunt. Cernens ergo Ebroinus, ſe deſtitutum, conſiliumque ſuum prorſus negligi, multo timore correptus, petiit a Rege, ut, rebus omnibus derelictis, permitteret ipſi vitam incolumi degere in Monaſterio. *Conf.* Pagius *ad A.* 671. *n.* 6.

(4) *Conf.* Anon. *Vit. S. Leodegarii, cap.* 7. & 8.

(5) *Vit.* S. LEODEGARII, *cap.* 4. Interea Childericum Regem expetunt univerſi, ut alia daret decreta, per tria, quæ obtinuerat, regna. Ut unius cujuſque patriæ legem, vel conſuetudinem, deberent, ſicut antiquitus, Judices obſervare, & ne de una provincia Rectores in aliam introiſſent, neque unus ad inſtar Ebroini tyrannidem aſſumeret, & poſt modo, ſicut ille, contubernales ſuos deſpiceret: ſed dum mutuam ſibi ſucceſſionem culminis habere cognoſcerent, nullus ſe aliis anteferre auderet. *We find, in the mean Time, that* Wulfoald *was* Maire de Palais *in the three Kingdoms at once.*

§ XVII.

Childerick is murder'd, &c.

§ XVII. THE Biſhop of *Autun* had, at firſt, a great Share in the Adminiſtration of the new Government (1): But ſome evil Counſellors took Advantage of the young King's Youth. He begun to diſlike the Biſhop, becauſe he diſapproved of the Match, with Queen *Blithildis*, on Account of their Conſanguinity (2): And this Diſguſt was at Length ſo fomented, that he was forced to repair to the Monaſtery of *Luxevil*, and there to accompany *Ebroin* in the very Condition, to which he himſelf had reduced him. The King gave his Subjects likewiſe Cauſe to murmur on other Occaſions, 'till a raſh Piece of Cruelty, at laſt, exaſperated them to the higheſt Degree. He caus'd a Perſon of Diſtinction, among the *Franks*, named *Badilo*, to be ty'd to a Poſt, and ſcourged with Rods, without any formal Trial. *Badilo* immediately headed a Confederacy, even againſt the King's Life: And *Childerick*, together with his Wife and two Sons were murder'd, *A.* 673, at a Hunting-Palace near *Chelles* (3). *Wulfoald* fled to *Auſtraſia*, where he had ſufficient Leiſure to repent of not having rather made Uſe of his Influence, in leading the King to Juſtice, and to a Moderation of his irregular Paſſions.

Theodorick is reſtor'd to the Throne.

§ XVIII. THIS Murder caus'd a freſh Revolution in the Kingdom of the *Franks*. *Childerick* indeed left a Son, who afterwards aſcended the Throne, by the Name of *Childebert* III. But the oppoſite Party took *Theodorick* out of the Monaſtery, and a ſecond Time elected him King; and made *Leudeſius* his *Maire de Palais*. *Leodegarius*, Biſhop of *Autun*, returned to Court (1): And *Ebroin* no ſooner receiv'd the News of *Childerick*'s Death, than he quitted the Monaſtery, and ſetting aſide his Vow, repair'd to his Eſtate near *Soiſſons*: Of ſo little Efficacy, is the Solitude and Devotion of a Monaſtery, ſo long as the Mind is taken up with the Affairs of this World. But he did not venture to appear before *Theodorick*, after his Enemies had got Footing at Court; on the contrary, he join'd the Party, which oppos'd the new Government. Whatever

§ XVII. (1) Vit. LEODEGAR. cap. 7. Leodegarius, *on the Title to his Life, is call'd* Major domus: *But this Office was inconſiſtent with a Biſhoprick*; *and* Anon. in Vit. Leodeg. *ſays, that* Wulfoald *was* Maire de Palais.

(2) Blithildis *is thought to have been King* Sigebert's *Daughter*; *thus the King and Queen were Couſin-Germans.*

(3) GEST. FRANC. 45. *Their Graves were, in the laſt Century, accidentally diſcover'd at* Paris, *in the Church of St.* Germain. *See* VALES. Lib. 21. PAG. ad An. 673.

§ XVIII. (1) GESTA FRANCORUM, 45. Franci autem Leudeſium, filium Erchinoaldi nobilem, in Majorem Domus Palatii eligunt. Eratque ex Burgundia in hoc conſilio beatus Leudegarius, Auguſtodunenſis Epiſcopus, & Gerinus, frater ejus, conſentientes. Ebroin *afterwards charg'd theſe two Brothers, with having been Confederates in the Plot againſt* Childeric's *Life.*

Animoſity

Animoſity may have ſubſiſted between them, they now were united, as their Views were the ſame. *Audoenus*, Biſhop of *Rouan*, his Countryman, and former Friend, as well as ſome others, ſided with him privately in *Neuſtria*: So that he had, at the ſame Time, very different Inſtruments to make Uſe of, in the Purſuit of his Point. He ſpread a Report, that *Theodorick* was dead, and ſet up a Youth, whom he named *Clovis*, and pretended to be the Son of *Clotarius* III. With this Pretence, he rais'd an Army, and unexpectedly paſs'd the River *Oyſe*. He ſo gain'd the Confidence of *Leudeſius* *, that he agreed to an Interview at *Crecy en Ponthieu*, where he treacherouſly caus'd him to be murder'd. His Friends at Court begun, at the ſame Time, to be in Motion, and they carried Matters ſo far, that King *Theoderick*, to put at once a Stop to this Civil-War, again Conſtituted him *Maire de Palais* (2). They agreed indeed, that both Parties ſhould forget and forgive what had paſs'd hitherto: But *Ebroin* found always ſome other Pretence to be reveng'd of his Enemies. He accus'd *Leodegarius*, Biſhop of *Autun*, together with his Brother, of having had a Share in the Confederacy againſt *Childerick*'s Life; whereupon the Biſhop was, at a Synod, depriv'd of all his Eccleſiaſtical Dignities, and ſoon after murder'd (3). *Lambert*, Biſhop of *Tongres*, was confin'd without any apparent Reaſon, to the Monaſtery of *Stablo*, from which he was afterwards ſet at Liberty by *Pipin*, and reſtored to his Dioceſe (4).

§ XIX. *DAGOBERT* III, *Sigibert*'s Son, whom *Grimoald* had ſent to *Ireland*, now appear'd again in *Auſtraſia* (1), and was made King, *A.* 674 (2). The Diſtractions of the Times pav'd the Way for his Return into *Germany*, and *Wulfoald*, with his Adherents, contributed pro- *Dagobert* III. Son to *Sigebert*, is made King of *Auſtraſia*.

* *Some have attempted to derive from this* Leudeſius, *the Dukes of* Lower-Lorrain *and* Brabant, *from whom the* Landgraves *of* Heſſen *are deſcended. This is exploded by* SCHMINCKIUS in Diſſ. de *Adalrico*, ſeu *Athico*, Duce Alſatiæ, num fuerit Leudeſii, Majoris Domus, filius?

(2) AN. *Vit.* LEODEGAR. *cap.* 8. *add.* FRED. *in Chron. Cont.* 96.

(3) AN. *Vit.* LEODEGAR. *c.* 12. *Conf.* FREDEGARIUS, *l. c.*

(4) *Vit.* S. LAMBERTI *ap.* DU CHESNE, *T.* 1. *p.* 675.

§ XIX. (1) *The Reſtoration of this* Dagobert, *was firſt diſcover'd by* Valeſius, *to whom the Learned allow this Honour.* F. Henſchenius *proves it much more largely in his Book*, de tribus Dagobertis. Add. MABILON. in Præf. ad Sec. 4. Act. SS. Ord. Bened. P. 1. § 9. n. 198. ſq. *and* ECHARD. T. 1. p. 258.

(2) *As for this Circumſtance of Time*, Pagius ad a.h.n.10. *vindicates, at large*, Valeſius's *Conjecture, that* Dagobert *did not come into* Auſtraſia, *'till after* Childerick's *Death.* F. Daniel *imagines, that he reign'd in* Auſtraſia *by* Childebert's *Conſent.*

bably moſt thereunto; for he remained *Maire de Palais* in this Reign (3). The Hiſtory of this King is ſo obſcure, that hardly any Account of him was extant, 'till *Valeſius*, in a Manner, again aſſign'd him a Place, in the Series of the *Franconian* Kings, which F. *Henſchenius* illuſtrates yet farther. We meet with one of the moſt explicit Teſtimonies, in the the Life of *Wilfrid*, the famous *Engliſh* Biſhop (4). *Dagobert* had, during his Adverſity, greatly experienc'd this Prelate's Friendſhip, who likewiſe promoted his Return to *Auſtraſia*, and the King had now an Opportunity of retaliating thoſe Favours. For when *Ecfridus*, King of *Northumberland*, deprived *Wilfrid* of the Biſhoprick of *York*, *A.* 677, he retir'd to *Frieſland*, where he met with a kind Reception from King *Algiſus*, and begun the Converſion of the *Friſians*. He then viſited *Dagobert*, who offer'd him the See of *Strasburg*, which *Wilfrid* declin'd, and continued his Journy to *Rome*. As the Reign of this King was ſhort, and not very peaceable, the other Circumſtances thereof remain very obſcure. He wag'd War with *Theodorick* (5), and was murder'd about the Year 678, at the Inſtigations of the oppoſite Faction, which ſided with *Theodorick*, or rather with *Ebroin* (6).

§ XX.

(3) *That* Wulfoald *remain'd* Maire de Palais *under him, appears from the Paſſage, in the* Geſta Francorum, *cited in the following* §.

(4) EDDIUS *in Vit. S. Wilfridi, cap.* 27, Poſtquam Deo amabilis Pontifex noſter in FRETS hiemaverat, populum multum Domino lucratus, verno tempore adveniente cœptum iter, Deo adjuvante, ad ſedem apoſtolicam cum comitibus carpebat, veniens ad Francorum Regem nomine DAEGBERHT, qui eum cum honore manſuetiſſime, pro meritis ejus anteactis in eum, ſuſcepit. Nam ſupra dictus Rex in juventute ſua, ab inimicis regnantibus in exſilium proditionis pulſus, navigando ad Hiberniam inſulam, Deo juvante, pervenit. Poſt annorum circulum amici & propinqui ejus viventem, & in perfecta ætate florentem a navigantibus audientes, miſere nuncios ſuos ad beatum Wilfridum, Epiſcopum, petentes, ut eum de Scotia & Hibernia ad ſe invitaſſet, & ſibi ad Regem emiſiſſet. Et ſic ſanctus Pontifex noſter perfecit, ſuſcipiens eum de Hibernia venientem, per omnia ditatum, & viribus ſociorum elevatum, magnifice ad ſuam regionem emiſit. Et hinc Rex beneficiorum ejus memor erat, diligenter poſcens, ut in regno ſuo Epiſcopatum maximum, ad civitatem Streitburg pertinentem, ſuſciperet: & eum nolentem accipere, cum muneribus & donis magnis, & cum Deodato, Epiſcopo ſuo duce, ad apoſtolicam ſedem emiſit.

(5) *Vit.* S. SALABERGÆ, *cap.* 13. *p.* 427. Quippe nuper civile bellum inter Reges Francorum, Theodericum & Dagobertum, circa illos fines eſt geſtum: loca propinqua depopulata, vaſtati agri, vici ac ædificia incenſa, atque ipſa ſanctorum corpora igne cremata.

(6) EDDIUS, *cap.* 31. Pergente ſancto Præſule noſtro ab apoſtolica ſede cum triumphali judicio per Campaniam, & montana tranſcendente, in regionem Francorum pervenit: ibique nuper amico ſuo fideli DAEGBERHTO, Rege, per dolum Ducum, & conſenſu Epiſcoporum (quod abſit) inſidioſe occiſo: ex quibus unus cum ingenti exercitu obviavit, cogitans impie in corde ſuo inſidias, niſi Deus reſtitiſſet ei, ſodales ſuos omnes ſpoliatos, aut in ſervitutem redigere, aut vendere ſub corona,

§ XX. THO' *Dagobert* was thus diſpatch'd, yet the *Auſtraſians* refuſed to be ſubject to *Theoderick*; and their Leaders were *Martin* and *Pipin*, both Grand-Sons to *S. Arnulph*. *Martin* was a Son of *Chlodulphus*, who afterwards became Biſhop of *Metz*: *Pipin*'s Parents were *Anſegiſelus*, and *Bega*, the former *Pipin*'s Daughter. He is call'd *Pipin* of *Herſtall*, a Caſtle on the *Maes* near *Liege*, which became famous in Hiſtory, by the Pleaſure he took in reſiding there. *Theoderick*, and his *Maire de Palais*, appear'd again in the Field, and the *Auſtraſians* were defeated (1). *Martin* fled to *Laon*. *Ebroin* ſent *Agilbert*, Biſhop of *Paris*, and *Riolus*, Biſhop of *Rheims*, to him thither; who perſuaded him to come into the King's Quarters, aſſuring him upon Oath, that no Diſaſter ſhould befall him there. Now, as it was at that Time cuſtomary, to produce ſome Relick, when Oaths were made, on which the Perſon, who ſwore, laid his Hand, ſo the Hiſtorian accuſes theſe Biſhops, of having taken the Oath on ſome empty Boxes, in which Relicks had been depoſited: And *Martin* was, indeed, hardly arriv'd at *Ecri*, where the Court then reſided, but he and his Family were murder'd (2). But *Ebroin* could not

Pipin is made *Maire de Palais* throughout the whole Kingdom of the *Franks*.

corona, ſeu rebellantes occidere, atque Paſtorem ſanctum noſtrum anxiatum in cuſtodia uſque ad EPOINI, ducis, reſervare judicium. Interrogavitque eum Epiſcopus, dicens: "Qua fiducia "tam temerarie per Francorum regionem pergis, "qui dignus es morte, quia nobis regem ſubſidio tuo factum exſilio, quia, emiſiſti? Diſſipator "erat urbium, conſilia ſeniorum deſpiciens; "populos, ut Roboam, filius Salomonis, tributo "humilians; eccleſias Dei cum præſulibus con"temnens: quorum malorum pœnas luens occi"ſus; cadaver ejus humatum jacet." Sanctus vero Pontifex humiliter reſpondit Epiſcopo: "Veritatem dico in Chriſto Jeſu & per Sanctum "Petrum Apoſtolum, non mentior, quia talem "virum exſulantem, & in peregrinatione degen"tem, ſecundum Dei præceptum Iſraëlitico, "qui accola fuit in terra aliena, auxiliatus inu"trivi, & exaltavi in bonum, & non in malum "veſtrum. *Hence it appears, that he was murder'd by* Ebroin's *Adherents, which explodes* F. Daniel's *Conjecture, that it was by a Reſidue of* Grimoald's *Faction.* F. Pagi ad A. 678. n. 12. ſq. *affirms that* Dagobert *was put to Death*, A. 678

§ XX. (1) GESTA FRANCOR. *cap.* 46. Eo quoque tempore, decedente Vulfoaldo de Auſter, Martinus & Pipinus Junior, filius Anſigiſeli, quondam decedentibus Regibus, dominabantur in Auſter: donec tandem aliquando hi duces in odium verſi contra Ebroinum, excercitum plurimum Auſtraſiorum commoti, contra Theudericum, Regem, & Ebroinum acie dirigunt. Contra quos Theudericus, Rex, & Ebroinus cum hoſte occurrunt, loco nuncupante, Lufao, ſimulque conjuncti cæde magna ſe invicem proſternunt, corruitque ibi infinita turba populi. Auſtraſii devicti, in fugam lapſi, terga verterunt. Ebroinus, eos cæde crudeliſſima inſecutus, maximam partem ex illa regione vaſtavit. Martinus per fugam elapſus Lauduno Clavato ingreſſus, illic ſe recluſit. Pipinus autem altrinſecus evaſit. Lufao *was ſituate near* Tull.

(2) CHRONIC. FREDEGARII, *cap.* 97. Perſecutuſque eum Ebroinus, veniens ERCHRECO, villa, ad Lugdunum Clavatum nuntios dirigit, Ægilbertum ac Reolum, Remenſis urbis Epiſcopum, ut fide promiſſa, in incertum ſuper vacuas capſas, ſacramenta falſa dederent, &c. F. le Cointe *vindicates them*, ad A. 680. F. Mabillon *points out the Situation of* Erchrecum, in Annalibus Benedict. L. 17. 23. *He imagines it to be* Ecri in Campania Remenſi, ad AXONAM fluvium, paulo infra caſtrum Porciani.

gain *Pipin*, either by Force or Stratagem: And he himſelf was ſtab'd *A.* 682, by a *Frank* of Diſtinſtion, whom he had treated very cruelly and as the Murderer fled for Refuge to *Pipin* (3), and was kindly received by him, a Suſpicion aroſe, that he was privy to the Deſign. He was, indeed, again defeated near *Namur*, by *Giſlimarus*, *Maire de Palais*, in *Neuſtria* and *Burgundy* (4): But when *Bercharius* obtain'd that Poſt, his Pride pav'd the Way for *Pipin*, to attempt more than he, at firſt, perhaps deſign'd. The diſcontented Party, excited him to ſome Exploit, and many whom *Ebroin* had baniſh'd, urg'd him preſſingly, to aſſiſt them in the Recovery of their own. Under this Pretence, he ſet out with an Army for *Neuſtria*, and encamp'd near *Teſtris*, on the *Somme*. King *Theoderick* and *Burcharius* lay oppoſite to him, inſomuch, that only the River *Daumignon*, which falls into the *Somme*, ſeparated the two Camps. *Pipin* firſt ſent an Ambaſſador to the King, to make amicable Propoſals: But *Bercharius* rejected them, either becauſe he thought his Army to be the ſtrongeſt,, or would not truſt to the Offers made. And indeed, what Dependance could be had on Treaties, at a Time, when Faith and Honour were ſo little regarded? *Pipin* therefore paſs'd the River, and attack'd the King's Camp, on the *Eaſt* Side of it, that the *Neuſtrians* might have the Diſadvantage of the Sun's ſhining in their Faces. † *A.* 687. The *Auſtraſians* obtain'd a compleat Victory †. The King and the *Maire de Palais*, eſcap'd indeed by Flight, but the latter was ſoon after murder'd (5), and a Treaty was concluded with the King, by which *Pipin* was declar'd *Maire de Palais*, over the three Kingdoms (6). With the King, he left one *Norbertus*, in whom he could confide, and return'd himſelf into *Auſtraſia*, where he had principally fix'd the Seat of his Power (7). From this Time he is call'd, *Dux & Princeps Francorum*,

(3) *Vita S. Leodegarii.* CHRONIC. FREDEGARII, *cap.* 97.

(4) CHRONICON FREDEGARII, *cap.* 98.

(5) IDEM, *cap.* 100. Pipinus victor extitit, perſecutuſque eos, eam regionem ſibi ſubjugavit. Sequenti tempore idem Bercharius ab adulatoribus, falſis amicis, interfectus eſt, inſtigante Anſfleda, matrona, ſocru ſua. Poſt hæc autem Pipinus Theodericum Regem, accipiens cum theſauris, & domum Palatii, omnia peragens, in Auſter remeavit. Add. GESTA FRANCOR. *cap.* 48. *where we find almoſt the ſame Words.*

(6) *See the Paſſage of* ERCHANBERTUS ad § ſeq.

ANNAL. METENS. ad An. 690. Profectus inde Theodericum fugientem perſequitur, & Pariſius uſque civitatem pervenit. Quam ſub ditione in poteſtatem redactam, Theodericum quoque recipiens, ne tyrannidem videretur exercere, nomen illi Regis inæſtimabili pietate reſervavit. Ipſe vero totius regni gubernacula, theſauroſque regios, & univerſi exercitus dominationem, propriæ facultatis jure, diſponenda retinuit.

(7) GESTA FRANCORUM, *cap.* 48. Poſt hæc Pipinus cum Theuderico, Rege, cœpit eſſe Princeps regiminis, ac major domus. Theſauris acceptis, Northertum, quendam de ſuis, cum Rege reliquit. Ipſe in Auſtriam remeavit.

and

and introduced, in a Manner, a twofold Power among the *Franks*, that of a King, and of a Duke. And the Years of the *Maires de Palais*, are even plac'd with, and next to the Years of the Reigns of their Kings (8). We may eaſily imagine, that the Conſtitution itſelf was thereby in ſome Meaſure changed. Among the Regulations made by *Pipin*, we find, in particular, that he re-eſtabliſh'd the ſo-nam'd *Campus Martius* (9). This was the general Aſſembly of the Nation, on the firſt of *March*, when they conſulted on what Steps ſhould be taken the enſuing Year. *Ebroin* was apprehenſive of a Convention of the People: *Pipin*, on the other Hand, knew how to make Uſe of them, to aggrandize his own Authority. So much more ſecure is a ſupreme Power, when founded on Love and Confidence, than when Fear and Oppreſſion is the Baſis.

§ XXI. FROM this Time, *Theoderick* was a kind of Priſoner at large, at a Country-Seat, whilſt the Regal Power was lodg'd in the Hands of *Pipin*. *Theoderick* died, *A.* 691, and *Clovis* III, his eldeſt Son, who was then about 10 Years of Age, was, by the *Franks*, declared King over the whole Nation. He was ſucceeded, *A.* 695, by *Childebert* III, his Brother, who was likewiſe very young, and whoſe Succeſſor was *Dagobert* III, his Son, *A.* 711. Three Kings having thus ſucceſſively acceeded to the Throne very young, *Pipin* had the better Opportunity to eſtabliſh his Authority, and the new Form of Government, more firmly. After the Death of *Norbertus*, he conſtituted *Grimoald*, his Son, *Maire de Palais*, at King *Childebert*'s Court (1). He himſelf remain'd in *Auſtraſia*. As this Country was the firſt Habitation of the

Tranſactions in the Reigns of *Clovis* III, *Childebert* III, and *Dagobert* III.

(8) *Conf.* Pag. *ad A.* 687. n. 10.

(9) *This* Campus Martius *is deſcrib'd in the* ANNAL. METENS. ad An. 692. Singulis vero annis in Kalendis Martii generale cum omnibus Francis, ſecundum priſcorum conſuetudinem, Concilium agebat. In quo ob regii nominis reverentiam eum, quem ſibi ipſe propter humilitatis & manſuetudinis magnitudinem præfecerat, præſidere jubebat: donec ab omnibus optimatibus Francorum donariis acceptis, verboque pro pace & defenſione Eccleſiarum Dei, & pupillorum & viduarum facto, raptuque feminarum & incendio ſolido decreto interdicto, exercitui quoque præcepto dato, ut, quacumque die illis denunciaretur, parati eſſent in partem, quam ipſe diſponeret, proficiſci. His peractis, Regem illum ad Mamaccas, villam publicam, cuſtodiendum cum honore & veneratione mittebat. Ipſe vero præcinctus robore, comitante divino auxilio, regnum Francorum interius juſtitia & pace, exterius prudentiſſimis conſiliis, auiliante Domino gubernabat.

§ XXI. (1) GESTA FRANCORUM, *cap.* 49. Eo quoque tempore Nortbertus mortuus eſt: Grimoaldus quoque Pipini, Principis, filius junior, in aula Regis, Childeberti, major domus effectus eſt. Fragmentum Erchanberti. *ap.* du Cheſne, *T.* I. *p.* 780. Childebertum, filium Theodorici, fratrem Chlodovei, ſtatuunt in regnum, qui regnavit annos XVII. Major domus conſtituitur Grimoaldus, filius Pipini, quia ipſe Pipinus ægrotare cœperat.

Franks

Franks, ſo was it ſtill the Seat of the ancient Valour. During the Troubles, which the Empire of the *Franks* hitherto labour'd under, not only the *Gaſcons* and *Britons* had ſhaken off their Yoke, but likewiſe the *Friſians*, *Allemanni* and *Bavarians*, whoſe Tranſactions concern us more (2). *Pipin* reſolv'd to reduce theſe People to their Obedience; and it was adviſeable for him, as well to reſtore the Renown of the *Franconian* Arms, as, at the ſame Time, to find Employment for thoſe who were turbulent abroad. He began with the *Friſians*, *A.* 689. The *Franconian* Hiſtorians divide *Frieſland*, according to its Situation (3), on this Side or beyond the *Fly* (4). *Algiſus*, their King, is known, in the Hiſtory of this Century, for having given Protection to *Wilfrid*, Biſhop of *York*. They were now govern'd by *Ratbod*, whom ſome call a Duke; but *Beda* and *Paulus*, a King of the *Friſians*. This Prince arm'd himſelf for a vigorous Reſiſtance, and forc'd all the *Chriſtian* Prieſts to quit the Country (5): But when they came to an Engagement, he was defeated, and oblig'd to promiſe a Tribute to the *Franks* (6). *Willibrod*, ſoon after, undertook to Convert the *Friſians*, and from *Beda*'s Account it appears, that the Dominion of the *Franks* extended, at that Time, beyond the *Rhine*, and that the City of *Utrecht*, was included

(2) Fragmentum Erchanberti, *l. c.* Exhinc reges nomen, non honorem habere cœperunt. Quibus tamen, uti conſtitutum fuerat, victus fuerat exuberans, cuſtodiaque jugis erga illos habebatur, ne aliquid jure poteſtatis agere poſſent. Illis namque temporibus, ac deinceps, Gotofredus, dux Alemannorum, ceterique circumquaque duces, noluerunt obtemperare ducibus Francorum, eo quod non potuerunt Regibus Meroveus ſervire, ſicut antea ſoliti fuerant. Ideo ſe uniſquiſque ſecum tenuit, donec tandem aliquando poſt mortem Gotefridi ducis, Carlus, ceterique Principes Francorum, paulatim ad ſe revocare illos, arte, qua poterant, ſtuduere. *The* Annales Metenſes *mention the* Saxons *among the Nations, who revolted from the* Franks. *But theſe were already exempted from all Tribute, ever ſince the Times of* Dagobert I.

(3) Pagius *ad An.* 689. *n.* 9. Tunc Friſiorum regnum Oceano adjacebat, & a Rheno ad Eidoram, amnem, uſque protendebatur. Citerior Friſia Rhenum inter & Flevum, ulterior Flevum inter & Eidoram erat. Ad citeriorem pertinebat Trajectum, vulgo Mastric, & Ultrajectum, vulgo Utrecht.

(4) Flevus *was the Name of that Channel of the* Rhine, *which* Druſus *caus'd to be made* Eaſtwards, *and to be united with the* Yſſel. *It paſs'd thro' the* Lacus Flevus *into the North-Sea. This* Foſſa Druſi *was mention'd,* Vol. I. L. 3. 14. *But the Sea has ſince overflow'd that Country, as far as the* Lacus Flevus, *or the* Zuyder Sea. *Yet the Name of* Fly *is yet retain'd where the* Flevus *diſcharg'd itſelf into the Sea.* Altino. in Notit. Germ. Infer.

(5) *Conf.* Pagius *ad An.* 689. *n.* 9.

(6) *The* Ann. Metenſ. *give the moſt circumſtantial Account of this Expedition.* Pipinus exercitum univerſalem Francorum adunare præcepit. Tractatiſque de utilitate Imperii conſiliis, occurrit Radbodi, Friſionum Ducis, obviare ſuperbiæ, qui tantæ ſtultitiæ involutus caligine fuit, ut contra Pipinum, invictum Principem, aciem parare præſumeret. In qua victus atque fugatus maximam partem exercitus ſui perdidit. Seraque tandem pœnitentia ductus, Legatos ad Pipinum dirigens, pacem poſtulat, ſeque cum his, quos regebat, ſuæ ditioni ſubdidit. Obſidibus quoque datis, Pipini tributarius efficitur.

therein.

therein. But *Ratbod* broke the Treaty, and, in the Year 697, we find another Engagement mention'd, between the *Franks* and *Friſians*, near *Durſtede* (7). After this, a better Underſtanding ſubſiſted between them, and *Grimoald*, *Pipin*'s Son, married, *A.* 711, *Teutſinda*, Daughter to the Prince of the *Friſians* (8). As for the *Alemanni* and *Swabians*, *Pipin* ſet out indeed with an Army for *Suevia*, in this and ſome ſucceeding Years, after the Death of *Godfrid*, their Duke, in *A.* 709 (9). But it appears, that *Charles Martel*, his Son, was the firſt who reduc'd both the *Swabians* and *Bavarians* to the Dominion of the *Franks* (10).

§ XXII. HISTORY is, as it were, fatigued amidſt theſe Diſorders, where Ambition is the Cauſe of ſuch an Effuſion of Blood. Let us, therefore, now take a little Reſpite, and commemorate thoſe pious and zealous Chriſtians, who were at the ſame Time occupied in the Amendment of Men, and propagated the *Chriſtian* Religion as well in *Auſtraſia* as among other neighbouring *German* Nations. Their Monaſteries were the ſafeſt Refuge from the Tumult and Calamities of thoſe Times; and they took afterwards, as it were, into their Cuſtody and Protection, what Remains were left of Arts and Sciences. Religion by Degrees chang'd the Genius of theſe People, and we ſhall find, in the Sequel, freſh Revolutions thence ariſing, both in their Government and Manners. The Lives of the Saints are indeed generally fill'd with many Superfluities. Their Diſciples frequently miſrepreſent them, by being too zealous in praiſing them: And many Paſſages ſavour of the Simplicity of thoſe Days, when the unpoliſh'd People were not to be kept within Bounds, but by Means of a ſevere Yoke. Poſterity nevertheleſs has ſo far an Obligation to them for having erected the firſt Altars in Honour of the true God. Many Heathens remain'd among the *Franks*, in *Auſtraſia*, notwithſtand-

The Chriſtian Religion propagated in *Auſtraſia*.

(7) ANNALES METENSES *ad An.* 697. Pippinus, princeps, duxit exercitum contra Friſiones & Radbodum, Ducem ipſorum, immitem atque paganum, qui verba principis, Pippini, ſæpe contempſerat, & fines principatus ejus crebris inruptionibus vexabat. Adunato igitur exercitu, juxtra caſtrum, quod dicitur Doreſtadum, caſtra metatus eſt. Cui occurrit cum valida manu, & pugna commiſſa eſt. Ubi Friſiones ſuperba manu Radbodi in aciem properantes, magna clade percuſſi ſunt. Fugatoque duce eorum Radbod, Pipinus victor extitit. Captis itaque innumerabilibus ſpoliis, victor ad propria reverſus eſt. Hinc annis ſingulis circumcitas gentes cum exercitu Pipinus fortiter proterit, & ſuæ ditioni ſubegit.

(8) IBID. *ad An.* 711. In illo tempore Grimoaldus, filiam Radbodi, Ducis Friſionum, duxit uxorem.

(9) IBID. *ad An.* 709. Pipinus contra Alamannos exercitum ducens, magnifice de illis, omnique illa regione triumphavit. *And farther*, ad An. 710. Pipinus iterum contra rebelles Alamannos exercitum duxit. Incenſaque eadem regione, captiviſque & ſpoliis multis adeptis, victor ad propria revertitur.

(10) Pipin *does not appear to have wholly ſubdued the* Swabians, *for that is related of* Charles Martel, *in the* Fragmentum Erchanberti.

ing

† *See* 11. 9. ing *Clovis* was baptiz'd †. *Clotarius* II, and *Dagobert*, had endeavour'd to
†† *Above* § 2 & 7. effect their Converſion ††, and *Sigebert*'s Court was fill'd with eminent Men, who were, as well as himſelf, afterwards plac'd among the Saints: And among theſe *Cunibert*, Biſhop of *Cologn*, who was then in great Eſteem, can hardly be ſuppoſed to have been unmindful of the Welfare of his Church. *S. Eligius*, Biſhop of *Noyon* and *Vermandois* propagated the Goſpel as far as the Coaſts of *Antwerp* (1). The Biſhops of *Tongres*, who reſided, about this Time, at *Maeſtricht*, did the ſame in the adjacent Countries. *S. Amandus* converted the Inhabitants of *Ghent*: *Remaclus* founded the two famous Monaſteries of *Malmundar* and *Stablo* (2): *Lambertus* eſtabliſh'd the *Chriſtian* Faith among the *Toxandri*, who dwelt below *Maeſtricht*, along the *Maes*, as far, as where that River receives the *Waal*. His Zeal was interrupted by a violent Death. *Gallus* and *Riold*, two Brothers, infeſted the Country belonging to this Dioceſe greatly, 'till the Biſhop's Party at laſt join'd, and being headed by his Siſter's Sons, kill'd them both. *Dado*, one of their Kindred, who is call'd *Domeſticus Pipini*, deſirous of Revenge, fell upon *Lambert* at *Liege*, which
† *A.* 707. was then a Village, and put † him and moſt of his Partizans to Death (3). His Body was firſt interr'd at *Maeſtricht*: But *Hubert*, his Succeſſor, caus'd it to be brought to *Liege*, and a fine Church to be built in Honour of him; which occaſion'd this Place to be ſo much reſorted to, and enlarg'd, that the Biſhops choſe it for their Reſidence, and it became a very famous City.

Gallus preaches among the *Swabians, &c.*

§ XXIII. When *Columbanus*, at the Beginning of the ſixth Century, in *Theoderick*'s Reign, was forc'd to quit the Monaſtery of *Luxevil*, he attempted, on his Journy among the *Swabians*, in the Neighbourhood of *Bregentz*, on the Lake of *Conſtance*, to convert them to the *Chriſtian*

§ XXII. (1) Audoenus *ſays of this Converſion*, in vit. S. Eligii, Lib. 2. cap. 3. Porro autem paſtoris cura ſolicitus luſtrabat urbes & municipia, circumquaque ſibi commiſſa. Sed Flandrenſes atque Andovorpenſes. Frisiones quoque & Sueves, & Barbari quique circa maris littora degentes, quos velut in extremis remotos nullus adhuc prædicationis vomer exararat, principio eum hoſtili animo, & averſa mente, exceperunt. Poſtmodum vero, cum paulatim per gratiam Chriſti eis verbum Dei inſinuare cœpiſſet, pars maxima trucis ac barbari populi, relictis idolis, converſa eſt ad verum Deum, & Chriſto ſubjecta. *And*, cap. 8. Multum prætera in Flandris laboravit, jugi inſtantia Andverpis decertavit, multos erroribus implicatos Suevos convertit, aliquot profana, Chriſti clypeo protectus, Apoſtolica autoritate deſtruxit: idololatriam quoque diverſi generis ubicumque comperit, funditus evertit.

(2) *The Foundation of theſe two Monaſteries, is farther inquir'd into, by* Roderique in diſcept. de origine abbatiarum Malmundarienſis & Stabulenſis.

(3) S. Lambert's *Death is variouſly related.* Valeſius *examines all theſe Accounts*, T. III. p. 374. Add. Pagius ad A. 698.

Faith.

Faith. He found them preparing to celebrate a Feſtival to *Wodan*, or *Odinus*, and a large Veſſel of Beer was ready for that Purpoſe (1). This *Odinus* (2) is very famous in the Idolatry of all the *Northern* Nations; and the *Swabians* had brought the Worſhip of him from their former Habitation on the *Baltick*, to the inner Parts of *Germania*. He left them *Gallus*, his Companion, who afterwards founded the famous Monaſtery; which retains his Name (3). *Kilian* (4), a Native of *Ireland*, preach'd the Goſpel in the Territories of *Würtzburg*. In the Hiſtory of his Life we find, that the then Inhabitants particularly rever'd the Goddeſs *Diana*. The ſame is obſerv'd of other *German* Nations, nor need we wonder at it, ſince their Devotion was always perform'd in the Foreſts, and the Chace was their principal Diverſion. And perhaps they imitated the *Greeks* and *Romans* in this Worſhip. *Diana Scythica* or *Taurica* is even known in the moſt ancient Mythology of the *Greeks*. The *Goths* likewiſe ador'd this Goddeſs: Hence we find a Prieſteſs of *Diana*, among the Captives, on the Pyramid erected in Honour of the Emperor *Theodoſius*, when he conquer'd the *Goths* †. *Gozbert*, a Perſon of Diſtinction, who dwelt on the ſame Mountain, on which *Würtzburg* is ſituate (5), profeſs'd indeed the Chriſtian Faith; but he had married *Geila*, his deceas'd elder Brother's Widow; and as *Kilian* expreſs'd his Zeal againſt this Marriage, *Geila* caus'd him, and his Companions to be murder'd, in the Abſence of her Husband (6). *Burcardus*, the firſt Biſhop of *Würtzburg* depoſited,

† See. 7. 30.

§ XXIII. (1) JONAS *in Vit. S. Columbani, cap.* 53. Perveniens ad locum *(Brigantium)* quem peragrans vir Dei, non ſuis placere animis ait: ſed tamen ob fidem in iis ſerendam inibi pauliſper moraturum ſe ſpopondit. Sunt etenim inibi vicinæ nationes Suevorum. Quo cum moraretur, & inter habitatores loci illius progrederetur, reperit eos ſacrificium profanum litare velle, vaſque magnum, quod viginti & ſex modios amplius capiebat, cereviſia plenum in medio habebant poſitum, ad quod, ut vir Dei accedit & ſciſcitatur, quid de illo fieri vellent, illi aiunt: Deo ſuo, VODANO, quem MERCURIUM vocant illi, ſe velle litare. Ille peſtiferum opus audiens, vas enixus ſufflat, miroque modo vas cum fragore diſſolvitur, & in fruſta dividitur, viſque rapida cum fragore cereviſia prorumpit, manifeſteque datur intelligi, diabolum in eo vaſe fuiſſe occultatum, qui per profanum litatorem caperet animas ſacrificantium.

(2) *This* Odinus *was mention'd above*, XI. 27. *Many Learned have writ particular Treatiſes concerning him. I ſhall here, only mention* Knyſler's Diſſ. de cultu Solis, Freii & Othini.

(3) VALAFR. STRAB. *in Vit. S. Galli.*

(4) ECHARD, *in many Reſpects, illuſtrates* S. Kilian's *Life*, T. I. p. 270. ſq.

(5) ECHARD *affirms*, p. 270, *that part of the preſent* Eaſt Franconia, *where* Würtzburg *lies, to have appertain'd then to* Thuringia, *and that* Gozbert *was a Duke of* Thuringia, *and Grand-Son to* Rudolph, *whom I mention'd above*, § 8. *But this is only to be regarded as a Conjecture. He treats of* Gozbert's *Family*, p. 283.

(6) PAGIUS *places it in the Year* 689, ECHARD *in* 687.

their Bones elſewhere, about the Year 742 (7), and *Kilian* is, to this Day, rever'd as the Apoſtle of that Country. Duke *Theodo* I, promoted the Faith in *Bavaria*. *S. Emmeranus* preach'd in his Time, and ſuffer'd Martyrdom, *A.* 652 (8). *S. Rupert*, who came into *Bavaria* about the Year 672, endeavour'd, under *Theodo* II, to reſtore the Church, then declining, and particularly at *Juvavia*, on the Ruins of which the preſent *Saltzburg* was built. Hence this Church eſteems him her Founder (9).

Converſion of the *Friſians*, *&c.*

† Above § 19.

†† Above § 22.

§ XXIV. *WILFRID*, Biſhop of *York*, made indeed an Attempt among the *Friſians*, in the Reign of King *Algiſus* †, and the ſame is ſaid in Praiſe of *S. Eligius* ††: But *Ecbert*, an *Engliſh* Monk, who liv'd in *Ireland*, ſucceeded particularly in his Zeal for the Converſion of the ancient *Saxons*, *Friſians*, *Danes* and *Rugi* (1); and the Miſſionaries he ſent them, laid at laſt a ſolid Foundation, for building the Superſtructure. The *Anglo-Saxons* were the firſt who could effectually ſow this good Seed; becauſe their Language differ'd not much from the Dialect of the *Friſians*, and the other *German* Nations, who dwelt on the Sea-Coaſts. *Wicbert*, who ſpent two Years in *Frieſland*, under *Ratbod*, was indeed at firſt not very ſucceſsful (2); on the contrary, the *Chriſtian* Prieſts were, on Occaſion of the *Francanian* War, baniſh'd the Country. But *Ecbert* ſent, *A.* 691. twelve other Perſons into *Frieſland* for, that Purpoſe. Among theſe, the moſt famous was *Willibrod*, who was born of *Saxon* Parents in *Northumberland*, and had likewiſe purſu'd his Studies in *Ireland*: For Reli-

(7) ECHARD, *p.* 454.

(8) PAGIUS ad A. 652. n. 7, 8. Cirinus *Biſhop of* Freyſingen, *who liv'd in the Times of* Charles *the Great, was the firſt who wrote* S. Emmeranus's *Life*, ap. CANIS. in Lect. Antiqu.

(9) PAGIUS *ad An.* 696. *n.* 7. *ſqq.*

§ XXIV. (1) BEDA, *Lib.* 5. *c.* 10. Eo tempore venerabilis & cum omni honorificentia nominandus famulus Chriſti, & ſacerdos EGBERT, quem in Hibernia, inſula, peregrinam ducere vitam pro adipiſcenda in cœlis patria, retulimus; propoſuit animo plurimus prodeſſe; id eſt, inito opere Apoſtolico, verbum Dei aliquibus earum, quæ nondum audierant, gentibus evangelizando committere: quarum in Germania plurimas noverat eſſe nationes, a quibus Angli vel Saxones, qui nunc Brittanniam incolunt, genus & originem duxiſſe noſcantur; unde hactenus a vicina gente Britonum corrupte Germani nuncupantur. Sunt autem Freſones, Rugini, Dani, Huni, antiqui Saxones, Boructuarii: ſunt etiam alii per plures iiſdem in partibus populi, paganis adhuc ritibus ſervientes, ad quos venire, præfatus Chriſti miles circumnavigata Brittannia diſpoſuit, ſi quos forte ex illis ereptos ſatanæ ad Chriſtum transferre valeret: vel ſi hoc fieri non poſſet, Romam venire ad videnda atque adoranda, beatorum Apoſtolorum, ac Martyrum Chriſti, limina cogitavit.

(2) IBID. At vero unus de ſociis ejus, vocabulo Victberct, cum eſſet & ipſe contemtu mundi, ac doctrinæ ſcientia inſignis (nam multos annos in Hibernia, peregrinus, anachoreticam in magna perfectione vitam egerat) aſcendit navem & Freſiam perveniens, duobus annis continuis, genti illi, ac Regi illius Radbedo, verbum ſalutis prædicabat, neque aliquem tanti laboris fructum apud Barbaros invenit auditores.

gion

gion and the liberal Sciences flouriſh'd ſo much at that Time, in this latter Iſle, that the *Engliſh*, went thither, in great Numbers, for their Education (3). *Pipin* protected them, and wrote to the Civil Officers, that he expected they ſhould be anſwerable for the Perſons of theſe Divines; and promis'd particular Favours to thoſe Inhabitants, who were converted (4). Two other *Engliſh* Prieſts, both nam'd *Ewald*, who had ventur'd to go farther into the Country of the *Saxons*, were not ſo ſucceſsful (5). They were murder'd by the Infidels, and their Bodies were caſt into the *Rhine*. *Willibrod* thereupon took a Journy to *Rome*, and the reſt of the Clergy, who remain'd in *Frieſland*, choſe *Suidbert* for their Biſhop, who came over into *England*, and was conſecrated by the before-mention'd *Wilfrid*, who had, in the mean Time, obtain'd another Biſhoprick (6). When *Willibrod* return'd, *Suidbert* repair'd to the *Bructuarii* (7), who were ſubject to the *Franks*: But when the Country was laid waſte, by a hoſtile Invaſion of the neighbouring *Saxons*, and the new Converts were thereby diſpers'd, he fled to *Pipin* for Refuge. *Pipin* aſſign'd him, at the Interceſſion of *Plectrudis*, his Wife, a Place on the Banks of the *Rhine* (8), where he built a Monaſtery (9). Hence this Place was call'd *Inſula*

(3) *Vid.* CAMD. *Brittann. p.* 1318.

(4) BEDA, *Lib.* 5. *cap.* 11. Qui cum illo adveniſſent (erant autem numero duodecim) divertentes ad Pippinum, Ducem Francorum, gratanter ab illo ſuſcepti ſunt: & quia nuper citeriorem Freſiam, expulſo inde Radhbedo, Rege, ceperat, illo eos ad prædicandum miſit; ipſe quoque imperiali autoritate juvans, ne quis prædicantibus moleſtiam inferret; multiſque eos, qui fidem ſuſcipere vellent, beneficiis adtollens: unde factum eſt opitulante gratia divina, ut multos in brevi ab idololatria fidem converterent Chriſti.

(5) IDEM, *Lib.* 5. *cap.* 11. Horum ſecuti exempla duo quidem Preſbyteri de natione Anglorum, qui in Hibernia multo tempore pro æterna patria exulaverant, venerunt ad provinciam antiquorum Saxonum, ſi forte aliquos, ibidem prædicando, Chriſto adquirere poſſent.

(6) IBIDEM, *Lib.* 5. *cap.* 12. Quo tempore Fratres, qui erant in Freſia verbi miniſterio mancipati, elegerunt ex ſuo numero virum modeſtum moribus & manſuetum corde, Suidberctum, qui ejus ordinaretur Antiſtes, quem Brittaniam deſtinatum, ad petitionem eorum ordinavit reverendiſſimus Vilfrid, Epiſcopus, qui tunc forte patria pulſus, in Merciorum regionibus exulabat.

(7) *They were a Reſidue of the* Bructeri, *and dwelt in the preſent* Weſtphalia, *in the Dioceſe of* Paderborn.

(8) IBIDEM, *Lib.* 5. *cap.* 12. Qui videlicet SUIDBERCT, accepto Epiſcopatu, de Brittania regreſſus, non multo poſt ad gentem Boructuarorum ſeceſſit, ac multos eorum prædicando ad viam veritatis perduxit. Sed, expugnatis non longo poſt tempore Boructuariis, a gente antiquorum Saxonum diſperſi ſunt, quolibet hi, qui verbum receperant; ipſeque Antiſtes cum quibuſdam Pippinum petiit, qui interpellante Blithrude, conjuge ſua, dedit ei locum manſionis in Inſula quadam Rheni, quæ lingua eorum vocatur IN LITTORE, in qua ipſe, conſtructo Monaſterio, quod hactenus hæredes ejus poſſident, aliquandiu continentiſſimam geſſit vitam, ibique diem clauſit ultimum.

(9) *See his Life in the* Act. S.S. Antwerp. ad D. X. Martii. MABILLON, Sec. III. Bened. *There is*

Insula S. Suiberti; but it is at present better known by the Name of *Kaiserswerth*. *Willibrod* succeeded to his Wish, among the *Frisians*, and, at *Pipin*'s Persuasion, took a second *Tour* to *Rome*, where he was consecrated Arch-Bishop of *Friesland*, by Pope *Sergius*, *A.* 696 (10). At his Return, *Pipin* gave him, for his Episcopal Seat, a Castle, call'd *Wiltaburg*, situate on the same Spot, where *Utrecht* now is (11). He liv'd 'till *A.* 739, and *Alcuinus*, who wrote his Life, in the Reign of *Charlemaign*, relates of him, that he endeavour'd, tho' in vain, to make a Convert of *Ratbod* himself. *Wulframmus*, Bishop of *Sens*, resign'd his See, and repair'd to *Friesland*, to assist *S. Willibrod*: But *Ratbod* persisted in the Religion of his Ancestors (12). *Willibrod* is said to have likewise try'd his Fortune among the *Danes*, and to have been come as far as the Island, call'd *Heiliges-Land* (13). The Bishoprick of *Utrecht* was afterwards join'd to the *Metropolis* of *Cologn*, and not remov'd till the Time of Pope *Paul* IV.

Of *Pipin*'s Death and Family, *&c.*

† In *April.*

§ XXV. *GRIMOALD* came, *A.* 714, to visit his Father, who lay sick at *Jopil*; but he was murder'd in *S. Lambert*'s Church at *Liege*†. He left no Children by the *Frisian* Princess, but another Son, nam'd *Theodebald*, who was then very young. *Pipin* constituted him *Maire de Palais* over *Neustria* and *Burgundy*, in his Father's Room; which sufficiently shews how great his Power was; for the *Maires de Palais* were before chosen by the Grandees of the Nation, and it appears ridiculous, that a Child should be invested with that Office. *Pipin* himself died the same Year †. This Prince had two Wives. By *Plectrudis* he had two Sons, *Drogo* and *Grimoald*, whom I just now mention'd. By *Alpais* he had *Charles*, furnam'd *Martel*, who will hereafter make so considerable a Figure, and *Childebrand*, from whom some Learned Men derive the *Capetingian* Line (1). *Plectrudis* had the Education of *Theodebald* at *Cologn.* on the *Rhine*, and aim'd at governing all the Kingdom, as Guardian. She caus'd *Charles* to be taken into Custody, because she regarded him as an Enemy to her Line: But after so long a State of Servitude, the *Neustrians* and *Burgundians*

† In *December.*

is indeed a particular Life extant of him, entitl'd, Vita S. Suiberti, a Marcellino, Presbytero, ad D. Gregorium, Episcopum Trajectensem scripta. *But this is proved to be spurious.*

(10) BEDA, *l. c.*

(11) IDEM, *Lib.* 5. *cap.* 12. Donavit autem ei Pippinus locum cathedræ Episcopalis in castello suo illustri, quod antiquo gentium illarum verbo VILTABURG, id est, oppidum WILTORUM, lingua autem Gallica TRAJECTUM vocatur.

(12) Vita S. Vulframi ap. Mabillon. Sec. III. *The Conference with* Ratbod *is there circumstantially related.*

(13) ALCUIN. *in Vit. S. Villibr.*

§ XXV. (1) FRATR. SAMMARTAN. DU BOUCHET, ANDR. DU CHESNE, *and others.*

gundians

gundians would not now ſubmit to a Woman, and found it eaſy to excite *Dagobert* to aſſume his Regal Power, and to ſtrive to reduce the *Auſtraſians* to Subjection by Force. When *Theodebald* was thus on his March, with all *Pipin*'s and *Grimoald*'s Vaſſals, he was repell'd near *Compiegne* (2). The *Neuſtrians* now choſe *Raginfredus*, their Country-Man, to be *Maire de Palais* (3); who perſuaded the King to an Expedition againſt *Auſtraſia*. They ravag'd as far as the *Maes*, and had made a League with *Radbod*, Duke of the *Friſians*, by Virtue of which he was to make an Irruption on the other Side. The *Saxons* appear, likewiſe, to have made an Invaſion about this Time (4). *Charles*, in the mean while, eſcap'd from his Priſon at *Cologn*. Many valiant *Auſtraſians* immediately join'd him, becauſe they placed more Confidence in his Conduct, than in that of *Plectrudis*, and declar'd him Duke of the *Franks*. *Dagobert* died during theſe Diſtractions, *A.* 715, which, by his Death, became the greater.

§ XXVI. THE *Wiſi-Goths* have hitherto had a conſiderable Share in the Hiſtory of the other *German* Nations, who contributed to the Declenſion of the *Roman* Empire in the *Weſt*. It will, therefore, be the more requiſite to take Notice of the great Downfal, which, about this Time, unexpectedly befel them. After the *Suevi* were conquer'd, and the Provincials themſelves wholly ſubdu'd, their Kingdom was advanced to the higheſt Pitch of Power: But the many Revolutions in the Succeſſion had occaſion'd great Diſorders, eſpecially as, after King *Chindaſuinth*'s Death, the Factions, in a Manner, took Place of each other, alternately, in the Government. *Enico* therefore, before his Deceaſe, took *Witiza*, his Son, for his Partner on the Throne, and gave him the Country of the *Suevi*, where he reſided, at *Tuy*, in *Gallicia*, on the River *Minho* (1). Downfal of the *Wiſi-Gothick* Kingdom, &c.

(2) FREDEGARII CHRONIC. *c.* 104. Commiſſa acie in Cottia ſylva, contra Theudoaldum, & Leudes Pippini quondam, atque Grimoaldum, (*ſ. Grimoaldi*) iniere certamen, corruitque ibi immodicus exercitus. Theudualdus itaque a ſodalibus ſuis per fugam lapſus evaſit. Sylva Cottia *is* la Forêt de Cuiſe, *near* Compiegne.

(3) FREDEG. CHRON. *c.* 105. Eodem tempore tunc elegerunt, in honorem majoris domatus, quendam Francum, nomine Raginfridum, commotoque exercitu hoſtili, uſque Moſam fluvium properant cuncta vaſtantes, cum Ratbodo Duce fœdus inierunt. *In the* Geſta Francorum *we read, that the King was preſent.*

(4) *The* Annal. Metenſ. *ſay, that they invaded the* Hattuarii. *But it is difficult to aſſign the Place. The* Pagus Attuariorum *is generally plac'd in* Gueldres. *See above,* B. 11. § 30. *The* Hattuarii *are the* Heſſians. *But thoſe two are eaſily confounded.*

§ XXVI. (1) LUCAS TUDENSIS, *p.* 69. Rex participem in regno fecit, & in civitate Tudenſi habitare præcepit, ut ipſe pater teneret regnum Gothorum, & filius Suevorum.

But

But *Witiza*'s Reign is almoſt univerſally mention'd with Contempt, and, among other Faults, he is accus'd of having treated King *Chindaſuinth*'s Sons very cruelly: *Favila*, Duke of *Cantabria*, one of them, was kill'd; and *Theudefred*, Duke of *Cordua*, the other, depriv'd of his Sight. *Roderick*, Son to the latter, at laſt rebell'd againſt *Witiza*, and obtain'd the Throne, as ſome *Spaniſh* Hiſtorians relate, before the other's Death. *Witiza* left two Sons, who, impatient for Revenge, went over to the *Saracens* in *Africa*. The *Spaniſh* Hiſtory is here very obſcure; becauſe the Accounts of theſe Times are too remote, and vary greatly †. They all, however, agree, that *Witiza*'s Sons entic'd the Infidels into the Country, and that a certain Count, nam'd *Julian*, was chiefly inſtrumental therein. But the *Saracens* were, perhaps, encourag'd by a diſaffected Party among the *Goths*, or by their own Inclination to go to *Spain*; this, at leaſt, is certain, that a Perſon, nam'd *Tarif*, landed firſt on the *Spaniſh* Coaſts, with a few Men, and return'd with a good Booty (2). *Valid*, who was then *Caliph*, kept his Court at *Damaſcus*, in *Syria*, and was, therefore, at a great Diſtance from this Attempt: But *Muza*, his Lieutenant in *Africa*, was nevertheleſs ſucceſsful in it. The *Goths* had no naval Forces; we find, at leaſt, no Traces of any, ſince the Time of King *Siſebuth*. The *Saracens*, on the other Hand, after they became Maſters of *Africa*, knew as well, how to make Advantage of their Situation, to be powerful at Sea, as the *Vandals*, and, in more ancient Times, the *Carthaginians*. And they had before try'd their Fortune againſt *Spain*, in the Reign of King *Wamba* (3). The Attempts, to which the Nature and Situation of a Country give Encouragement, ſucceed the more eaſily, when they are ſpurr'd on by the Hopes of a certain Advantage.

† See Annot. 38.

King *Roderick* is vanquiſh'd.

§ XXVII. *MUZA*, the next Year, 711, ſent *Tarick*, another General, with the before-mention'd *Julian*. They landed near *Calpe*, which Mountain was, on that Account, call'd *Gibel Tarick* (whence aroſe the Name of *Gibraltar*). They made Irruptions into *Bætica* and *Luſitania*. *Roderick* ſent *Eneco*, his Kinſman, againſt them, who, after ſome Engage-

(2) *The* Spaniſh *Hiſtorians generally place the firſt Invaſion in the Year* 714. *But* F. Pagius, ad An. 710. n. 4, ſqq. *proves, that the* Saracens *landed firſt in* Spain, A. 710, *and frequently cites* Noweir, *an* Arabian *Writer, whoſe Works are not yet printed. He confutes,* ad A. 711, n. 14. F. Joſeph de Moreto, *who, in his* Append. ad Tom. I. Annal. Regni Navarræ, *attempted to maintain the common Calculation of the* Spaniards. *But the ſame has been exploded, before* Pagius, *by* Joſeph Perez, *who proves, that they landed yet ſooner, in the* Diſſert. de ſupremæ cladis Hiſpaniæ a Saracenis illatæ anno, *which may be ſeen among his* Diſſertationes Eccleſiaſticæ.

(3) LUCAS TUDENSIS, *p.* 68.

ments,

ments, loſt his Life: And when they, hereupon, ſent for Re-inforcements from *Africa*, the King himſelf march'd to meet them (1). An Engagement enſu'd near *Xeres de le Frontera*, on the River *Guadalete*, in the Province of *Andaluſia* †, when the *Goths*, after a ſtout Reſiſtance, were overcome, and *Roderick* was kill'd (2). An ancient *Spaniſh* Hiſtorian * interſperſes ſeveral Circumſtances in his Relation, which are not ſufficiently grounded, tho' they are received by modern Writers, without farther Examination: Of this Kind is the pretended Account, that *Witiza* caus'd the Walls of all the Cities in *Spain*, except *Toledo*, *Aſtorga* and *Leon*, to be demoliſh'd, and that the *Saracens* became, therefore, the more eaſily Maſters of *Spain*. Even the Deſcription of the Battle is not altogether probable, and particularly, when he ſays, that *Witiza*'s Sons were about the King, and ſhared the Command with him. Nor do ſome modern Authors merit more Credit **, when they pretend, that, juſt before the Battle, the King made an Harangue to his Army, mounted on a Chariot of Ivory, in his Royal Robes, with the Crown on his Head, and a drawn Sword in his Hand. If *Witiza*'s Sons entic'd the *Saracens* into *Spain*, in Hopes of obtaining the Kingdom by their Aid, they found, by fatal Experience, how dangerous it is to call in Auxiliaries, who have it in their Power to make themſelves Maſters. But how great is not the Influence of Hatred on Minds enrag'd, when they only reflect on the Injuries they have receiv'd? They put every Thing to the Stake, even their Country, their Friends and themſelves, provided they can but obtain their Revenge. *Tarik* march'd, with his victorious Army, to *Toleda*, and met with no Reſiſtance. The next Year, *Muza* himſelf paſs'd over into *Spain*, with 12,000 Men. He ſack'd *Merida*, *Sevil* and other Cities, which *Tarik* had not reach'd. Both Generals met at *Toledo*. After this they made their Way thro' *Saragoça* over the *Ebro*. They met every where with but little Oppoſition from the Cities, after the *Goths* were ſubdu'd. Many of them open'd their Gates to the Conqueror, and came to an Accommodation with him as well as they could (3).

† *July* 26.

§ XXVIII.

§ XXVII. (1) RODERIC. TOLETAN. *Lib.* 3. *cap.* 20, *ſq.* LUCAS TUDENS. *in Chron. Lib.* 3. *fin. Conf.* PAGIUS, *ad A.* 711, *n.* 8, *ſeq.*

(2) RODERICUS *ſays, that the Corpſe was not found. His Grave has, indeed, been formerly ſhewn at* Viſco, *in* Portugal; PISA, Antiq. de Toledo, p. 123. *But the Relation, how* Roderick *came thither, which we read in* MAN. de FARIA y SOUSA Hiſtor. de Portugal. P. 2. c. 7. *is ſo very abſurd, that it explodes itſelf.*

* RODERICUS, *Arch-Biſhop of* Toledo.

** MARIANA, *Lib.* 6. *cap.* 23. SAVEDRA, *p.* 473.

(3) *That many Cities ſurrender'd voluntarily to the* Saracens, *appears from* Rodericus, l. c. cap. 22, 2.

Pelagius gathers together the Residue of the *Goths*.

§ XXVIII. THE Residue of the *Goths* were, for some Time, secure in the Mountains of *Gallicia* and *Asturia*. Here *Pelagius*, the Son of the before-mention'd *Favila*, took the Resolution to defend himself (1), and gain'd a Victory, on the River *Deva*, in the Province of *Ipuscoa*, over the *Saracens*, which must be regarded, as the Beginning of the Delivery of *Spain*. As, in a general Consternation, nothing so effectually awakes the Courage of those who are cast down, as when some proper Leader offers; so *Pelagius*'s Example excited his Country-Men, insomuch, that they flock'd to him in Crowds. *Muza* and *Tarik* could not agree, whereupon the *Caliph* sent for them both to *Damascus*. The former first constituted *Abdalas*, his Son, Lieutenant over *Spain*, who made Choice of *Sevil* for his Residence (2). Modern *Spanish* Writers add, that he married *Egilona*, King *Roderick*'s Widow (3), but this seems more like a Romance, than a true History. Such therefore was the terrible Visitation of the *Wisi-Goths* (4). However, their Kingdom and Nation were not wholly extirpated. *Pelagius* was himself a *Goth*, and his Kingdom is a new Branch, growing out of the former *Gothick* Stock (5). His Successors were call'd Kings of *Leon* (6); and when the *Christians*, in succeeding Times, took from the *Saracens* one City, and one Country after another, thence arose separate Titles for the new Kingdoms. The *Goths* and *Spaniards*, in the mean Time, became entirely united, and

22, *where he says of the* Præfectus Corduæ: Nec aliquis de Senioribus Hispanorum captus dicitur, præter ipsum. Omnes enim alii aut deditione, aut fœdere se dediderunt. *And lower:* Arabes enim, quæ vi non poterant subjugare, falso fœdere deceperunt. Oppa, filio Egicæ, Hispalensi Episcopo, suadente, ut subjecti Arabibus viverent sub tributo; & si forte Dominus patriam visitaret, fierent subvenientibus in succursum. Et sic fraudibus circumventi reddiderunt oppida, & præsidia civitatum, & isti dicti sunt mixti Arabes.

§ XXVIII. (1) PAGIUS *places the Beginning of* Pelagius's *Reign in the Year* 712. Garivay *pretends, that* Pelagius *was not really of* Gothick, *but of ancient* Spanish *Extraction. This is exploded by* Morales, in Chron. General. de Espanna, f. 9; *and the most learned* Spanish *Writers agree in this Point.*

(2) *Conf.* PAGIUS *ad A.* 713. 6.

(3) MARIANA, *Lib.* 6. *c.* 27.

(4) ALVARUS GOMEZ, Prof. Rhet. & Ling. Græcæ in Acad. Toletana, *mentions the Fall of the* Gothick *Kingdom in a* Latin *Poem; which Passage see in Annotation* 37.

(5) *In the* Chronicon Regis Alfonsi, Pelagius *is introduc'd before the Battle, as speaking thus:* Confidimus in Dei misericordia, quod ab isto modico monticulo, quem conspicitis, sit Hispaniæ salus & Gothorum gentis exercitus reparatio. *In* Lucas Tudensis, *we read after King* Ferdinand's *Death:* Adelfonsus Catholicus ab universo populo GOTHORUM in Regem eligitur. *He says of King* Ferdinand's *Sons,* p. 97: per septem continuos annos bellum implacabiliter gesserunt, extincta, duobus magnis præliis non modica Gothorum militum parte.

(6) *Some stile* Pelagius *King of* Leon: *But* Ambrosius Morales, L. 13. cap. 5, *proves this to be erroneous.*

made

made one and the ſame Nation. But the Kings, as well as many noble Families in *Spain*, have always been proud of deriving their Dignity from the *Goths*.

§ XXIX. As in the Sequel, I ſhall not have Occaſion to mention the Hiſtory of *Spain* after this Revolution, except when it falls in with that of the *Franks*; I ſhall, to conclude, make ſome Obſervations on the Conſtitution of the *Wiſi-Gothick* Kingdom. This was in ſeveral Reſpects very much chang'd, after *Reccaredus*, and the whole Nation, quitted *Arianiſm*, and profeſs'd the *Catholick* Faith †. The *Wiſi-Goths* had indeed a great Veneration for the *Baltick* Line of their Kings: But it became afterwards a Kind of elective Monarchy (1). The Biſhops had on this Occaſion as great an Influence, as the Nobles of the Nation, eſpecially, as the King was anointed by them: But the *Gothick* Kingdom experienc'd likewiſe all the Evils, which thoſe Countries are ſubject to, where a perpetual Succeſſion is not eſtabliſh'd, and where the whole Conſtitution is, in a Manner, ſubverted at the King's Deceaſe. Subjects ſoon diſregard their Obedience, when they perceive, that their Sovereign cannot much longer exact it. To what Hazards will not the Ambition of the Great hurry them, when they can aſpire to the Throne. What a Hardſhip muſt it not ſeem to Princes of the Royal Blood, to find themſelves, after the Death of their Father, equal to other Subjects. Men of great Merit think it derogatory to their Character to ask Favours of the Commonality, of which the latter ought to make a voluntary Offer; and the Electors are ſometimes as eager to exclude the moſt worthy, as they ſhould be to chooſe them. The Power of the *Gothick* Kings was not unlimited (2), which both the many Rebellions, and the frequent Coun-

† See 14. 23.

§ XXIX. (1.) *Concil. Tolet.* IV. *can.* 75: Nullus apud nos præſumtione regnum arripiat: nullus excitat mutuas ſeditiones civium: nemo meditetur interitus Regum, ſed et, defuncto in pace Principe, Primates totius gentis cum ſacerdotibus, ſucceſſorem Regni, concilio communi, conſtituant, ut, dum unitatis concordia a nobis retinetur, nullum Patriæ gentis diſſidium per vim atque ambitum oriatur. *In the* Council *at* Toledo V. can. 21, *this is yet more accurately expreſs'd.* Quapropter, quoniam inconſideratæ quorundam mentes, & ſe minime capientes, quos nec origo ornat, nec virtus decorat, paſſim putant licenterque ad Regiæ majeſtatis pervenire faſtigium; hujus rei cauſſa noſtra omnium, cum invocatione divina, profertur ſententia, ut qui talia meditatus fuerit, quem nec electio omnium probat, NEC GOTHICÆ GENTIS NOBILITAS ad hunc apicem trahit ſit a conſortio Catholicorum privatus, & divino, anathemate condemnatus.

(2) *Concil. Tolet.* IV. *can.* 75. Te quoque præſentem Regem, futuroſque ſequentium ætatum Principes, humilitate, qua debemus, depoſcimus, ut moderati, & mites erga ſubjectos exiſtentes, cum juſtitia & pietate populos a Deo uobis creditos regatis, bonamque viciſſitudinem, qui vos conſtituit, largitori Chriſto, reſpondeatis: regnantes cum humilitate cordis, cum ſtudio bonæ actionis. Nec quiſquam veſtrum ſolus in cauſſis capitum, aut rerum ſententiam ferat: ſed conſenſu publico cum rectoribus, & judicio manifeſto, delinquentium culpa pateſcat.

cils, which were held, as well in Political, as in Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, demonſtrate. The Church in *Spain* was greatly honour'd by the *Goths*, and is oblig'd to them for ſeveral Parts of her Conſtitution (3). The Adminiſtration at Court, in the Country, and in the Army, was almoſt the ſame with that of other *German* Nations, who eſtabliſh'd particular States in the *Roman* Provinces (4). The *Goths* kept their own Conſtitution, as did likewiſe the ancient Inhabitants, who were ſtill always call'd *Romani*, becauſe they had been ſubject to the *Roman* Empire, and retain'd their own Language and Manners. The Country was divided between both Nations, in ſuch manner that the *Goths* obtain'd two third Parts, and the *Romans* kept one (5). King *Reccaredus* was the firſt, who permitted them to intermarry (6). Among the *Goths*, the Free-born were held the moſt worthy, and thoſe were with them eſteem'd truly Noble, who advanc'd themſelves by publick Employments (7). The Slaves found it the moſt honourable Method of obtaining their Freedom, when they were employ'd in the Army (8). The Confidence and Favour of the *Gothick* Kings was not confin'd to any Station; but open'd the Way to Honour and Power, at Court, to freed Men; nay even to Slaves (9). Tho' the *Goths* were at firſt ſo haughty, that they conferr'd with the Emperor's Ambaſſadors, by an Interpreter,

(3) *Conf.* MARIANA *Lib.* 9. *cap.* 19.

(4) *Vid.* PETRUS PANTINUS, *de dignitatibus atque officiis Gothorum. Conf.* 37. *Annot.*

(5) *Leges Viſi Gothor. Lib.* 10. *Tit.* 1. 8. Diviſio inter Gothum & Romanum facta, de portione terrarum, ſive ſylvarum nulla ratione turbetur, ſi tamen probatur celebrata diviſio. Nec de duabus partibus Gothi aliquid ſibi Romanus præſumat, aut vindicet, aut de tertia Romani Gothus, &c. *Theſe Pieces of Ground are from thence call'd* Sortes Gothicæ *and* Romanæ.

(6) *Leg. Viſi Goth. Lib.* 3. *Tit.* 1, Ob hoc meliori propoſito ſalubriter cenſentes priſcæ legis remota ſententia, hac in perpetuum valitura lege ſancimus, ut tam Gothus Romanam, quam etiam Gotham Romanus, ſi ſibi conjugem habere voluerit, præmiſſa petitione digniſſima, facultas eis nubendi ſubjaceat: liberumque ſit libero, liberam quam voluerit, honeſta conjunctione, perquirendo proſapiæ ſolenniter conſenſu, Comite permittente, percipere conjugem.

(7) *We find what the proper Signification of* Nobilis *among the* Goths *was in ſome Paſſages of their Laws. Thus we read, Lib.* 4. *Tit.* 1. 2. Nobiles, potentioreſque perſonæ, ut ſunt primates palatii noſtri, eorumque filii: *and*: Inferiores, humilioreſque, ingenuæ tamen perſonæ.

(8) *Leg. Viſigoth. Lib.* 5. *Tit.* 7. 20. Et licet favente Deo gentes noſtræ affluant copia bellatorum, nil tamen officit, ſi de illis augeatur inſuper noſtra acies, ad repulſionem hoſtium externorum, qui ex familiis fiſci per regias auctoritates gratiam meruerunt libertatis. Unde, quia neceſſe eſt, ut illic præbeant ex ratione ſuffectum, unde meruiſſe lætantur abſolutionis ſtatum. Ob hoc ſpeciali ſanctione jubemus, ut deinceps tam ipſi, quam omnis eorum poſteritas, tempore exercitus, omnes ad regiam celſitudinem incunctanter occurrant: ut, cum quibus exercitus expeditionem peragere poſſit, præſentaliter eos clementia principalis inſtituat.

(9) *The* Goths *make heavy Complaints of this at the* Concilium Toletanum XIII, *where it was concluded* can. 6: Proinde hortante pariter, ac jubente

Interpreter, when even they underſtood the *Latin* (10); yet they afterwards accuſtom'd themſelves to the *Roman* Tongue, as it was ſpoken by the Inhabitants of *Spain*, when they were once of the ſame Religion, and began to converſe with them more freely: Inſomuch, that the *Spaniſh* Language retains few Traces of the ancient Dialect of the *Suevi* and *Goths* †.

† See Annot. 37.

§ XXX. I AM apt to think thoſe Writers too ſevere on the *Goths*, who charge them with having ſo far given Way to their Hatred of the *Romans*, as purpoſely to deſtroy all the Buildings, Medals and other Memorials remaining of them (1). By a general Prejudice, theſe Conquerors of the *Romans* are eſteem'd by us a very barbarous People. The *Saracens* are more juſtly accus'd of Deſtructions of that Kind: But perhaps what is imputed to the Ignorance and Animoſity of theſe People is meerly the Effect of Time. We meet even with fewer Remains of the *Goths* and *Suevi* in *Spain*, than of the *Romans* (2); and the Medals or Coins of the *Wiſi-Gothick* Kings (3), at the ſame Time, ſhew, how unskillful they were in thoſe Days. Their Memory was longeſt retain'd in their Laws, and the ſo-called *Officium Gothicum*. The Laws of the *Goths* are extant, as they were in Force in the Reign of King *Egicas*. Theſe remain'd long after in Uſe, by the Name of *Forum Judicum* †: And in the modern Laws of *Spain*, many Things have been retain'd from thoſe; as *Ant. Olibanus* in particular teſtifies of the Laws of *Catalonia* ††. I obſerv'd above, that in the Reign of *Reccaredus*, the Council of *Toledo* decreed, that an Uniformity of Worſhip ſhould be introduc'd, and that, in Order thereto, a certain *Officium* or *Rituale* was agreed upon, which,

Of their Laws and the ſo-call'd *Officium Mozarabicum*, &c.

† *Fuero Juzgo.*

†† See Annot. 37.

bente prædicto glorioſiſſimo Principe, hoc noſtri cœtus aggregatio obſervandum, inſtituit ut, EXCEPTIS SERVIS *vel* LIBERTIS FISCALIBVS, nullus ſervorum, atque etiam libertorum quorumlibet, deinceps ad Palatinum quandoque tranſire permittatur officium. *This Paſſage ſerves to illuſtrate what* Tacitus *ſays in general of the Kings of ſome of the Ancient* German *Nations*: *de M. G.* 25. Liberti non multum ſupra ſeruos ſunt, raro aliquod momentum in domo, nunquam in civitate, exceptis duntaxat iis gentibus, quæ regnantur. Ibi enim & ſuper ingenuos, & ſuper nobiles adſcendunt.

(10) *An Inſtance of this we find in the Hiſtory of King* Euricus. Epiphanius, *Biſhop of* Pavia, *Ambaſſador from the Emperor* Julius Nepos, *addreſs'd himſelf to that Prince, in* Latin, *the King anſwer'd in* Gothick. *See* Vol. I. X. 26. *not* 10.

§ XXX. (1) LASTANOSA p. 55. Morero de Vargas in Hiſt. de Merida p. 49. *complains of the ſame, particularly on Account of the Antiquities at* Merida.

(2) *The Remains are the ſooner become unintelligible, becauſe the Letters, that were us'd at the Time of the* Gothick *Government, were afterwards laid aſide.* CARO Antiqued. de Sevilla Lib 3. c. 43. *ſays of the City of* Carmona *in* Andaluſia. Del tempo de los Godos ay algunas Memorias in Carmona, pero muy mal tratadas, de modo, que no ſe pueden leer.

(3) *The Medals of the* Wiſi-Gothick *Kings are collected by* le Blanc, Manuel de Faria, *but particularly by* Mahudel.

according to the general Opinion, was penn'd by *S. Iſidorus*, Arch-Biſhop of *Sevil* (4). This is call'd *Officium Gothicum*, or *Toletanum*, and likewiſe *Mozarabicum*; which laſt Name it receiv'd, becauſe the *Chriſtians* in *Spain*, who were ſubject to the *Saracens*, were call'd *Mozarabes*. But the *Roman* Church took Care, in ſucceeding Times, to have the Ceremonies of her Worſhip receiv'd. This was firſt decreed, *A.* 1060, in the Time of *Ramirus*, King of *Arragon*, at the Council of *Jacca*. But the Biſhops of *Catalonia*, being conven'd at *Barcelona*, *A.* 1064, refus'd to depart from their ancient Liturgy, and ſent ſome of their own Body to the Council at *Mantua*, to vindicate the ſame. When *Alfonſus*, King of *Caſtile* and *Leon*, took *Toledo* from the *Saracens*, and took upon him to reſtore the *Chriſtian* Worſhip, he likewiſe attempted to introduce the *Roman* Rites. His Queen *Conſtantia*, a Daughter of *Robert*, Duke of *Burgundy*, had been train'd up to the ſame in the *Franconian* Church, and now urg'd him to it; as did likewiſe *Bernardus*, the new Arch-Biſhop of *Toledo*, who was call'd into *Spain* from the Monaſtery of *Clugny*: But the Clergy and the People refus'd to depart from their ancient Cuſtoms. The Deciſion of the Matter was left to a ſingle Combat between two Knights, one of whom was to appear in Defence of the *Officium Romanum*, the other of the *Gothicum*. They proceeded even to a Trial by Fire. Both Books were caſt into the Flame, and tho' the Hiſtorian relates, that the *Roman* was burnt and the *Gothick* remain'd unhurt, yet were the Queen's Inſtances, ſeconded by thoſe of the Arch-Biſhop and of the Pope's Legate, ſo prevailing, that the *Synod* of *Leon* concluded, that the *Roman* Liturgy ſhould be introduc'd. Some Congregations, and particularly ſix Churches at *Toledo*, retain'd, notwithſtanding this, their ancient Worſhip. Even in later Times, a ſeparate Chapel has been erected at *Toledo*, by the famous Cardinal *Francis Ximenes*, for performing of Divine Service, as it is to this Day, according to the *Ritus Mozarabicus* †. This Change occaſion'd the *Gothick* Letters to be likewiſe laid aſide (5): But Authors are miſtaken, when they

† See Annot. 37.

(4) *We meet with both a* Miſſale *and a* Breviarium Mozarabicum.

(5) *This total Diſuſe of the* Gothick *Letters is the more remarkable, as many Learned Men have imagined them to be the Letters invented by* Ulphilas. *The* Acts *of the Council at* Leon *are loſt. But the two* Spaniſh *Hiſtorians who draw neareſt to this Time have tranſmitted to us this Account:* RODERICUS TOLETANUS *Lib.* 17. *c* 30. Interfuit etiam Renerius Legatus, et Romanæ Eccleſiæ Cardinalis, ibidemque celebrato concilio cum Bernardo, Toletano Primate, multa de officiis eccleſiæ ſtatuerunt, et etiam de cætero, ut omnes Scriptores, omiſſa litera Toletana, quam Guelfilas Gothorum Epiſcopus adinvenit, Gallicis literis uterentur. LUCAS TUDENSIS *aſſigns alſo the Cauſe of this Change. p.* 101. Statuerunt etiam, ut Scriptores de cætero Gallicam literam ſcriberent, et prætermitterent Toletanam in officiis Eccleſiaſticis, ut nulla eſſet diviſio inter Miniſtros eccleſiæ Dei. MARIANA, *p.* 482. (in Hiſp. illuſtr.)

very

they hereby mean the ancient *Runen*, or Letters of the *Goths*, invented by *Ulfilas*. They were originally *Roman*, but, as we find them on the Medals of the Kings, differ'd very much from the ancient Character, and were only call'd *Literæ Gothicæ*, becauſe they were in Uſe throughout the *Wiſi-Gothick* Kingdom. All Books in *Spain* were, at that Time, written in this *Gothick* Character, particularly thoſe us'd in Churches, and hence this Letter is call'd *Litera Toletana*, as the *Officium Gothicum* is itſelf term'd *Toletanum*.

very confidently aſſerted, that theſe Letters were Ulfila's Runæ, *when he ſays of this* Synod: Gothicis literarum characteribus, quos Ulfilas, Gothorum Epiſcopus, priuſquam veniret in Hiſpaniam, excogitarat, et invenerat primus, ne amplius uſus eſſet in publicis tabulis, ſed pro iis Gallicos characteres ſubſtitui. Etenim ab antiquiſſimis temporibus, Gothi, Longobardi, Vandali, Slavi, Francique, proprios ſingulæ nationes characteres, literarum forma a Romanis diſcrepantes, quibus utebantur, invenerunt. Franci et Slavi veterem uſum retinent: cæteræ nationes progreſſu temporis abdicarunt. Commercio id cæterarum nationum, quæ latino plurimum charactere utebantur, datum eſt. ORTIZIUS *in Deſcript. Temp. Tolet. f.* 100. *b. is almoſt of the ſame Opinion.* Erant vero characteres illi non omnino a literis noſtris abhorrentes, ſed partim quidem illorum eadem forma, qua noſtri, partim vero quadantenus differenti, quos per GUDILAM, quendam Epiſcopum, genti Gothorum, una cum fidei Chriſtianæ rudimentis traditos ferunt, quæ poſtea quidem Toletana litera, deinde etiam Mozarabum dicta eſt. *But the Letters, which the* Wiſi-Goths *us'd in* Spain, *are very different from thoſe of* Ulfila, *wherein the* Gothick *Goſpel is written. The* Goths *perhaps at firſt for ſome time retain'd their particular Letters. But in* Spain *they likewiſe receiv'd the* Latin *ones, at leaſt after they had embrac'd the* Catholick *Faith. They are call'd* Gothicæ *in the ſame Senſe, in which we underſtand the* Character Longobardicus.

SECT. I.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE *ANCIENT GERMANS.*

BOOK XVI.

To the YEAR DCCLII.

SECT. I. CHILPERIC, II, *King of the* Franks, *marches againſt* Charles. Ratbod *invades* Auſtraſia, *from the other Side.* Chilperic *abandons* Cologn: Charles *attacks him on his Retreat.* II. *Vanquiſhes him near* Vinci; *and places the Crown on the Head of* Clotarius. III. Chilperic *demands the Aſſiſtance of* Eudo, *Duke of* Acquitain. *An Account of that Duchy. The Battle of* Soiſſons. IV. Charles *and* Chilperic *reconcil'd: The latter created* Maire de Palais, *throughout the whole* Franconian *Monarchy.* Theodoric, *King of the* Franks. V. Boniface, *undertakes to propagate the* Chriſtian *Faith in* Germania, *and particularly in* Thuringia. VI. Gregory, II, *conſecrates him a* Biſhop. *The Foundation of ſeveral Monaſteries. The Manner of making Proſelites in thoſe Times.* S. Pirminus *founds ſome Monaſteries among the* Alemanni. VII. Charles's *Expedition againſt the* Bavarians. *Continuation of the Hiſtory of the* Bavarians. S. Rupert *comes to* Saltzburg. S. Corbinianus, *firſt Biſhop of* Freiſingen. VIII. *State of the* Saxons. *Of the Name of* Ancient Saxony. *Their Wars with the* Franks. IX. *Hiſtory of the* Empire.

pire. Leo Iſaurus *forbids the Adoration of Images. A Rebellion enſues.* X. *The State of* Italy. Luitprandus, *King of the* Longobards, *takes* Ravenna: *The* Venetians *recover it.* XI. Gregory, II, *vindicates the Adoration of Images. A Mutiny in the Army. Whether Pope* Leo *was put into the Ban? Whether* Rome, *and the Reſt of* Italy, *then abandon'd the* Empire? XII. Leo *makes a League with the King of the* Longobards. Gregory *gains over* Luitprandus; *who reconciles the Pope with the* Exarchus. Petaſius *aſſumes the* Imperial *Dignity in* Tuſcany. XIII. *A new Edict concerning the Aboliſhment of Images. The Contents of two Letters from the Pope to the Emperor. Whether* Gregory, II, *ſued for Protection to* Charles Martel. XIV. *Continuation of theſe Controverſies under* Gregory, III. *The Emperor draws off the Church of* Illyricum *from any Obedience to the Papal Chair.* XV. Charles's *Expedition againſt* Eudo. *The* Saracens *invade* Acquitain. Charles *defeats them, near* Poitiers. XVI. Charles *poſſeſſes himſelf of* Burgundy. *Equips a Fleet againſt* Frieſland, Poppo, *Duke of* Frieſland, *defeated. Whether all* Frieſland *was then conquer'd?* XVII. *An* Interregnum *after King* Theoderick's *Death.* Maurontius *raiſes a Rebellion in* Provence. *The* Saracens *ravage as far as* Lyons. Charles *drives them out of* Avignon: *Beſieges* Narbonne. *Defeats the Infidels, on the River* Berre: *Conquers the Diſtrict of* Languedc. *A good Underſtanding between him and the* Longobards. XVIII. Boniface *obtains the* Pallium. *His third Journey to* Rome. *Conſtitution of the Church in* Bavaria. *Of the Biſhopricks of* Saltzburg, Paſſaw, Ratisbon *and* Freiſingen. XIX. Luitprand *is at Variance with the* Romans. *The Dukes of* Spolato *and* Benevento *adhere to the Pope.* Gregory, III, *ſues to* Charles *for Succour.* XX. Luitprand *makes freſh Incurſions as far as* Rome. Gregory's *ſecond Embaſſy to* Charles. *Whether the latter was actually choſen* Patricius *by the* Romans? XXI. *Pope* Zachary *comes to an Agreement with the King, and viſits him at* Narni. *Peace between the* Romans *and the* Longobards. Luitprand *transfers conſiderable Eſtates to the* Roman *Church.* XXII. *The Death of* Charles Martel. Carolomannus *and* Pipin *divide the Adminiſtration of the* Franconian *Monarchy between them; with the Excluſion of their third Brother,* Grifo. XXIII. *Rebellions after the Death of* Charles: *Eſpecially in* Acquitain *and* Swabia. Childeric, *King of the* Franks. XXIV. Odilo, *Duke of* Bavaria, *endeavours to withdraw his Allegiance from the Dominions of the* Franks. *His Leagues with the* Alemanni, Saxons *and* Sclavi. *As likewiſe with the Duke of* Acquitain. Carolomannus *and* Pipin *invade* Bavaria. XXV. Carolomannus *marches againſt the* Saxons, *and* Pipin *againſt the* Swabians: *After which they both fall upon the Duke of* Acquitain. XXVI. *Foundation of the Biſhopricks*

of

of Würtzburg *and* Eichſted. *Whether a Biſhoprick was founded at* Erfurt? *Several Synods. Some of the* Metropolitans *refuſe to ſue for the* Pallium. *Remains of* Paganiſm *among the new Converts.* XXVII. Boniface *made Archbiſhop of* Mentz. *Foundation of the Monaſtery of* Fulda. XXVIII. *Continuation of the Hiſtory of the Empire.* Artabaſdus *aſſumes the Imperial Dignity in the* Eaſt, *and reſtores the Adoration of Images.* Italy *acknowledges him. Pope* Zachary *mediates a Truce between King* Luitprand *and the* Exarch. *A good Underſtanding between the* Romans *and the* Longobards. XXIX. *Conſtantine* (Copronymus) *takes* Artabaſdus *Priſoner: He is again acknowledged in* Italy. *A Council at* Conſtantinople, *againſt the Adoration of Images.* XXX. Rachis, *King of the* Longobards: *His Brother*, Aiſtulphus, *ſucceeds him.* XXXI. Carolomannus *chooſes a Monaſtick Life. He goes to* Rome, *and at Length to* Monte Caſſino. XXXII. Pipin's *Tranſactions with the* Saxons. Grifo *joins them.* Pipin *marches againſt them. He chaſtizes the* North Swabians, *and advances to the River* Ocker. XXXIII. Grifo *eſcapes to* Bavaria: *But is oblig'd to ſurrender himſelf to* Pipin. Thaſſilo, II, *Duke of* Bavaria. XXXIV. Pipin *made King of the* Franks. Childeric *is obliged to retire into a Monaſtery. Pope* Zachary's *Behaviour at this Revolution.* Pipin *is anointed by* Boniface. *Whether the Ceremony of anointing was then firſt introduced among the* Franks? XXXV. ſeq. *Remarks on the Conſtitution of the Kingdom of the* Franks: *On the Manners of the* Franks; *and of the* German *Nations in general: Eſpecially of their State of War; the Original of Feodal Tenures; their Turnaments, Muſick,* &c.

Chilperic II. King of the *Franks,* &c.

§ IN this Book, the Civil Wars ceaſe, at laſt, with the Advancement of *Pipin* to the *Franconian* Throne: Whilſt the Emperor's Power in *Italy* declines, in the mean Time, daily, and that of the *Longobards* increaſes, Matters become by Degrees ripe for that Revolution, which wholly broke out in the Reign of *Charlemaign*; and theſe two Circumſtances lay the Foundation for an entire new Period in the *German* Hiſtory. *Dagobert* III left indeed a Son, nam'd *Theoderick*, but he was yet in his Infancy: The *Neuſtrians*, therefore, who were deſirous of a King, to govern them in Perſon, choſe *Daniel*, *Childeric*'s Son, who 'till then had led an Eccleſiaſtick Life, and now aſſum'd the Name of *Chilperick*. Tho' this Prince had not the good Fortune to anſwer the Expectations of his Subjects, yet his Hiſtory ſhews, that he was not ſo indolent and effeminate, as the latter Kings of the *Merovingian* Line are generally repreſented. His firſt Care was, to diſtreſs *Charles*, in Hopes the ſooner to obtain his End over the other *Oſtro-Franks*, who adher'd to *Plectrudis*. He therefore urged *Ratbod* King of the *Friſians*, purſuant

ſuant to the Treaty, ſubſiſting between them, to invade *Auſtraſia*, on one Side, whilſt he attack'd it on the other (1). *Ratbod*, after *Pipin*'s Death, had retaken that Part of *Frieſland* (2), which the *Franks* formerly conquer'd; and had therefore ſufficient Motives of his own to cut out Work for *Charles*. When this Prince found himſelf thus in the Midſt of two formidable Enemies, he firſt attack'd the *Friſii*: But he was worſted, or, as others relate, neither Party could boaſt of any ſignal Advantages. *Chilperic* had, in the mean Time, paſs'd the *Arduennian* Foreſt, into the Country of the *Ripuarii*, and encamped before *Cologn*. *Plectrudis* was in the City with her *Grand-Sons*, and endeavour'd to avert the Storm by the Force of Gold (3); which together with the News of *Charles*'s being on his March, with freſh Troops, prevail'd on the Enemy to retreat; But he overtook them, and when they leaſt expected it, a bloody Encounter enſued, near the Monaſtery of *Stablo* (4).

§ II. THE next Year, 717, *Charles* would not wait for the Enemy in *Auſtraſia*; but choſe rather to viſit them in *Neuſtria*, and march'd thro' the Coal-Foreſt towards *Cambray*. The King and the *Maire de Palais* march'd to encounter him. The two Armies coming within View of one another near *Vinci*, at a ſmall Diſtance from *Cambray*, *Charles* ſent an Ambaſſy and offer'd to lay down his Arms, if the King would inſtate him in his Father's Dignity. To this Propoſal neither the King, nor much leſs the *Maire de Palais* would give any Ear. The Court, on the contrary, threaten'd not to leave him ſo much as a Spot of Ground in *Auſtraſia*; and even appointed a Day for an Engagement, in which Heaven was to decide their Cauſe (1). A Battle enſu'd, and *Charles*, after a hard

He vanquiſhes *Chilperic* near *Vinci*, &c.

§ I (1) AN. METENS. *ad. A*, 716. Radbodi ſuggerentes, ut ipſe ex una parte ſuper eum irrueret, ipſi vero ex altera parte per Arduennam ſylvam in Ripuarios exercitum ducerent: Ut ipſum ex utriſque partibus coërcerent.

(2) *See below* §. V.

(3) CONT. FREDEGAR. 106. ANN. METENS. *ad A*. 716.

(4) CONT. FREDEGAR. *l. cit.* Sed in via, in loco, qui dicitur Amblava, ab exercitu Caroli, grande perpeſſi ſunt damnum. *Amblava*, Ambleve, *was a* villa Regalis *on the River of the ſame Name, which waters* Stablo *and* Malmedy *in the preſent Dukedom of* Luxenburg, *and falls into the* Ourt. *The Author of this Relation was cotemporary: I therefore choſe rather to follow him, than the* Annales Metenſes, *which differ from him in ſome Circumſtances.*

§ II. (1) *The Manner in which this is related in the* Annal. Metens. *ſhews, at the ſame Time, that the* Franks *eſteem'd War as it were a kind of legal Deciſion of dubious Claims.* Carolus autem Princeps more majorum, legatos ſuos Chilpericum dirigit, ea, quæ pacis ſunt poſtulans. Et ne forte nobilium Francorum cruor inter illos effunderetur, paternum ſibi ſuadet reſtaurari principatum: Compertumque omnibus eſſe dicit, genitorem ſuum Pippinum, omnibus occidentalibus Francis olim

hard Struggle, obtain'd the Victory. His Soldiers made a rich Booty, and were thereby encouraged to purſue the King, who fled to *Paris*. The Gates of *Cologn* were open'd to him at his Return, and *Plectrudis* was forc'd to comply, and to ſurrender *Pipin*'s Treaſure, which 'till then had been in her Cuſtody. He now became Maſter of all the remaining Part of *Auſtraſia* (2); and himſelf ſet up a King, call'd *Clotarius*, in whoſe Name he could, with a more ſpecious Pretence, rule the Helm, and continue the War againſt *Chilperic*. It is uncertain how nearly this *Clotarius* was ally'd to the Royal Line; and that he was Son to *Dagobert* II, the laſt King of *Auſtraſia*, is only a Conjecture (3).

Chilperic demands the Aſſiſtance of *Eudo* Duke *Aquitain*.

§ III. *CHILPERIC*, in the mean Time, apply'd for Aid to *Eudo* (1), Duke of *Aquitain*. This Prince was then independent, and he, together with his Sons, and the Duchy of *Aquitain* itſelf, will, in the Sequel, be frequently mention'd in the Hiſtory of the *Franks*. The Appellation of *Aquitain*, in the Time of the *Romans*, was given to the whole Country, that reaches from the *Pyrenæan* Mountains to the *Loire*. *Clovis* and his Succeſſors had, indeed, taken this Tract from the *Wiſi-Goths*, but very few *Franks* had been ſent thither; and hence the Inhabitants were, even to this Time, frequently call'd *Romani*. The *Gaſcons*, a *Spaniſh* People, advanc'd afterwards from the *Pyrenæan* Mountains, and overſpread the Country, as far as the *Garonne*, whence that Province received the Name of *Gaſcogne*. The former Kings of the *Franks* knew how to curb theſe turbulent Gueſts, and had conſtituted a Duke over them (2): But, in the late and preſent Diſtractions, *Eudo* ſet up for an abſolute Prince, in *Aquitain*, and had the *Gaſcons* at his Command; for which Reaſon, he and his Sons were ſometimes ſtiled *Duces Aquitaniæ*, ſometimes *Vaſconiæ*. *Chilperic* now offer'd to leave him the quiet Enjoy-

olim cum juſtitia et pietate dominaſſe: nec illum aliquid aliud poſtulare, niſi ut præeſſet his, quos pater ſuus quondam juſta ditione gubernarat. Quod ut audivit Chilpericus & Raginfridus, magna indignatione repleti, non ſolum ſibi hoc imperium denegabant; ſed id, quod ſibi ex paterno principatu contigerat, ipſum ſpoliare minitabant: illumque ut craſtino die ad bellum præpararet, admonebant, ut ibi divinæ juſtitiæ judicium ſubiret, & quis deinceps regnum Francorum regere deberet, divina poteſtas declararet.

(2) CONT. FREDEGAR. 106. *In the* Annal. Metens. ad A. 717. *the Concluſion is particularly remarkable:* Coloniamque urbem ingreſſus, paternis theſauris, a Plectrude, noverca ſua, receptis, in SOLIO REGNI SUI digniſſimus hæres reſedit.

(3) PAGIUS ad A. 717.

§ III. (1) *Some pretend, that* Eudo *was a* Spaniard. *But* Oihenart, in Not. Vaſcon. p. 367, 368. *proves that he was more probably a* Frank.

(2) *We related above,* Lib. 14. 34. *that the Kings* Theodebert *and* Theoderick *ſubdued them, and* Lib. 15. 3. *That King* Charibert *kept them in Subjection.*

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ment of his Poſſeſſions, if he would aſſiſt him againſt *Charles*: And, according to the Conjecture of ſome learned Men, he even allow'd him the Royal Title (3). *Eudo*, who could not well deſire more than to have his Pretenſions juſtified by the King himſelf, paſs'd the *Loire*, with his Troops, and join'd the King's Army near *Paris*. *Charles* march'd to meet him, and a third Battle was fought, in the ſame Year, 719, near *Soiſſons*, in which the Duke of *Auſtraſia* again triumph'd, and *Chilperic* was forc'd to fly. He thought himſelf not ſecure in *Paris*, and therefore retir'd, with the Royal Treaſure, into *Aquitain* (4).

Charles and *Chilperic* reconcil'd, &c.

§ IV. *CHARLES* purſu'd him as far as *Orleans*; but thought it not adviſeable to proceed farther. *Raginfried* uſed all poſſible Endeavours to withſtand him in *Neuſtria*; but he, at Length, reſign'd his Poſt, and *Charles* allow'd him, in Return, the County of *Anjou*. The Conqueror now caus'd *Clotarius* to be acknowledg'd King, and himſelf his *Maire de Palais*, by the States of *Neuſtria* and *Burgundy*: But *Clotarius* died the ſame Year, and, by Death, open'd a Way for an entire Accommodation; and we find little elſe related of him, inſomuch, that he is generally even omitted in the Series of the Kings. *Charles* declared now he wou'd keep Peace with *Eudo*, and acknowledge *Chilperic* his Sovereign, if the latter would confirm him in his Office of *Maire de Palais*. *Eudo*, who was harraſs'd by the *Saracens*, as well as *Chilperic*, gladly accepted of this Propoſal *. *Charles* receiv'd the King with all external Tokens of Honour, but kept him, in a Manner, a Priſoner, in the Royal Palace at *Attigny*. He died ſoon after, *A.* 720, and the before-mention'd Son of *Dagobert* III, was now choſen King. He had hitherto been educated in the Monaſtery of *Chelles*, and hence he was nam'd *Thierry de Chelles*.

Bonifaee undertakes to propagate the *Chriſtian* Faith in *Germania*, &c.

§ V. *BONIFACE* begun, about this Time, to preach the Goſpel in the inner Parts of *Germania*. His real Name was *Winfrid*, and he was born in the Province of *Weſſex*, in *England*, where he had devoted himſelf to a Monaſtick Life. The Example of ſeveral of his Countrymen, and particularly of *Willibrod*, who had propagated the *Chriſtian* Faith in *Germania*, with good Succeſs, excited him to make the like

(3) CONT. FREDEGAR. 107. Chilpericus itaque ac Raganfridus legationem ad Eudonem ducem dirigunt, ejus auxilium poſtulantes rogant, REGNUM ET MUNERA TRADUNT. Ille quoque hoſte Waſconorum commoto ad eos veniens, pariter adverſus Carolum perrexerunt. VALESIUS, PAGIUS, *and other Learned Men, interpret this, to be a Crown.* Pagius, ad A. 716. n. 10. *imagines, that* Eudo *ſet up for King, and was acknowledg'd as ſuch in* Provence.

(4) CONT. FREDEGAR. l. c.

§ IV. * Conf. PAG. ad An. 720. n. 4.

Attempt. He first repaired to *Friesland*: But as, at the same Time, after *Pipin*'s Death, *Radbod* had retaken from the *Franks*, that Part of *Friesland* on the left of the *Rhine*, and the *Christians* could form slender Hopes, he return'd to his Monastery, and went to *Rome*, *A.* 718, with a Recommendation from *Daniel*, Bishop of *Winchester*. Pope *Gregory* II persuaded him to pursue his former Design: And when, at his Return, he was inform'd of the Death of the Prince of the *Frisians*, he repaired to *Willibrod*, and assisted him, during three successive Years, in the Regulation of Divine Service. In the Year 722, he went to *Thuringia*, in Order to plant himself a new Vineyard for the Lord. These People had, long before, had some Knowledge of Christianity (1), but it was very much corrupted, by Reason of the neighbouring *Pagan* Nations; and their great Poverty, occasion'd by continual Wars, wherewith the *Saxons*, *Abares* and *Venedi*, had distress'd this Country (2).

His second Journy to *Rome*. *Gregory* consecrates him a Bishop.

§ VI. BEING successful here, *Gregory* sent for him to *Rome*, and consecrated him a Bishop, without appointing him any particular Diocese, that he might the more effectually, and with the better Authority, execute his Design. *Boniface* took an Oath, by *St. Peter*'s Tomb, never to separate from the *Roman* Church, and to make all possible Opposition to those Bishops, who should deviate from the Tenets of the Fathers (1). The Pope deliver'd to him the Collection of the Canons, then in Use, in the Church of *Rome* (2), that he might regulate every Thing in Conformity thereunto. He wrote moreover to *Charles*, and entreated him to second the new Bishop in his Undertaking. He likewise recommended him to all the Clergy, and Officers of State among the *Franks* (3). He admonish'd the *Thuringians* (4) to receive the *Christian* Faith; and wrote particular Letters to some of them, who were already converted (5). A Letter is likewise extant, which he sent to the whole Nation of the an-

§ V. (1) *Of the first Traces of Christianity among the* Thuringians, *see above*, B. 13. 37.

(2) LUDGER. *in Vit. Gregorii*. Tota illa regio, in confinio paganorum rebellium posita, illo tempore incensa erat, & hostili manu vastata.

§ VI. (1) *V. Formulam juramenti inter epistolas Bonifacii, n.* 117.

(2) WILLIB. *in vita Bonif.* Deditque illi simul libellum, in quo sacratissima ecclesiasticæ constitutionis jura Pontificalibus digesta sunt conventibus. *This may, with most Probability, be applied to the* Collectio Canonum Ecclesiæ Romanæ.

(3) Inter Epist. Bonif. 123. *The Superscription is this:* Ad Episcopos, Presbyteros et Diaconos, ad Glorioses Duces, ac Magnificos Gastaldios & ad Comites.

(4) *Inter ep. Bonif.* 120

(5) *Ep.* 119. *It is thus superscrib'd:* Viris Magnificis, filiis, Asulpho, Godolavo, Wilarco, Gundovaldo, & omnibus Deo dilectis Thuringis fidelibus.

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cient *Saxons* (6), wherein he exhorts thoſe, who ſhould be baptiz'd, to Conſtancy; and excites the Reſt to follow ſo good an Example. *Charles* gave a kind Reception to *Boniface*, and took him into his particular Protection; which proved very advantageous to him (7). *Daniel*, the beforemention'd Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, gives him, in one Letter (8), wholſome Inſtructions for his Conduct in preaching the Goſpel. He adviſes him to convince the *Pagans*, by rational Arguments, of the Abſurdity of their Superſtitions, in Order to lead them to the *Chriſtian* Faith, by the Light of natural Religion. But *Boniface* had not Recourſe to Conviction only, and acknowledges, in a Letter to the ſame Biſhop, that the *Maire de Palais* was oblig'd to add the greateſt Weight to his Precepts (9). For he met with Oppoſition from the *Chriſtians* themſelves, in *Thuringia*, on one Hand (10): And, on the other, he here and there put a Stop, by Force, to their idolatrous Worſhip, and deſtroyed their ſacred Trees: The *German Pagans* had a particular Veneration for Trees of this Kind, and particularly for Oaks, under the Shadow of which they not only perform'd their Sacrifices, but likewiſe held their Conventions and Courts of Judicature. Such was the famous Oak near *Geiſmar*, in lower *Heſſia*, which was dedicated to the God of Thunder (11); but cut down by *Boniface*, to the great Terror of the People. Nor could the Monaſteries have ſubſiſted without this Protection. He had beſides a conſtant Correſpondence in *England*, and obtain'd from thence both Mony (12), (the Value of which was doubtleſs proportionable to the Poverty of thoſe

(6) *Inter ep. Bonif.* 121. *It is directed thus:* Univerſo populo provinciæ ALT-SAXONUM.

(7) *See* Charles's *Letter of Protection*, T. VI. CONCIL. LABB. p. 1446. *It is thus ſuperſcrib'd:* Dominis ſanctis & Apoſtolicis in Chriſto Patribus, Epiſcopis, Ducibus, Comitibus, Vicariis, Domeſticis, ſeu omnibus agentibus junioribus noſtris, ſeu miſſis decurrentibus, & amicis noſtris, ILLUSTRIS VIR, CAROLUS, MAJOR DOMUS, &c.

(8) *Inter ep. Bonifacii, n.* 67.

(9) *Ep.* 3. Sine patrocinio Principis Francorum, nec populum regere, nec Preſbyteros, nec Diaconos, Monachos vel ancillas Dei defendere poſſum, nec ipſos paganorum ritus & ſacrilegia idolorum in Germania, ſine illius mandato & timore, prohibere valeo.

(10) VILIBALDUS, *c.* 8. Falſi ſed mentes populum introducti ſunt fratres: qui ſub nomine religionis maximam hæreticæ pravitatis introduxerunt ſectam, &c.

(11) AGATHIAS *ſays of the* Alemanni: Arbores etiam quaſdam colunt. *See above*, Lib. 11. §. 8. not. 8. *Of this ſee a larger Account in* KEYSLER's Antiquit. Septentr. pag. 318, *and* SCHMINCK's Diſſ. de quercu Jovis.

(12) *Biſhop* Torthelmus *ſends him a Preſent*, ep. 43. Per gerulum vero apicum tuorum modicum tibi munuſculum, ſed magni affectus pignus tranſmitto. *At another Time, a well diſpos'd Abbeſs, ſent him* 50 *Guilders of Gold, and an Altar-Cloth*, Ep. 35. Et per eundem portitorem tibi nunc tranſmitto quinquaginta ſolidos, & pallium altaris, quia majora munuſcula minime potui adipiſci.

Times)

Times) (13), and Books, which were then very ſcarce. A Letter is extant, wherein he deſires a legible Copy of the Prophets (14), and in another Paſſage, he as earneſtly entreats him for ſome of *Beda*'s Writings, which he could make Uſe of in his Sermons (15). He receiv'd in particular, from Time to Time, a Supply of Fellow-Labourers from that Iſland, ſome of whom afterwards arriv'd at the higheſt Dignities in the *German* Church. *Burcardus* was the firſt Biſhop of *Würtzburg*, *Vitta* of *Bureburg*, *Vilibald* of *Eichſtadt*, and *Vunibald*, his Brother, Abbot of ſeveral Monaſteries. *Lullus* ſucceeded *Boniface*, in the Archbiſhoprick of *Mentz*. Even many devout Women came to his Aid, to whom he entruſted particular Monaſteries. Such were *S. Thecla*, as likewiſe *Lioba* and *Valpurgis*, two Siſters of *Vilibald* and *Vunibald*, with ſeveral others. The Church of *Rome* found this Miſſion highly advantageous. Nothing could afford the Pope greater Comfort, during the Tranſactions of the *Eaſt*, than that the Nations, who formerly always reſiſted the *Roman* Arms, now ſubmitted to their Doctrine, and ſpiritual Diſcipline. Hereby he

(13) Boniface's *Letters may ſerve to ſhew the Poverty and Sincerity of theſe Times*: Ethelbert, *King of* Kent, *begs* ep. 42, *he would ſend him a Pair of Falcons*. Unam rem præterea a vobis deſidero mihi exhiberi, quod vobis acquirere valde difficile eſſe, juxta quod mihi indicatum eſt, nullatenus reor: id eſt, duos falcones, quorum ars & artis audacia ſit, grus velle libenter capiundo arripere, & arripienda conſternere ſolo. Ob hanc etenim cauſam de harum acquiſitione & tranſmiſſione ad nos avium vos rogamus: quia videlicet & perpauci hujus generis accipitres in noſtris regionibus, hoc eſt, in Cantia, reperiuntur, qui tam bonos producant fœtus, & ad ſupra dicta martem animo agiles ac bellicoſi educentur. *The Abbot* Gutbert *deſires*, ep. 89, *they would ſend him a Muſician and ſome Glaſſes, becauſe no ſuch Thing was made in* England. Boniface *ſends to Archbiſhop* Ecbert, ep. 85, *a ſmall Veſſel of Wine, and deſires him and his Bretbren, to make themſelves merry with it.* Præterea celſitudini veſtræ, vice oſculi, duas vini cupellas per hunc portitorem litterarum tranſmiſimus, petentes, ut charitatis inter nos precibus noſtris, inde lætum diem cum fratribus veſtris faciatis.

(14) *Ep.* 3. Paternitatis veſtræ clementiam de uno ſolatio peregrinationis meæ intimis precibus diligenter rogare velim, ſi præſumam. id eſt, ut librum Prophetarum, quem venerandæ memoriæ Wynbertus, Abbas & Magiſter quondam meus, de hac vita ad Dominum migrans dereliquit, in quo ſex Prophetæ in uno corpore, claris, & abſolutis litteris, ſcripti reperiuntur, mihi tranſmittatis. Etſi hoc Deus cordi veſtro facere inſpiraverit, majus ſolatium vitæ meæ ſenectuti, & majus vobis mercedis præmium tranſmittere non poteſtis. Quia librum Prophetarum talem in hac terra, qualem deſidero, acquirere non poſſum: & caligantibus oculis minutas ac connexas litteras diſcere non poſſum. Et propterea de illo libro ſupradicto, rogo, quia tam clare diſcretis & abſolutis litteris ſcriptus eſt.

(15) *Ep.* 85. *ad Ecbertum, Archiepiſcopum*: Modo enim inhianter deſiderantes flagitamus, ut nobis ad gaudium noſtri mœroris eo modo, quo antea jam feciſtis, aliquam particulam, vel ſcintillam de candela eccleſiæ, quam illuxit ſpiritus ſanctus in regionibus veſtris, deſtinare curetis, id eſt, de tractatibus, quos ſpiritualis preſbyter & inveſtigator ſanctarum ſcripturarum, Beda, referendo compoſuit, partem qualemcunque tranſmittere dignemini. Maxime autem, ſi fore poſſit, quod nobis prædicantibus habile, & manuale, & utiliſſimum eſſe videtur, ſuper lectionarium anniverſarium, & Proverbia Salomonis, quia commentarios ſuper illa condidiſſe eum audimus.

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gained more and more Eſteem in the *Franconian* Church, which likewiſe produced good Effects in temporal Matters. Whilſt *Boniface* was occupied in *Heſſia* and *Thuringia*, *S. Pirminius* founded ſeveral Monaſteries among the *Alemanni*, eſpecially in *Alſatia* (16). Among theſe is particularly famous, that at *Reichenau*, in *Suevia*, which was founded about the Year 724.

§ VII. *PIPIN* had, indeed, made ſeveral Expeditions againſt the *Alemanni*, who, as well as the *Bavarians*, probably withdrew their Allegiance from the *Franks*, after *Clovis*'s Death. *Charles*'s appear'd again in the Field againſt them, *A.* 725, and the Duke ſeems, at that Time, to have ſubmitted (1). *Charles* then paſs'd over the *Danube* to the *Bavarians*. *Theodo* II had reign'd with great Renown, over this Nation, from about the Year 680 to 723, and, in his Life-time, reſign'd a Tract of Land to each of his three Sons, *Theodebert*, *Theodebald*, and *Grimoald*; inſomuch that we meet with four Princes, at one Time, in the Hiſtory of the *Bavarians* †. A good Underſtanding ſubſiſted between them and the *Longobards*; for, by their Aſſiſtance, *Anſprand* conquer'd the Kingdom (2), and *Luitprand*, his Son, choſe a Wife from the Houſe of *Bavaria*. The ſame *Theodo* propagated, with great Induſtry, the *Chriſtian* Faith, and the Conſtitution of the Churches, which were greatly decay'd in *Noricum* ††. In his Reign, *S. Rupert*, and *S. Corbinian*, the firſt Biſhop of *Freyſingen*, came into *Bavaria*: And the former built at *Juvavia*, or *Saltzburg*, the Monaſtery of *S. Peter*, the firſt Seat of that Biſhoprick ‖. *Theodo* himſelf took a Tour to *Rome*, *A.* 716 (3), and, in all Appearance, the Regulation of the *Bavarian* Church was the Motive to that Journy: For we find, that Pope *Gregory* II, not long after, ſent *Marcian*, Biſhop of *Sabina*, with two other Divines, into *Bavaria*, and the Inſtructions they had were remarkable, becauſe he directed them only to the *Bavarian* Princes, without making the leaſt Mention, either

Charles's Expedition againſt the *Bavarians*.

Continuation of the Hiſtory of the *Bavarians*.

† See Annot. 38.

†† See above, xiii. 36, 37.

‖ xv. 23.

of

(16) *Of* S. Pirminius, *ſee* RADERUS, T. 1. Bavariæ ſanctæ. It. ECKH. p. 348, 360, & 361.

§. VII. (1) *See below*, not. 5.

(2) PAULUS, *Lib.* 6. *c.* 34. Igitur poſt quam Anſprandus apud Bojoarium jam novem expletis annis exulaſſe, promoto tandem Theudeberto, decimo anno Bojoariorum ductor cum exercitu venit Italiam, pugnavit cum Ariberto & facta eſt ex utraque parte multa ſtrages populorum. SIGEBERTUS *ad An.* 710. Adſprandus cum Bojoariis Italiam repetit, &c.

(3) ANASTASIUS, *n.* 179. Eo tempore Teudo, Dux gentis Bojoariorum, ad Apoſtoli B. Petri limina prima de gente eadem occurrit, orationis voto. *add.* PAULUS. 6. 44.

of the King of the *Franks*, or the *Maire de Palais* (4). *Grimoald*, the laſt ſurviving of the three before-mention'd Brothers, died about this Time, and all the Dominions were re-united under *Hubert*, a Grand-Son of *Theodo*: And this very Revolution, was, perhaps, the Occaſion of *Charles*'s Journy to *Bavaria*. The *Franconian* Annals, which relate neither the Cauſes nor the real Circumſtances thereof, mention only, that he ſubdued the Country, and carried off *Bilitrudis*, *Grimoald*'s Widow, together with *Sunehild*, her Niece, whom he choſe for his ſecond Wife (5): And we find yet fewer Accounts of another Expedition, which he is ſaid to have made, *A.* 728 (6). In the ancient Laws of the *Bavarians*, as they are now extant, we meet with ſome Traces of the State of the Nation, and particularly with Regard to their Behaviour towards the *Franks* †. Their Duke was always choſen out of the Family of the *Agilolfingians*, preferable to all other; whether he was put in by the King, or elected by the Nation. He exercis'd a kind of Authority, in that Country, which was only diſtinguiſh'd from that of a King, by his being oblig'd, in a certain Meaſure, to acknowledge the Supremacy of the Kings of the *Franks*.

† See Annot. 20.

History of the *Saxons*. Of the Name of the *Ancient Saxons*.

§ VIII. A WAR broke out between *Charles* and the *Saxons*, about the Year 728. This Nation, which was then call'd *Ancient Saxony* (1), to diſtinguiſh

(4) *See the ſame*, T. VI. CONC. LABB. p. 1432. *and the following Words are particularly remarkable:* Ut datis noſtris ſcriptis, ita cum duce provinciæ deliberetis, quatenus conventus congregetur ſacerdotum, & judicum, atque univerſæ gentis ejuſdem primariorum, & ex quæſitis ſacerdotibus, atque miniſtris, quorum canonicam approbaveritis extitiſſe promotionem, ac rectæ fidei tenere, aut recipere rationem, his ſacrificandi, & miniſtrandi, ſive etiam pſallendi ex figura, & traditione ſanctæ apoſtolicæ & Romanæ ſedis eccleſiæ ordine tradetis poteſtatem. *And* n. 3. Ut conſideratis locorum ſpatiis, juxta gehennationem uniuſcujuſque ducis epiſcopia diſponatis, & ſubjacentia ſingulis ſedibus terminetis. Et ſi tres, aut quatuor, vel majoris numeri viſæ fuerint conſtitutæ ſedes, reſervato præcipuo ſedis loco pro archiepiſcopo reſedendo, adhibito trium epiſcoporum conventu, probabiles fide, ac boni teſtimonii, & eruditos ſana doctrina viros, ordinetis antiſtites, ex auctoritate beati Petri Apoſtoli.

(5) CONTINUATOR FREDEGARII, *cap.* 108. Evoluto anni circulo, coadunata agminum multitudine, Rhenum fluvium tranſiit, Alamannoſque & Suavos luſtrat, uſque Danubium peracceſſit, illoque tranſmeato, fines Bajoarenſes occupavit. Subacta regione illa, theſauris multis cum matrona quadam, nomine Bilitrude, & nepte ſua, Sonichilde, regreditur.

ANNAL. METENS. *ad An.* 719. Carolus, congregato exercitu, Rhenum fluvium tranſiit, Alamanniamque luſtrat, & ad Danubium uſque pervenit. Illoque trajecto, cum theſauris multis & matrona quadam, nomine Bilitruda & nepte ſua, SONIHILDE, adjuvante Domino, victor ad proprias ſedes revertitur.

(6) *We find but very ſlender Footſteps of this ſecond Expedition.* ANNAL. TILIANI *ad An.* 728. Secunda vice pugnavit in Bajoaria: *Id. habent* ANNAL. NAZARIANI *et* CHRONOGRAPHUS SAN. DIONYSIANUS *ap.* PAGIUM, *an An.* 728. *n.* 1.

§ VIII. (1) NENNIUS in Hiſt. Brit. *names* omne genus AMBRONUM, id eſt, ALT SAXONUM.

BEDA

diſtinguiſh it from thoſe, who dwelt in *Britain*, were not united under one King or Duke, as modern Chronicles pretend to aſſert. *Beda*, a cotemporary Author, relates, that they were ſubject to ſeveral ſingle Lords, who were all equal, and independent of each other; but in Caſe of a War, a Duke was choſen among them, by Lot (2), to whoſe Command the Reſt were oblig'd to ſubmit. *Boniface* repeats, in particular, in Praiſe of the *Saxons*, what *Tacitus* ſays of the ancient *Germans* in general, that they very rigorouſly obſerv'd their matrimonial Vows (3). They were ſo fond of their Liberty, that the Introduction of Chriſtianity among them prov'd the more difficult: But tho' the Attempt of the two before-mention'd † *Anglo-Saxon* Prieſts was unſucceſsful, yet *Boniface* earneſtly deſir'd to effect their Converſion, and was, beſides, encourag'd in it, by his Friends in *England* (4): And he ſo far ſucceeded, that ſome were actually baptiz'd. As their Borders joined to thoſe of the *Oſtro-Franks*, *Thuringians* and *Heſſians*, we need not wonder to find frequent Ruptures between theſe Nations. It would be difficult to conclude, from the Hiſtories of the *Franks*, what real Motive induc'd *Charles* to wage War againſt the *Saxons*: But we find it in the Life of *S. Boniface* (5).

† See XV. 24.

BEDA, Lib. 1. c. 15. De Saxonibus, id eſt, ea regione, quæ nunc ANTIQUORUM SAXONUM cognominatur, venere orientales Saxones, meridiani Saxones, occidui Saxones. *More Paſſages from* Beda *are cited above*, L. 15. § 24. n. 5, & 8.

(2) BEDA, *Lib.* 5. *cap.* 11. Non enim habent Regem iidem antiqui Saxones, ſed Satrapas plurimos ſuæ genti præpoſitos, qui ingruente belli articulo, mittunt æqualiter ſortes, & quemcunque ſors offenderit, hunc tempore belli ducem omnes ſequuntur, huic obtemperant. Peracto autem bello rurſum æqualis potentiæ omnes fiunt Satrapæ.

(3) BONIFACIUS, *in Epiſtola* 19. *ad Ethelbaldum, Regem Merciorum:* Quia ipſi pagani verum Deum ignorantes, naturaliter, quæ legis ſunt, & quod ab initio Deus conſtituit, cuſtodiunt hac in re; quia propriis uxoribus matrimonii fœdera ſervantes, fornicatores & adulteros puniunt. Nam in ANTIQUA SAXONIA, ſi virgo paternam domum cum adulterio commaculaverit, vel ſi mulier maritata, perdito fœdere matrimonii, adulterium perpetraverit, aliquando cogunt eam propria manu per laqueum ſuſpenſam vitam finire, & ſuper buſtum illius incenſæ & concrematæ corruptorum ejus ſuſpendunt: aliquando congregato exercitu fœmineo, flagellatam eam mulieres per pagos circumquaque ducunt, virgis cædentes, & veſtimenta eis abſcindentes juxta cingulum, & cultellis ſuis totum corpus ejus ſecentes, & pungentes, minutis vulneribus cruentatam & laceratam de villa in villam mittunt, & occurrunt ſemper novæ flagellatrices, zelo pudicitiæ adductæ, uſque dum eam aut mortuam, aut vix vivam derelinquant: ut ceteræ timorem adulterandi & luxuriandi habeant.

(4) *Conf. ep.* BONIFAC. 43.

(5) WILLIBALD *in vit. Bonif. cap.* 8. Fatiſcente ſuorum Regum dominio, magna quidem eorum Comitum multitudo, ſub THEOBALDI & HEDENIS periculoſo primatu, qui lugubre ſuper eos tyrannici ducatus, & in feſtum vaſtationis potius, quam devotionis obtinebant imperium, vel corporali per eos prævenia morte, vel hoſtili ſiquidem eductione captivata eſt; ut cætera, quæ manebat reſidua populi turba, Saxonem ſe ſubjiceret principatui.

The *Thuringians* were greatly oppreſs'd by their Dukes, *Theodebald* and *Heden*, which made a Part of them ſo diſaffected, that they ſubmitted to the *Saxons*, who tyranniz'd over them, on the other Side. To drive theſe Gueſts back again, and thereby, at the ſame Time, to procure a Tranquility for the *Chriſtians*, was the Deſign of *Charles*'s Expedition. The *Franconian* Writers take Notice of diverſe other Incurſions of the *Saxons* and *Franks* (6): But I ſhall only mention thoſe which, by Degrees, will render us better acquainted with this People: Nor are all the Tranſactions, related of the *Saxons*, to be underſtood of the Nation in general, but principally of thoſe who dwelt on the Borders.

History of the Empire. *Leo Iſaurus* prohibits the Adoration of Images.

§ IX. THE Empire, which I left in a declining State, was, in the mean Time, fallen into the Hands of *Leo Iſaurus*, *A.* 717, who had cauſed *Conſtantine*, his Son, tho' but two Years of Age, to be crown'd Emperor with him, *A.* 720. He immediately freed *Conſtantinople* from the Siege of the *Saracens*, and obtain'd conſiderable Advantages over them, both by Sea and Land. The Empire ſeem'd now to be recovering itſelf, when a new Controverſy in Religion aroſe (1). If we conſider, how many of this Kind were, at different Times, rais'd by the *Grecians*, after the Reign of *Conſtantine* the *Great*, and with what Violence they were purſued, old *Cato*'s Advice appears to be almoſt juſtified, who warn'd the *Romans*, rather to be without the Wit and Learning of *Greece*, than, together with them, to give Way to their Fondneſs for Novelty, and their Inconſtancy (2). And what could we expect from them, at this Time, when Superſtition and Ignorance had wholly taken Place of their ancient Arts and Valour? The preſent Controverſy was occaſion'd by the Adoration of Images, and, for a long Time, divided the *Eaſt* and *Weſt* (3). The

(6) CONTIN. FREDEGAR. *cap.* 108. *ad An.* 738. Itemque rebellantibus Saxonibus paganiſſimis, qui ultra Rhenum fluvium conſiſtunt, ſtrenuus vir, Carolus dux, commoto exercitu Francorum in loco, ubi Lippa fluvius Rhenum amnem ingreditur, ſagaci intentione tranſmeavit, maxime ex parte regionem illam diriſſimam ſtravit, gentemque illam ſæviſſimam ex parte tributarios eſſe præcepit, atque quamplures obſides ab eis accepit.

ANNAL. METENS. *ad An.* 736. Saxoniam bello contrivit, ſibique tributarios fecit.

And ad An. 738. Carolus princeps Rhenum tranſiens, Saxoniamque hoſtiliter invadens, Saxones obſidibus acceptis propriæ ditioni reſtituit, ipſoſque iterum ſibi tributarios fecit.

ANNAL. FULDENS. *ad An.* 737. Carolus Saxones tributarios facit.

§ IX. (1) *This Controverſy is particularly examin'd by* Dallæus, *and by* F. Natalis Alexander. F. Maimbourg's Hiſtoire des Iconoclaſtes, *does not at all merit the Name of a Hiſtory, as* Frid. Spanhemius *proves* in Hiſtoria imaginum reſtituta.

(2) Cato *ſaid of the* Greeks: Quandocunque iſta gens ſuas litteras dabit, omnia corrumpet. PLIN. *Hiſt. Nat.* 29. 1.

(3) *See the Paſſages in* Spanhemius. S. 1. § 7. ſeqq.

primitive

primitive *Chriſtians* knew of no Images, nor of the Worſhip of them. After *Conſtantine* the *Great*, the Images of our Saviour, the Virgin *Mary*, and the Apoſtles, and ſome ſcriptural Hiſtories, begun, by Degrees, to be ſet up in Churches. At firſt they ſerv'd as Ornaments, and for the Inſtruction and Encouragement of the Faithful. The Simplicity of thoſe People, who were juſt converted from *Paganiſm*, occaſion'd them in Time to be ador'd, and the moſt ſagacious among them pleaded as an Excuſe, that this Honour was not ſhewn to the Images, but to thoſe they repreſented. Yet *Auſtin*, *Gregory* the *Great*, and other eminent Teachers, always diſapprov'd of this Worſhip of Images (4); and the *Jews* and *Saracens* upbraided the *Chriſtians* with it, as a Piece of Idolatry. The Emperor *Philippicus Bardanes* had before prohibited it, in a Synod at *Conſtantinople*, and was, on that Account, at Variance with Pope *Conſtantine*. *Leo Iſaurus* now publiſh'd an Edict of the ſame Import (5), in which he alledg'd, that the ſaid Adoration was not enjoin'd in any of the ſix general Councils, and was rather forbidden in ſacred Writ. *Leo* had before attempted to compel the *Jews* to Baptiſm (6), and hoped, perhaps, to render their Converſion the more eaſy by this Edict. We find indeed generally related, that two *Jews* foretold him in his Youth, that he would become Emperor, and when afterwards this Prophecy was verify'd, they deſir'd, that, as an Acknowledgment, he would aboliſh Images. But the Abſurdity of theſe Circumſtances, ſuffices to explode them. If, in the former Controverſies on Religion, which related chiefly to ſubtle Opinions, the Heat of the People was ſo extream, we need not wonder to find them now ſo zealous, when the Subject of the Diſpute was obvious to their Eyes. The Inhabitants of *Greece* re-

(4) *That* Leo *intended at firſt, only to aboliſh the Adoration of Images, appears from the Life of* S. Stephanus Junior, *who is mention'd as a Martyr in this Controverſy.* Poſt decimum ſui imperii annum, novus ille Baltaſſar, Manichæam hæreſim & Æphtatrodocitarum, ut ita loquar, forte haud diſſimilem, in Eccleſiam ſpiravit. Itaque ſubjecta ſibi plebe convocata, coram omnibus leonium rugiens inhumana hæc bellua & Leonis nominis inſignis, ex iracundo corde, velut ex Ætna monte, ignem & ſulphur miſerandam illam vocem eructavit, & protulit: Quandoquidem imaginum fabricatio ars eſt idolica, illas adornare non oportet.

(5) Theophan. & Cedren.

(6) Theophan. Interea populi, qui Græciam, & Cycladas inſulas habitabant, Pio in Deum Moti Affectu, conſpiratione inter ſe facta, parataque maxima claſſe, adverſus Imperatorem rebellavere, Coſmam quendam, qui partes eorum ſequebatur, imperio deſtinantes. Aciem ducebant Agallianus, Græcanicorum Turmarcha, & Stephanus. Iſti menſis Octobris die decimo octavo, Indictione decima, ad urbem imperatricem appellentes, commiſſo cum Byzantinis prœlio, navibus arte facto igne combuſtis, ſuperantur: adeo ut alii circa profundum ſubmerſi ſint: inter quos ipſe Agallianus, ut erat armatus, ſe ipſum præcipitavit: ſuperſtitibus vero ad victorem Imperatorem ultro ſe conferentibus, Coſmas & Stephanus capite plexi ſunt. Ex quo impii Leonis, ſectariorumque ejus malitia oppido crevit, adeo ut ſuſceptum adverſus pietatem bellum latius promoverint.

bell'd, and came with a Fleet to *Conſtantinople*, in Order to depoſe the Emperor. *Leo* repell'd them, and this Oppoſition caus'd him to perſiſt the more earneſtly in his Purpoſe. He had at firſt only prohibited the Worſhip of Images, but in Proceſs of Time he reſolv'd wholly to aboliſh them.

The State of *Italy*, &c.

§ X. This Diviſion prov'd highly prejudicial to the State of *Italy*. *Luitprand*, King of the *Longobards*, was a dangerous Neighbour to the Remainder of the *Roman* Empire, and very capable of turning, to his own Advantage, all the Errors, that could be committed at *Conſtantinople*. He poſſeſs'd, beſides his warlike Diſpoſition, all the Virtues of Peace, and a Love of Religion and Morals. In the Camp he was brave and rigorous, kind and beneficent at Home. He gain'd the more Honour by his Victories, as he was, at the ſame Time, ſtil'd the Father of his People (1). About this Time (2) he had the good Fortune to take *Chiaſſi* and even *Ravenna* (3). The Emperor and Pope were not, at that Time, ſo greatly exaſperated againſt each other, as they became afterwards. *Gregory* was therefore ſolicitous, how to put a Stop to theſe Proceedings, which might prove dangerous to the *Roman* Church. A Letter (4) is extant, from him to *Urſus*, Duke of *Venice*, wherein he excites him to aſſiſt the *Exarch*, who was then at *Venice*, in re-taking *Ravenna*, which he actually did (5). Had the *Longobards* conquer'd all *Italy*, *Venice* would likewiſe

§ X. (1) Paulus VI. 58. Fuit vir multæ ſapientiæ, conſilio ſagax, pius admodum & pacis amator: Bello potens, delinquentibus clemens, caſtus, pudicus, orator pervigil, eleemoſynis largus, literarum quidem ignarus, ſed philoſophis æquandus, nutritor gentis, legum augmentator.

(2) *From the Letter of* Gregory II. *to* Leo, *it appears that* Ravenna *was taken after he had declar'd againſt Images:* Delectu habito Longobardi & Sarmatæ, cæterique, qui ad Septentrionem habitant, miſeram Decapolim incurſionibus infeſtarunt, ipſamque metropolim Ravennam occuparunt, & ejectis magiſtratibus tuis, proprios conſtituere magiſtratus, & vicinas nobis ſedes regias, ipſamque Romam ſic tractare ſtuduerunt, cum tu nos defendere minime poſſis. §. *below* XIII.

(3) Anastasius *in Greg.* II. Rex vero, Luitprandus, generali motione facta Ravennam progreſſus eſt, atque illam obſedit per dies aliquot, & caſtrum pervadens Claſſes, captos abſtulit plures, & opes abſtulit innumeras. Paulus *mentions this* Lib. 6. c. 49: Eo tempore Rex Luitprandus Ravennam obſedit, Claſſem invaſit, atque deſtruxit: *But from the Quotation in the following Note it appears, that he actually took it. Farther Circumſtances of this Conqueſt may be ſeen in* Agnelli Vita Johannis, Ravenn. Epiſcopi. 39.

(4) *This Letter we find in* Baronius *ad An.* 726: Quia peccato faciente, Ravennatum civitas, quæ caput exſtat omnium, a nec dicenda gente Longobardorum capta eſt, & filius noſter, eximius dominus Exarchus apud Venetias, (ut cognovimus) moratur: debeat nobilitas tua ei adhærere, et cum eo noſtra vice pariter decertare, ut ad priſtinum ſtatum ſanctæ reipublicæ, in Imperiali ſervitio, dominorum filiorum noſtrorum, Leonis, & Conſtantini, magnorum Imperatorum, ipſa revocetur Revennatum civitas, ut zelo & amore ſanctæ fidei noſtræ in ſtatu reipublicæ, & Imperiali ſervitio, firmi perſiſtere, domino cooperante, valeamus.

(5) Paulus Lib. VI. c. 54. Rurſus cum Ravennam Hildebrandus, Regis nepos, & Peredeo, Vincentinus Dux, obtinerent, irruentibus ſubito

likewiſe have been endanger'd. The Country being once laid waſte, the Inhabitants yet experienc'd, that they ſhould at leaſt be more at Liberty, if it remain'd divided.

§ XI. But the Worſhip of Images ſoon caus'd them to forget the Vicinity of the *Longobards*. The Pope maintain'd this Worſhip at a *Synod* (1); and the Troops in *Venetia* and *Pentapolis* became ſo zealous, that they refus'd any farther Obedience to *Paul*, the *Exarch*. They choſe particular Dukes for themſelves; and would have proclaim'd a new Emperor, had not the Pope prevented them, as *Anaſtaſius* ſays, in his Praiſe (2). *Leo* threaten'd *Gregory* with the ſame Treatment, which *Martin* had receiv'd from *Conſtantine* †: But he depended on the Zeal of the *Romans*, and the Aid of the Dukes of *Spoleto* and *Benevento*, who were frequently at Variance with their King, and, on that Account, kept up a good Underſtanding with the *Romans*. *Anaſtaſius* even accuſes the Emperor of having intended to murder the Pope in *Rome*: But *Gregory* himſelf makes no Mention of ſuch a Deſign, in thoſe Letters, wherein he reproaches *Leo* with all his Proceedings againſt him. Nor can we give Credit to the *Greek* Hiſtorians, who pretend, that the Pope anathematiz'd the Emperor at the *Synod*, and that he withdrew *Rome*, and the other Provinces of *Italy*, from their Allegiance to the Emperor (3).

Gregory II. vindicates the Adoration of Images, &c.

† See XV. 12.

Cardinal

ſubito Veneticis, Hildebrandus ab eis captus eſt. Peredeo viriliter *pugnans* occubuit.

§ XI. (1) *We have only a Fragment of this Synod, in a Letter of Pope* Hadrian *to* Charles *the Great, in* Baronius ad An. 726. n. 21.

(2) Anastasius, p. 169. Juſſionibus itaque poſtmodum miſſis decreverat Imperator, ut nulla imago cujuſlibet ſancti, aut martyris, aut angeli, ubicumque haberetur. Maledicta enim omnia aſſerebat, & ſi acquieſceret in hoc Pontifex, gratiam Imperatoris haberit: ſi & hoc fieri præpediret, a ſuo gradu recideret. Reſpiciens ergo pius vir profanam Principis juſſionem, jam contra Imperatorem quaſi hoſtem ſe armavit, renuens hæreſim ejus, ſcribens ubique cavere ſe Chriſtianos, eo quod orta fuiſſet impietas talis. Igitur permoti omnes Pentapolenſes, atque Venetiarum exercitus contra Imperatoris juſſionem reſtiterunt, dicentes nunquam ſe in ejuſdem Pontificis condeſcendere nece, ſed pro ejus magis defenſione viriliter decertare. Ita ut anathemati Paulum Exarchum, vel qui eum direxerat, ejuſque conſentaneos ſubmittunt, ſpernentes ordinationem ejus, Sibi Omnes ubique in Italia, Duces elegerunt: atque ſic de Pontificis, deque ſua immunitate omnes ſtudebant. Cognita vero Imperatoris nequitia, omnis Italia conſilium iniit, ut ſibi eligerent Imperatorem, & Conſtantinopolim ducerent. Sed compeſcuit tale conſilium Pontifex, ſperans converſionem Principis.

(3) *I ſhall here cite theſe Paſſages, which have caus'd ſo many to err, one after the other*: Theophanes: Anno 9. Imperii ſui cœpit impius Imperator contra ſanctas & venerandas imagines facere verbum. Quod cum didiciſſet Gregorius, Papa Romanus, tributa Romanæ urbis prohibuit, Italiæ, ſcribens ad Leonem epiſtolam dogmaticam, non oportere Imperatorem de fide facere verbum, & novitate violare antiqua dogmata Eccleſiæ Catholicæ, quæ a ſanctis Patribus ſunt prædicata.

Cedrenus

Cardinal *Baronius* is indeed of the ſame Opinion (4), and hence many modern Writers call this the Beginning of the Temporal Juriſdiction of the Popes: But we ſhall find, in the Sequel, that the Report of the *Anathema* is groundleſs, and that both *Rome*, and the Reſt of *Italy*, continu'd ſtill to acknowledge the Emperor's Supremacy.

Leo makes a League with the King of the *Longobards*, &c.

§. XII. THE *Longobards* made the greateſt Advantage of this; and took one Place after another, in *Æmilia* and *Pentapolis* (1). As *Paulus* was, in the mean Time, murder'd by the mutinous Soldiers, the Emperor ſent into *Italy Eutychius*, an Eunuch, who had already been *Exarch*, ſome Years before. He endeavour'd firſt to gain *Luitprand*. The King was diſpleas'd with the Dukes of *Spoleto* and *Benevento*, and theſe were, on the other Hand, in Friendſhip with the Pope and the *Romans*. The *Exarch* took from hence Occaſion to lay the Foundation of a Treaty, the Import of which was, that the King ſhould be aſſiſted by the Imperialiſts in reducing the Dukes of *Spoleto* and *Benevento* to Obedience; and that he, on the other Side, ſhould not hinder the *Exarch* from executing his Deſign againſt the Pope and the *Romans*. The two *Longobard* Princes were ſoon after obliged to ſubject themſelves to the King at *Spoleto*; who proceeded to *Rome*, and incamp'd on the *Tyber*, near St. *Peter*'s Church (2); but what his real Intention was, is not mention'd in Hiſtory. The Pope came out to him, and prevail'd on him ſo far, that he laid down his Arms, and Royal Robes, at the Apoſtle's

CEDRENUS ad annum 10 Leonis; Romæ autem Gregorius, Apoſtolorum Coryphæi aſſeſſor, qui ob ſuas lucubrationes Dialogi nomen adeptus eſt, a Leone, ob ejus impietatem defecit, &, pacto cum Francis inito, tributa Leoni negavit: ANASTASIUM ET SOCIOS ANATHEMATE FERIIT.

ZONAR. Gregorius, qui tum Romæ veteris Eccleſiam gubernabat, repudiata ſocietate Præſidis novæ Romæ, nec non eorum, qui illum ſequerentur, ILLOS UNA CUM IMPERATORE SYNODICO ANATHEMATE OBSTRINXIT, & vectigalia, quæ ad id uſque tempus Imperio inde pendebantur, inhibuit, icto cum Francis fœdere. And farther: Igitur Papa Gregorius, deſerta Imperatoris obedientia, propter perverſam ejus opinionem (ut dictum eſt) pacem cum Francis fecit, cum prius ſæpe dediſſet operam, ut Leonem per litteras ab odio Dei revocaret, atque ad cultum ſacrarum Imaginum reduceret.

(4) BARONIUS *ad An.* 730. *n.* 4. Tum demum factum eſt, ut idem Pontifex tandem eundem Imperatorem, utpote penitus impœnitentem hæreticum cognitum & declaratum, fuerit anathemate execratus; tumque Romanos, tum Italos ab ejus obedientia recedere penitus ſecerit.

§ XII. (1) ANASTASIUS.

(2) ANASTASIUS. p. 171. Eo vero tempore ſæpius dicti Eutychius Patricius, & Luitprandus, Rex, inierunt conſilium neſarium, ut, congregatis exercitibus, Rex ſubjiceret Duces Spoletanum & Beneventanum, & Exarchus Romam, & quæ pridem de Pontificis perſona juſſus fuerat, impleret. Paulus, *mentions the Diſputes of theſe two Dukes*, Lib. 6. 55, *but does not aſſign the Circumſtances of the Time.*

Tomb,

Tomb, and even undertook the Mediation between the Pope and the *Exarch* (3). *Eutychius* ſoon found this Reconciliation advantageous. For whilſt he was yet at *Rome*, Advices were brought, that a Perſon, nam'd *Petaſius*, had ſet up for Emperor in the Neighbourhood, on the Frontiers of *Tuſcany*. When the Hearts of the People were almoſt univerſally alienated from *Leo*, a trivial Alarm might cauſe a general Revolt: But the Pope lent *Eutychius* all poſſible Aid, and the latter was ſo ſucceſsful, that he ſent the Rebel's Head to his Emperor at *Conſtantinople*. *Leo* was nevertheleſs ſtill diſguſted at the *Romans*, becauſe they perſiſted in the Adoration of Images (4).

§ XIII. HE publiſh'd a freſh Edict, *An.* 730, by Virtue of which all Images were to be entirely aboliſh'd (1). The Golden and Silver Veſſels, on which they were engrav'd, were even melted down, and Relicts were as rigorouſly ſuppreſs'd, as Images. *Germanus*, Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, who oppos'd theſe Proceedings, with ſome Warmth, was forc'd to reſign, and was ſucceeded by *Anaſtaſius*, who came into all the Meaſures of the Court. But *Gregory* would neither hold any Intelligence with *Anaſtaſius* (2), nor conſent to a general Council, which the Emperor deſir'd. Two Letters are extant, which he wrote to him on this Occaſion

A new Edict concerning the Aboliſhment of Images, &c.

(3) ANASTAS. l. c. Ad quem egreſſus Pontifex, eique præſentatis ſtuduit, ut potuit, Regis mollire animum commonitione pia, ita ut ſe proſterneret ejus pedibus, promitteret, ſe nulli inferre læſionem: atque ſic ad tantam compunctionem piis monitis flexus eſt, ut quæ fuerat indutus, exueret, & ante corpus Apoſtoli poneret, mantum, armilauſiam, balteum, ſpatam, atque enſem deauratum, nec non coronam auream, & crucem argenteam. Poſt orationem factam obſecravit Pontificem, ut memoratum Exarchum ad pacis concordiam ſuſcipere dignaretur, quod & factum eſt.

(4) IDEM l. c. Igitur Exarcho Romæ moranti venit in partibus Tuſciæ in caſtrum Manturianenſe quidam ſeductor, Tiberius nomine, cui cognomen erat Petaſius, qui ſibi regnum Romani Imperii uſurpare conabatur. Leviores quoque decipiens, ita ut Manturianenſes, Lucenſes, atque Bledani ei ſacramentum præſtitiſſent. Exarchus vero, hæc audiens, turbatus eſt, quem ſanctiſſimus Papa confortans, & cum eo Proceres Eccleſiæ mittens, atque exercitus, profecti ſunt. Qui venientes in Manturianenſi caſtello, ibidem vetaſius interemtus eſt. Cujus abſciſſum caput Conſtantinopolim ad Principem miſſum eſt, & nec ſic Romanis plenam gratiam largitus eſt Imperator. MANTURANUM, or MARTURANUM, *is the preſent* Barberano *in the* Patrimon. di S. Pietro.

§ XIII. (1) THEOPHANES: Die ſeptima menſis Januarii, indictione decima tertia, feria hebdomadis tertia, irreligioſus Leo SILENTIUM, contra ſanctas venerandaſque imagines, IN NOVEMDECIM ACCUBITORUM TRIBUNALIO celebravit, Germano Sanctiſſimo Patriarcha advocato, cui perſuadendum arbitrabatur, ut ſuo de abolendis imaginibus decreto tandem ſubſcriberet. At fortis Chriſti ſervus abominando Leonis conſilio nequaquam cedens, imo veritatis verbum recto ſenſu diſtribuens, Epiſcopatu ſece abdicavit.

(2) ANASTASIUS; Pro qua cauſa etiam Germanum Conſtantinopolitanæ eccleſiæ Antiſtitem, eo quod ei conſenſum præbere noluiſſet, Pontificatu

sion (3). In the former, he remonſtrates, that ſuch a Council was needleſs (4), and evades the Accuſation, that the Worſhip of Images was Idolatry (5). He puts the Emperor in Mind, that, when at his Acceſſion to the Throne, he procur'd for him the Friendſhip of the *Weſtern* Princes, his Pictures were every where receiv'd with the uſual Tokens of Honour; but that the ſame were pull'd down and trod under Foot, when the News arriv'd of what was tranſacted at *Conſtantinople* (6); that the *Longobards* and *Sclavi* laid the Imperial Dominions waſte, without any Reſiſtance, and that the former had even taken *Ravenna*, and already deſign'd to make an Attempt on *Rome* *. And, as the Emperor had threaten'd to baniſh him, he ridicules his impotent Rage, and tells him, he relies on the Protection of the *Weſtern* Nations, who, he ſays, would not forſake him and St. *Peter*; That the Sea was but a few Miles diſtant, by Means of which he could ſafely eſcape his Perſecution (7); and that a mighty Prince had but juſt then entreated him to come and baptize him (8). The other Letter is a Reply to an Anſwer of the Emperor, which has not been preſerv'd. In this, he explains the Diſtinction between the

catu privavit idem Imperator, ſibique complicem Anaſtaſium Presbyterum in ejus locum conſtituit. Qui miſſa ſynodica ad Gregorium Pontificem, dum tali errori eum conſentientem reperiret Vir Sanctus, non cenſuit, ut fratrem & conſacerdotem ſolito; ſed reſcri ptis commonitoriis, niſi ad Catholicam ſe converteret fidem, etiam extorrem a ſacerdotali officio eſſe mandavit. Imperatori quoque mandavit ſalutaria ſuadens; & ut a tali execrabili miſeria declinaret, ſcriptis commonuit.

(3) BARONIUS *places the Date of theſe Letters in the Year* 726. *But* Pagius ad eund. An. n. 3. eq. *proves, that they cannot have been written before* 730

(4) Scripſiſti, ut Concilium Univerſale cogeretur, & nobis inutilis ea res viſa eſt. Tu perſecutor es imaginum, & hoſtis contumelioſus & everſor. Ceſſa, & nobis hoc largire, ut taceas. Tum mundus pace perfruetur, & ſcandala ceſſabunt. Finge nos tibi paruiſſe, ex univerſo terrarum orbe Pontifices congregatos eſſe, ſenatumque ac conſilium conſediſſe. Ubi eſt Chriſti amator, ac pius Imperator, qui de more in Senatu conſidere debet, & eos, qui recte loquuntur, munerari, eoſque, qui aliena a veritate blaterant, amandare, cum tu Imperator vacilles ac barbaros imiteris?

(5) Dicis, nos lapides, & parietes, ac tabelas adorare. Non ita eſt, ut dicis, Imperator, ſed ut memoria noſtra excitetur, & ut ſtolida & imperita, craſſaque mens noſtra erigatur, & in altum provehatur per eos, quorum hæc nomina, et quorum appallatianes & quorum hæ ſunt imagines, & non tanquam Deos, ut tu inquis; abſit, non enim ſpem in illis habemus.

(6) Teſtis eſt Deus, quaſcunque miſiſti ad nos epiſtolas auribus cordibuſque Regum Occidentis obtulimus, pacem illorum tibi ac benevolentiam conciliantes, &c. Idcirco etiam laurata tua receperunt, ut Regis a Regibus honore affici convenit, &c.

* *This Paſſage is quoted above* § X. n. 2.

(7) Quod ſi nobis inſolenter inſultes, & minas intentes, non eſt nobis neceſſe, tecum in certamen deſcendere; ad quatuor & viginti ſtadia ſecedet in regionem Campaniæ Romanus Pontifex: tum tu vade, ventos perſequere.

(8) Nuper ſiquidem ab anteriori Occidente preces illius, quem Septetum appellant, accepimus, qui vultum expetit noſtrum, Dei gratia, & ut ad impertiendum ei ſanctum baptiſma illuc proficiſcamur.

Imperial

Imperial and Sacerdotal Power, both which *Leo* arrogated to himſelf (9), remonſtrates to him, that he had ſpoken his own Sentence, when at his Inauguration, he ſubſcrib'd to the Confeſſion, that whoever deviates from the Doctrine of the Fathers is accurſed. He calls him an inhuman Prince, void of all Shame, who could perſecute, by Force of Arms, a Biſhop, who had it not in his Power to reſiſt, and calls upon the Almighty to viſit him with an evil Spirit (10): And, towards the Concluſion, he repeats, that he was upon the very Point of retiring into the remoteſt Parts of the *Weſt*. As the Pope boaſts ſo much of the Friendſhip of the *Weſtern* Powers, it is probable, that he relied on the Aſſiſtance of the *Franks* and other *German* Nations. Many pretend, that he actually applied to *Charles*, for Protection, and made a League with him, in Prejudice of the Emperor: but they confound his Negotiations with thoſe of *Gregory* III, his Succeſſor. I find, at leaſt, no certain Traces of any Treaty between *Gregory* II, and *Charles*, againſt the Emperor (11).

§ XIV. THE

(9) Quemadmodum Pontifex introſpiciendi in Palatium poteſtatem non habet, ac dignitates regias deferendi; ſic neque Imperator in eccleſias introſpiciendi, & electiones in clero peragendi, neque conſecrandi, vel ſymbola ſanctorum myſteriorum adminiſtrandi: ſed neque participandi abſque opera ſacerdotis. Sed unuſquiſque noſtrum, in qua vocatione vocatus eſt a Deo, in ea maneat.

(10) Imperatores, qui pie & in Chriſto vixerunt, Eccleſiarum Pontificibus obedire minime recuſarunt, nec eos vexarunt. Tu vero, Imperator, cum tranſgreſſus fueris, ac perverſus evaſeris, & manu propria ſubſcripſeris, te ipſum ſubjiciens, & confeſſus fueris, cum, qui terminos Patrum tollit, execrabilem eſſe, in hoc proprio judicio condemnatus es, ac Spiritum Sanctum a te alienaſti. Perſequeris nos, ac tyrannice vexas militari carnalique manu Nos inermes ac nudi, qui terrenos ac carnales exercitus non habemus, invocamus Principem exercitus omnis creaturæ, ſedentem in cœlis Chriſtum, qui eſt ſuper omnes exercitus ſupernarum virtutum, ut immittat tibi dæmonem, ſicut ait Apoſtolus: Tradere hujuſmodi ſatanæ in interitum, carnis ut ſpiritus ſalvus ſit.

(11) *The* Byzantine *Hiſtorians, whoſe Words are cited above* § XI. not. 3, *and particularly* Zonaras, *relate, that* Gregory *enter'd into Alliance, with the* Franks, *in Prejudice of the Emperor. But it is certain, that theſe Writers were not well acquainted with what paſs'd in the* Weſt. Baronius ad An. 726. n. 42. *applies to this a Paſſage from the* Continuat. Fredegarii, *but which is very plainly meant of his Succeſſor of the ſame Name.* Anaſtaſius *indeed likewiſe mentions, that this* Gregory *demanded the Aid of the* Franks, in vit. Stephani: Itaque dum idem ſanctiſſimus vir jam fatum peſtiferum Longobardorum Regum iteratis vicibus, innumerabilia tribuens munera, deprecaretur pro gregibus ſibi a Deo commiſſis, & perditis civibus, ſcilicet pro univerſo exercitu Ravennæ, atque cuncto iſtius Italiæ provinciæ populo, quos diabolica fraude ipſe impius deceperat Rex & poſſidebat: & dum nihil hac de re ab eo obtineret, cernens præterea & ab Imperiali potentia nullum eſſe ſubueniendi auxilium: tunc quemadmodum prædeceſſores ejus, beatæ memoriæ dominus Gregorius, & Gregorius ſecundus, & tertius, & dominus Zacharias, beatiſſimi Pontifices, Carolo excellentiſſimæ memoriæ Principi Francorum direxerunt, petentes ſibi ſubveniri propter oppreſſionem & invaſionem, quas & ipſi in hac Romana provincia, a nefanda Longobardorum gente perpeſſi ſunt; ita modo & ipſe venerabilis Pater, divina gratia inſpirante, clam per quendam peregrinum ſuas miſit litteras Pi-

Continuation of theſe Controverſies under *Gregory* III, *&c.*

§ XIV. The Death of *Gregory* (1) did not terminate this Diſpute. *Gregory* III, his Succeſſor, held a Synod at *Rome*, and threaten'd to excommunicate thoſe, who prophan'd the Images (2). All *Italy* ſent a Remonſtrance to the Emperor, and begg'd he would permit them the Uſe of Images. But theſe Papers were ſuppreſs'd, in *Sicily*; and never reach'd the Court (3). *Leo* even equipp'd a Fleet againſt *Italy* (4), but it was diſpers'd by a Tempeſt. Theſe Diſtractions greatly promoted the Declenſion of the Emperor's Power and Authority in *Rome*, and thoſe Provinces of *Italy*, which ſtill appertain'd to the Empire; and the diſaffected adher'd but the more zealouſly to the Pope. It cannot nevertheleſs be affirm'd, that they endeavour'd to withdraw their Allegiance from the Empire. The Sequel will rather ſhew, that *Zachary* and *Stephen* ſtill acknowledg'd, at leaſt in all outward Appearance, the Supremacy of the Emperors over the City of *Rome*, and over *Italy*; for all Records are dated according to the Years of their Reigns. *Leo*, on the other Hand, caus'd the Effects and Revenues, appertaining to the *Roman* Church, in *Apulia* and *Calabria*, to be confiſcated; and depriv'd the Patriarch of *Rome* of the Churches in *Sicily*, as well, as of *Illyricum Occidentale*, of which *Theſſalonica* was the Metropolis. The *Roman* Popes endeavour'd afterwards, in vain, to recover the ſpiritual Juriſdiction in *Illyricum*; and this Separation contributed not a little to the Diviſion between the *Roman* and *Grecian* Churches (5).

Charles's Expedition againſt *Eudo*. The *Saracens* invade *Aquitain*, *&c.*

§ XV. *CHARLES* appear'd in the Field againſt *Eudo*, Duke of *Aquitain*, *A.* 731 (1), and which of them firſt violated the Peace is

pino, Regi Francorum, nimio dolore huic proviniciæ inhærente, conſcriptas, *But according to this very Relation, he ſought* Charles's *Protection, not againſt the Emperor, but againſt the* Longobards.

§ XIV. (1) *He died* A. 731. *about the* 10 of February.

(2) *The Acts of this* Synod *are not indeed extant, but in* Anaſtaſius *we have the following Extract*, n. 192: Siquis deinceps antiquæ conſuetudinis, & apoſtolicæ eccleſiæ tenentes fidelem uſum contemnens, adverſus eandem venerationem ſacrarum imaginum, videlicet Dei, & domini noſtri Jeſu Chriſti, & genitricis ejus, ſemper virginis immaculatæ, atque glorioſæ, Mariæ, beatorum Apoſtolorum, & omnium Sanctorum, depoſitor atque deſtructor, & profanator, vel blaſphemus extiterit, ſit extorris a corpore & ſanguine domini noſtri Jeſu Chriſti.

(3) Ibid. n. 193. Cuncta generalitas iſtius provinciæ Italiæ ſimiliter pro erigendis imaginibus ſupplicationum ſcripta unanimiter ad eoſdem Principes direxerunt, quæ & ipſa, ſimiliter ut anteriora, ablata ſunt a Sergio, Patricio & Stratego ipſius inſulæ Siciliæ.

(4) Theophan. ad An. 16. Leon: Aſt Imperator contra Papam atque receſſum Romæ ac Italiæ ſæviebat. Conſtructumque ſtolum, exercitum videlicet magnum, direxit adverſus eum, Manem Prætorem, Cyberotenſium caput, in eo conſtituens.

(5) Conf. Pagius ad An. 730. n. 11.

§ XV. (1). Annal. Nazar. an hunc an. Carlus

is uncertain : But a new Enemy, whom both had equal cauſe to fear, oblig'd them afterwards, to keep up a better Underſtanding. *Zama*, the *Saracen* Lieutenant in *Spain*, had form'd the Deſign of conquering that Part of *Gallia Narbonenſis*, which appertained to the *Goths*, and from thence of extending his Arms farther. He had already taken (2) *Narbonne* †, and laid Siege to *Toulouſe*, which then appertain'd to *Eudo*. The latter ventur'd to relieve the City ††, and ſucceeded ſo well, that the *Saracens* were beat, and *Zama* was kill'd on the Spot. *Ambiza*, his Succeſſor, purſued the ſame Deſign; and took * *Carcaſſone*, *Nimes*, and the other Cities of *Septimania*, as far as the *Rhône*. The then Lieutenant *Abderramen*, or *Abdiram*, now undertook a yet greater Exploit. He went by the Way of *Pampelona*, open'd a Paſſage thro' the Midſt of the *Gaſcons*, who then extended their Habitations as far as the *Garonne*, and beſieged *Bourdeaux*. *Eudo*, in this Extremity, deſir'd *Charles*'s Aid, whom it likewiſe concern'd, to put a Stop to the Progreſs of the *Saracens*. But before he could come to his Aſſiſtance, *Abderramen* took *Bourdeaux*, proceeded over the *Dordogne*, and, in a pitch'd Battle, vanquiſh'd the Duke of *Aquitain*, who had plac'd himſelf in that Neighbourhood. All the Country was now expos'd to the Fury of the Infidels. *Abderramen* took *Poitiers*, and had already reſolv'd upon going to *Tours*, where he knew he ſhould find a great Treaſure in the Church of St. *Martin*'s. But *Charles* advanced, in the mean Time, and encamped near *Poitiers*. The two Armies were not long in View of one another, before a pitch'd Battle enſued. *Charles* attack'd the Infidels, and both Parties had Reaſon to exert themſelves to the utmoſt. The *Franks* fought for the Honour of the *Chriſtian* Name; and the Example of *Spain* warn'd them, what they had to apprehend from theſe Enemies to them and their Country. The *Muſſulmen*, on the other Hand, likewiſe perceiv'd, that all would be loſt, if they did not gain the Victory : But Heaven granted it to the *Franks*, who were ſuperior to their Enemies, even in natural Strength, and knew how to make better Uſe of their Swords, than they could of their Arrows. The Hiſtorian takes particular Notice of the gallant Behaviour of the *Auſtraſians* (3). *Eudo*, at the ſame Time, fell upon the Rear of the Camp,

† *An.* 721.

†† *Eod. An.*

* *An.* 725.

Carlus vaſtavit duas vices ultra Ligere. CONTINUATOR FREDEGARII, c. 108. Carolus Princeps commoto exercitu Ligeram fluvium tranſiens, ipſo Duce Eudone fugato, præda multa ſublata, bis eo anno ab his hoſtibus populata, iterum remeatur ad propria.

(2) ISIDORUS PACENSIS, *and from him* RODERICUS in Hiſt. Arab. cap. 12. ſeq. CONTIN. FREDEGAR. l. c.

(3) RODERICUS, c. 14. Sic gens Auſtriæ, membrorum præminentia valida, & gens Germana, corde & corpore præſtantiſſima, quaſi in ictu oculi, manu ferrea, & pectore arduo, Arabes extinxerunt.

and thereby gain'd no ſmall Honour (4). *Abderramen*, and many Thouſands of his Soldiers, were kill'd on the Spot, and the Reſt fled into *Septimania*. *Charles* did not purſue them, but return'd over the *Loire*, near *Orleans*.

Charles poſſeſſes himſelf of *Burgundy*, &c.

§ XVI. I SHALL not detain the Reader with an Account of *Charles*'s Armaments in *Burgundy* and *Provence*, the next Year. Some of the Chiefs in theſe Provinces ſeem to have attempted, to follow the Example of other Nations, and to caſt off the *Franconian* Yoke, or at leaſt to have refuſed Obedience to *Charles* (1). He therefore plac'd Garriſons, ſuch as he could rely upon, in *Lyons*, *Marſeilles*, and other Cities. The Hiſtory of the *Germans*, is more nearly concern'd in his Expedition againſt the *Friſians*, *A.* 734. This Nation depended on the Situation of their Country, which was partly protected by the Sea, and partly by their marſhy Soil: But *Charles* came with a Fleet, and landed his Soldiers on thoſe Coaſts, where the *Friſians* thought themſelves moſt ſecure (2). This Expedition would appear as miraculous as that of *Druſus* †, if it had been related by as able a Hand. He himſelf encamp'd on the River *Borden* *, which to this Day ſeparates *Oſtergow* from *Weſtergow*. He overcame Duke *Poppo* in a Battle, demoliſh'd, in ſeveral Parts of the Country, thoſe Groves and Altars, which the yet *Pagan* Inhabitants had devoted to their Superſtition, and, if we may believe Hiſtorians, ſubjected all *Frieſland* to the Dominion of the *Franks*. *Eudo*, Duke of *Aquitain*, died, *A.* 735, and *Hunold* and *Hatto*, his Sons, reſolv'd to maintain the ſame Dignity.

† Vol. I. B. III. 14.

(4) Paul. Lib. 6. cap. 46. Eudo quoque, cum ſuis ſuper eorum caſtra irruens, pari modo multos interficiens, omnia devaſtavit.

§ XVI. (1) Continuator Fredegarii, *cap.* 109. Procedente alioquin anno ſequente (Dccxxxiii) egregius bellator, Carlus Princeps, regionem Burgundiæ ſagaciter penetravit, fines regni illius Leudibus ſuis probatiſſimis, viris induſtriis, ad reſiſtendum gentibus rebellibus & infidelibus ſtatuit. Pace patrata Lugdunum Galliæ ſuis fidelibus tradidit. Fideles *were thoſe, who had bound themſelves to him particularly, as Servants.*

(2) Ibidem, *cap.* 109. In gentem duriſſimam maritimam Friſionum nimis crudeliter rebellantem, præfatus Princeps navali expeditione properat, certatim altum mare ingreſſus, navium copia adunata. Wiſtrachiam & Auſtrachiam, inſulas Friſionum, penetravit, ſuper Burdine fluvium caſtra ponens. Poponem gentilem Ducem illorum fraudulentum conſiliarium interfecit, exercitum Friſionum proſtravit, fana illorum idolatriæ contrivit, atque combuſſit igni. Cum magnis ſpoliis & prædis victor reverſus eſt in regnum Francorum.

Annal. Metens. A. Dccxxxiv. Carolus Princeps in Friſiam proficiſcitur, omneſque rebelles ejus gentis trucidavit, ceteroſque, quos vivos reliquit, acceptis obſidibus, ſuæ ditioni ſubjugavit.

* *The* Continuator Fredegarii *mentions* Borden, *as a River, in the before-cited Paſſage.* Altingius, p. 734. *imagines it to be* Bordicep.

But

But *Charles* paſs'd the *Loire*, and made himſelf Maſter of the Country, as far as where the *Dordogne* falls into the *Garonne* (3); but enter'd at laſt into a Treaty, by Virtue of which *Hunold* retain'd the Dukedom of *Aquitain*; promiſing on Oath, to bear Allegiance to *Charles* and his two Sons (4). Hence we may conjecture, what Views he had, with Regard to his Sons: Beſides, the Vicinity of the *Saracens* oblig'd him to keep up a Friendſhip with *Hunold*, how unwilling ſoever he was to encourage the Riſe of ſuch Dukes.

§ XVII. WHEN King *Theoderick* died, *A.* 737, *Charles* was in no Haſte to appoint him a Succeſſor. The Throne was vacant above five Years, before *Childerick* was choſen to fill it in his Room. We cannot, by any Footſteps, penetrate into the real Cauſes of ſo unuſual an *Interregnum*, or into the particular Views of the *Maire de Palais*, on this Occaſion. Theſe Years are, however, in Records, dated after *Theodorick*'s Death, or perhaps even according to the Years of *Charles*'s Adminiſtration (1). And as the *Franks* had beſides only loſt the Name of a King, the Behaviour of *Charles*, and his glorious Exploits, render'd them the leſs ſenſible of their having no Monarch. The *Interregnum* after *Theoderick*'s Death, &c.

A BLOODY War broke out, the ſame Year, with the *Saracens*. A Perſon nam'd *Maurontius*, was carrying on Innovations in *Provence*; and tho' the true Grounds of them, and his real Views, are unknown, yet modern Hiſtorians conjecture, with ſome Probability, that he attempted to ſet up for Duke of that Province, as *Eudo* had before done in *Aquitain*. His Faction was ſtrong, and he had drawn in the *Saracens*, who border'd on *Provence*. Theſe firſt made themſelves Maſters of the City of *Avignon*: From thence they proceeded into *Burgundy*, took *Vienne*, and ravag'd the County as far as *Lyons* (2). *Charles* immediatly order'd *Childebrand*, his Brother, and ſome other Counts and Dukes, to march againſt them. At the Approach of theſe, the Infidels retreated to *Avignon*, to which Place, *Childebrand* laid Siege. *Charles* came with Re-inforcements, and now the *Franks* took the City by Storm, and maſſacred all the *Saracens*

(3) CONTIN. FREDEGAR. *cap.* 109. In illis quippe diebus Eudo dux mortuus eſt. Hæc audiens præfatus Princeps Carlus, inito conſilio Procerum ſuorum, denuo Ligerem fluvium tranſit, uſque Garonnam, vel urbem Burdegalenſem, vel caſtrum Blaviam veniens occupavit, illamque regionem cepit, ac ſubjugavit, cum urbibus ac ſuburbanis caſtrorum.

(4) ANNAL. METENS. *ad An.* 735. Ducatumque illum ſolita pietate Hunaldo, filio Eudonis, dedit, qui ſibi & filiis ſuis, Pippino & Carlomanno, fidem promiſit.

§ XVII. (1) PAGIUS *ad An.* 735, *n.* 5. ECH. *p.* 370.

(2) CONTIN. FREDEGAR. *add.* VALES. *p.* 501.

they

they found there. *Charles* proceeded over the *Rhône*, and pillag'd all *Septimania*, as far as *Narbonne*. The *Saracens* had made this City their Arſenal, and *Athina*, who commanded in *Septimania*, was himſelf in the Town. *Charles* inveſted it (3); and the *Saracens*, on the other Hand, equipp'd a Fleet, in the adjacent Parts of *Spain*, to relieve *Narbonne*, and landed their Men between that Place, and *Leucate*, where the River *Berre* falls into the Sea. *Charles* left the Care of the Siege to his Brother, and went himſelf, with the Reſt of the Army, to meet theſe freſh Troops: A bloody Battle enſued on the ſaid River, when the greateſt Part of the Enemy were kill'd on the Spot, or on their Flight (4): But *Athina* behav'd ſo bravely in *Narbonne*, that *Charles*, at laſt, found his Hopes of winning the City vain. He took inſtead of it, *Beziers*, *Agde*, *Magalone*, and *Nimes*; and the *Saracens* kept only thoſe Places, which lay beyond the *Aude*, towards the *Pyrenæan* Mountains. The Walls and Towers, in the conquer'd Cities, were all demoliſh'd, that the Infidels might not ſo eaſily gain a Footing again, and the Inhabitants were, beſides, oblig'd to give particular Hoſtages for their Fidelity. The Empire of the *Franks* has preſerved a notable Memorial of this Expedition. The *Franks* have ever ſince, retain'd all *Charles*'s Conqueſts in *Septimania*, and thus the Province of *Languedoc* was united with the other *Franconian* Dominions. *Charles* was no ſooner return'd, than *Maurontius* rais'd a freſh Diſturbance in *Provence*: But he went thither again, *A.* 739, with an Army, when all ſubmitted to him, and *Maurontius* took Refuge in the adjacent Iſles and Rocks (5).

The *Longobard* Hiſtorian relates, that King *Luitprand* likewiſe arm'd himſelf to aſſiſt *Charles* againſt the *Saracens* (6), and mentions, in general,

(3) Contin. Fredegar. *cap.* 109. Super Adice *(al. Adace)* fluvio, munitionem in gyrum, in modum arietum, inſtruxit.

(4) Contin. Fredeg. Annal. Metens. &c. Valesius, p. 505. *confirms this Relation at large.*

(5) Cont. Fredegar. *cap.* 109. Denuo carriculo anni illius, menſe ſecundo, prædictum Germanum ſuum, *(Childebrandum)* cum pluribus Ducibus atque Comitibus, commoto exercitu, ad partes Provinciæ dirigit. Avenionem urbem venientes, Carolus properans acceſſit, cunctaſque regiones, uſque littus maris magni, ſuæ dominationi reſtituit: fugatoque Duce Mauronto, impenetrabilibus tutiſſimis rupibus, maritimis munitionibus, &c. F. le Cointe *and* F. Pagi *change the firſt Words in this Paſſage, and read* Denuo curriculo anni ſecundo.

(6) Paul. *L.* 6. *c.* 54. Iterato Saraceni Gallorum fines ingreſſi, uſque ad Provinciam venerunt, &, capta Arelate, omnia circumquaque demoliti ſunt. Tum Carolus legatos cum muneribus ad Luitprandum Regem mittens, ab eo contra Saracenos auxilium poſcit. Qui nihil moratus,

neral, the good Understanding that subsisted between these two Princes. He observes, on this Occasion, the singular Custom, that *Charles* sent *Pipin*, his eldest Son, to the King, to cut off his first Hair (7); which was, in those Times, a particular Mark of Friendship and Confidence. Herein the *Franks* and *Longobards* probably imitated the *Romans*; who, as well as the *Greeks*, made it a particular Solemnity, when their young Men first cut their Hair, or their Beards were shaved. The first Hair was dedicated to the Rivers, or offer'd to one of their Gods (8). Sacrifices of this Kind were frequently made to *Hercules*, *Apollo* and *Æsculapius*, and the Value of them was enhanc'd by additional Presents. Those, who were proud of their own Persons, generally consecrated the masculine Ornament of their Faces, to the Goddess of Love (9). *Nero* even devoted his to *Jupiter Capitolinus* (10). Intimate Friends were chosen to cut off the Hair, on which Occasion, a particular Festival was held in the Family (11). When this Ceremony happen'd in the Imperial House, the Festival was celebrated by all the People of *Rome* (12). The *Christian* Church afterwards, as it were, sanctified this Custom, by a particular

tus, cum omni Longobardorum exercitu in ejus adjutorium properavit. Quo comperto gens Saracenorum, mox ab illis regionibus aufugit. Luitprandus vero cum omni suo exercitu ad Italiam rediit. *But* Paulus's *Relation is doubtful. We find no Traces in the History of* Arles, *that the* Saracens *took that City in this War. The King's Preparations against the* Saracens *are mention'd on his Epitaph:*

——— ——— Deinceps tremuere feroces
Usque Saraceni, quos dispulit impiger, ipsos
Cum premerent Gallos, Carolo poscente juvari.

But the Learned imagine this Epitaph to be of later Date.

(7) PAULUS, *L.* 6. *c.* 53. Carolus, Princeps Francorum, Pipinum, suum filium ad Luitprandum direxit, ut ejus, juxta morem, capillum susciperet: qui ei cæsariem incidens, pater effectus est, multisque eum ditatum regiis muneribus genitori remisit.

(8) PETRON. *in Satyr. cap.* 107. Cui Deo crinem vovisti?

(9) PETRON. *in Satyr. cap.* 29. Præterea grande armarium in angulo vidi, in cujus ædicula erant lares argentei positi, Veneriseque signum marmoreum, & pyxis aurea non pusilla, in qua barbam ipsius conditam esse dicebant.

(10) SUETON. *in Nerone, cap.* 12. Barbam primam posuit, conditamque in auream pyxidem, & pretiosissimis margaritis adornatam, Jovi Capitolino consecravit.

(11) JUVENAL. Sat. III. 186.

Ille metit barbam, crinem hic deponit amati.
Plena domus libis venalibus ———

That it was customary among the Greeks *for young Men to have their first Beard taken off by intimate Friends, appears from* CALLIMACH. in Hymn. in Del. v. 289: *And the* ANTHOL. GRÆC. VI. 22.

(12) Dion *says of* Augustus, L. 48. Cæsar tum primum barbam radens, & ipse diem eum plane festum habuit, & aliis publicam festivitatem indixit.

SUET. *Calig.* 10. Uno atque eodem die togam sumsit, barbamque posuit, sine ullo honore, qualis contigerat tirocinio fratrum ejus.

Form-

Form of Prayer (13), and thoſe who were invited thereto, were diſtinguiſhed by a certain Veneration, inſomuch, that it was regarded as a Kind of Adoption. And the ſame was retain'd by the *Chriſtian* Emperors. Thus *Conſtantine Pogonatus* ſent to Pope *Benedict* II, the Hair-Locks of his two Sons, *Juſtinian* and *Heraclius*, which were receiv'd at *Rome* with great Pomp (14). We have therefore the leſs Cauſe to wonder, that the *Longobards* and *Franks* imitated theſe Cuſtoms. Eſpecially as the Time of cutting Children's Hair, was particularly preſcrib'd among the latter (15). As we here find the Example of Hair, ſo *Paulus* elſewhere relates the Circumſtances of ſhaving the firſt Beards of the *Longobard* Princes (16).

Boniface obtains the *Pallium*. His third Journy to *Rome*.

§ XVIII. *GREGORY* III, had, in the mean Time, ſent the *Pallium* to *Boniface*, and conſtituted him Arch-Biſhop, and Vicar over the Churches in *Germania* (1). He took a third Tour to *Rome*, *A.* 738, and was kindly received by the Pope, who, at his Departure, gave him ſeveral Letters. One was directed to all the Clergy in general (2), another to the *Thuringians*, *Heſſians*, and other *German* Nations ſituate Eaſtwards (3), to exhort them to Conſtancy in the *Chriſtian* Religion, and Obedience to their Paſtors. In a third, he admoniſh'd the Biſhops in *Bavaria* and *Alemania* (4), to regard *Boniface* as his Vice-gerent, not to ſuffer *Britons* *, Hereticks, and falſe Prieſts, among them; to conform

(13) *V. Formul. precum in libr. Sacram. Gregorii: ad capillaturam incidendam*, and *ad puerum tonſorandum.*

(14) ANASTASIUS, *in Bened.* II. Hic una cum clero, & exercitu ſuſcepit mallones capillorum, dominorum Juſtiniani & Heraclii, filiorum clementiſſimi Principis, ſimul & ejus juſſionem, per quam ſignificabat, eoſdem capillos direxiſſe.

(15) L. SAL. *Tit.* XXVIII. Si quis puerum infra duodecim annorum, non tonſuratum occiderit.

(16) PAUL. IV. 40. *Of* Taſo, *Duke of* Friuli, *and his Brother:* Hos duos fratres Gregorius Patricius Romanorum in Civitate Opitergio doloſa fraude peremit. Nam promittens Taſoni, ut ei barbam, ſicut moris eſt, incideret, eumque ſibi filium faceret, &c.

§ XVIII. (1) V. *Ep. Gregorii* III. *inter Ep.* BONIFACII, *n.* 122.

(2) IBID, *n.* 127.

(3) IBID, *ep.* 128. *The Superſcription runs thus*: Univerſis Optimatibus & populo Provinciarum Germaniæ, Thuringis & Haſſis, Borthariis, & Niſtreſis, Wedreciis & Lognais, Sudvodis, & Graffeldis, vel omnibus in Orientali plaga conſtitutis. *Theſe Names are explain'd by* ECH. *p.* 374.

(4) IBID, *ep.* 129. *It is thus ſuperſcrib'd:* Dilectiſſimis Epiſcopis in Provincia Bajoariorum, & Alemannia conſtitutis: Viggoni, Luidoni, Rydolfo, & Philippo, ſeu Adæ. Vigo *was Biſhop of* Augſburg, Luido *of* Spire, Rudolf *of* Conſtance, Vivilo (*as it ſhould be read inſtead of* Philip) *of* Paſſau, Adda *or* Etto *of* Straſburg.

* Gentilitatis ritum & doctrinam, vel venientium Britonum, &c. abjiciatis. *All the People in* Britain *did not agree with the* Roman *Church, as I obſerv'd above,* L. XIV. § 32.

to

to the Doctrines and Ceremonies of the Church of *Rome*, and to appear at the Convention, which *Boniface* ſhould appoint (5). On his Return, he viſited King *Luitprand*, and, at Duke *Odilo*'s Entreaty, made ſome Stay in *Bavaria*. The Regulation of the *Bavarian* Church, which had already been ſeveral Times on the Carpet †, was then entirely eſtabliſh'd: With the Approbation of the Duke, and the Reſt of the Nobles, he divided it into four Biſhopricks (6), namely, *Saltzburg*, *Ratisbon*, *Freyſingen* and *Paſſau*; which Diviſion may, in ſome Meaſure, ſhew us the Extent of the *Bavarian* Dominions, at that Time. He conſecrated a Native of *England*, named *John*, Biſhop of *Saltzburg*; *Gozbert*, Biſhop of *Ratisbon*; *Erembert*, Brother to *S. Corbinian*, Biſhop of *Freyſingen*; and *Vivilo*, whom the Pope had before ordain'd, was made Biſhop of *Paſſau*. The certain Eſtabliſhment of theſe Sees is plac'd at this Time; for, after that, each of them had conſtantly its own Biſhop. *Arno*, Biſhop of *Saltzburg*, was conſtituted Metropolitan, in the Time of *Charlemaign*, *A.* 798, and, by this Means, a ſeparate Province, and national Church was erected.

† See above § 7.

§ XIX. IN *Italy*, a Rupture broke out, *A.* 739, between the *Romans* and King *Luitprand*, which happen'd on Occaſion of an inteſtine Commotion among the *Longobards*. *Thraſamund*, Duke of *Spoleto*, was in Diſgrace with the King, and had taken Refuge at *Rome*. The King demanded to have him ſurrender'd; but the Pope, as well as *Stephen*, *Patricius* and Duke of *Rome*, and the Chiefs of the *Roman* Militia, refus'd to comply. *Luitprand* therefore invaded † the *Ducatus Romanus*, and took *Ameria*, *Horta*, *Bomarzo* ††, and *Bieda* ‖ (1). When he was returned to *Pavia*,

Luitprand at Variance with the *Romans*, &c.

† *A.* 740.
†† *Polimartium.*
‖ *Bleda.*

(5) *Int. Epiſt.* BONIFACII 129. Gentilitatis ritum & doctrinam, vel venientium Britonum, vel falſorum ſacerdotum hæreticorum ſive adulatores, aut undecunque ſint, renuentes ac prohibentes abjiciatis, & ut populum vobis a Deo commiſſum piis admonitionibus edoceatis: & a ſacrificiis mortuorum omnino devitetis: & juxta quod fueritis a prædicto noſtro Conſacerdote edocti, ita Catholicam & Apoſtolicam doctrinam tenentes Domino Deo & Salvatori noſtro placere feſtinetis: & in quo vobis loco ad celebranda concilia convenire mandaverit. ſive juxta Danubium, ſive in civitate Auguſta, vel ubicunque judicaverit, pro nomine Chriſti parati eſſe inveniamini.

(6) WILLIBALD. *c.* 3, *add.* PAGIUS *ad An.* 739. 1. *ſeq.*

§ XIX. (1) ANASTASIUS *in Zacharia*, *p.* 182. Hic invenit totam Italiæ provinciam valde turbatam ſimul & ducatum Romanum, perſequente Luitprando, Longobardorum Rege, ex occaſione Traſimundi, Ducis Spoletini, qui in hac Romana urbe eodem Rege perſequente refugium fecerat. Et dum a prædeceſſore ejus beatæ memoriæ, Gregorio Papa, atque ab Stephano, quondam Patricio, ET DUCE, VEL OMNI EXERCITU ROMANO, prædictus Traſimundus redditus non fuiſſet, obſeſſione facta, pro eo ab eodem Rege ablatæ ſunt A ROMANO DUCATU civitates quatuor. i. e. Ameria, Hortas, Polimartium & Blera. Et ſic idem Rex ad ſuum palatium eſt reverſus per menſem Aug. indict. 7.

the Capital of his Kingdom, *Thraſamund* recover'd the Dukedom, by the Aſſiſtance of the *Romans*. *Gotſchalc*, on the other Hand, aſſum'd the Title of Duke of *Benevento*, without the King's Knowledge and Conſent, and had likewiſe made a League with the *Romans* (2). The Situation *Italy* was then in, prov'd almoſt the only Means they could wiſh for obtaining their Liberty, as the *Longobards* were divided, and eſpecially as a Part of them aſſociated themſelves to them. *Luitprand*, reſolv'd to take Revenge, as well on the two Dukes, as on the *Romans*; and when he was on his March towards *Spoleto*, the Duke, aſſiſted by the *Roman* Troops, ventur'd an Engagement with him (3). *Luitprand*, on the other Hand, committed Depredations as far as the Walls of *Rome*. Pope *Gregory* III, in this Extremity, applied to the Hero, *Charles* †; on whom the Eyes of all the Chriſtian World were then fix'd, and earneſtly entreated him, to aid the *Roman* Church; alledging, among other Particulars, that the *Longobards* had taken the Candleſticks and Donations out of *St. Peter's* Church (4).

† *A.* 741.

Luitprand makes freſh Incurſions as far as *Rome*, &c.

§ XX. BUT, as I obſerv'd before, *Luitprand* continu'd in Friendſhip with *Charles*, and remonſtrated, on his Part, that he could not be blamed for endeavouring to ſubdue the two Dukes, who had rebelled againſt him. *Charles* was perhaps not ſo immediately inclin'd to a Rupture with the *Longobards*, as we may conclude by another Letter of the Pope's, in which he complains, that *Charles* had given Ear to the King's Excuſes, and was thereby mov'd to ſtand Neuter; tho' they were without any Grounds, and the Dukes had done nothing to deſerve the King's Diſpleaſure, but by refuſing to ſerve him againſt the City of *Rome* (1). In the mean Time,

(2) *Conf.* PAULUS, *Lib.* 6. *c.* 55 *& ſeq.*

(3) PAULUS, *l. c. cap.* 56. Spoletani ſe cum Romanis ſociantes magna incommoda Regis exercitui intulerunt.

(4) *Vid. Ep.* GREGORII *ad* CAROLUM: *ap.* BARON. 739. *n.* 6. Omnia enim luminaria ad honorem ipſius Principis Apoſtolorum, & quæ a veſtris parentibus, vel a vobis oblata ſunt, ipſi abſtulerunt. Et quoniam ad te poſt Deum confugium fecimus, propterea ipſi Longobardi in opprobrium habent, & opprimunt: unde & Eccleſia Sancti Petri denudata eſt, & in nimiam deſolationem redacta.

§ XX. (1) *Epiſt. Gregorii* III. *ad Carolum ap. Baron. A.* 740. *n.* 20. Propterea coarctati dolore, in gemitu & luctu conſiſtimus, dum cernimus, id, quod modicum remanſerat præterito anno, pro ſubſidio & alimento pauperum Chriſti, ſeu luminarium concinnatione, in partibus Ravennatium, nunc gladio & igne cuncta conſumi a Luitprando & Hilprando, Regibus Longobardorum. Sed in iſtis partibus Romanis mittentes plures exercitus, ſimilia nobis fecerunt & faciunt: & omnes ſcalas S. Petri deſtruxerunt, & peculia, quæ remanſerant abſtulerunt: et nulla nobis, ad te, Excellentiſſime fili, refugium facientibus pervenit hactenus conſolatio. Sed ut conſpicimus, dum indultum a vobis eiſdem Regibus eſt motiones faciendi, quod eorum falſa ſuggeſtio plus, quam noſtra veritas apud vos recepta eſt, & timemus, ne tibi reſpiciat ad peccatum. *In this Letter he maintains the Innocence of the*

Time, the King not only continued his Hoſtilities, in the Diſtrict of *Ravenna*, but ſet down, a ſecond Time, before *Rome*; and the Pope complains, in the very ſame Letter, that the *Longobards* had broken down the Steps of *St. Peter's* Church, and had now entirely carried off what was left after the laſt Plunder. He caus'd the Walls of the City to be repair'd, with all Expedition (2), and ſent *Anaſtaſius*, a Biſhop, and *Sergius*, a Prieſt, in Ambaſſy to *Charles* †, who as they could not get thro', with Safety, by Land, were obliged to purſue their Journy by Water (3). They propos'd to *Charles* ††, that the *Romans* would readily declare him a *Patricius*, and put themſelves under his Protection, if he would ſtand by them againſt the *Longobards*. The Pope, as a ſurer Motive to win him, ſent him even the Keys of the Apoſtle *Peter's* Tomb (4). *Charles* receiv'd the Ambaſſadors very favourably, and made them rich Preſents: He likewiſe appointed *Grimo*, Abbot of *Corbey*, and *Sigebert*, a Monk of the Monaſtery of *St. Dennis*, to accompany them back again to *Rome* (5). But his Death, which happen'd ſoon

† An. 741.

†† See An. 39.

the Dukes: Non credas, fili, falſidicis ſuggeſtionibus & ſuaſionibus eorundem Regum. Omnia enim tibi falſo ſuggerunt, ſcribentes corcumventiones, quod quaſi aliquam culpam commiſſum habeant eis eorum Duces, id eſt, Spoletanus & Beneventanus. Sed omnia mendacia ſunt. Non enim pro alio, (ſatisfaciat tibi veritas, fili) eoſdem Duces perſequuntur crimine, niſi pro eo, quod noluerunt præterito anno de ſuis partibus ſuper nos irruere, & (ſicut illi fecerunt,) res S. S. Apoſtolorum deſtruere, & peculiarem populum deprædare, ita dicentes ipſi Duces: Quia contra Eccleſiam Sanctam Dei, ejuſque populum peculiarem non exercitamus, quoniam & pactum cum eis habemus, & ex ipſa Eccleſia fidem accepimus; ideoque mucro eorum deſævit contra eos. Nam ipſi prædicti Duces parati fuerunt, & ſunt, ſecundum antiquam conſuetudinem eis obedire; Sed illi retinentes iram pro eo, quod ſuperius diximus, per exquiſitam occaſionem volentes illos & nos deſtruere & invadere; ideoque utroſque perſequentes, & veſtræ bonitati ſuggerunt falſa, ut & Duces illos nobiliſſimos degradent, & ſuos ibidem pravos ordinent Duces, & multo amplius quotidie, & ex omni parte Dei eccleſiam expugnent, et res Beati Petri, Principis Apoſtolorum, diſſipent, atque populum peculiarem captivent.

(2) ANASTAS. 180. Hujus temporibus plurima pars murorum hujus civitatis Romanæ reſtaurata eſt.

(3) ANASTASIUS. Hujus temporibus concuſſa eſt provincia Romanorum, ditioni ſubjecta nefandorum Longobardorum, ſeu & Regi eorum Luitprando. Venienſque Romam in campo Neronis tentoria tetendit, deprædataque Campania MULTOS NOBILES DE ROMANIS, MORE LONGOBARDORUM TOTONDIT, ATQUE VESTIVIT. Pro quo vir Dei undique dolore conſtrictus, Sacras, claves ex confeſſione B. Petri Apoſtoli accipiens, partibus Franciæ Carolo, ſagaciſſimo viro, qui tunc regnum regebat Francorum, navali itinere per miſſos ſuos direxit: per Anaſtaſium ſanctiſſimum virum, Epiſcopum, nec non & Sergium, preſbyterum, poſtulantes a præfato excellentiſſimo Carolo, ut eos a tanta oppreſſione Longobardorum liberaret. *But this Paſſage is not to be found in every* Codex, *as is evident by* Branchini's *Edition.*

(4) EP GREGOR. loc. cit. Conjuro Te, per Deum vivum & verum, & PER IPSAS SACRATISSIMAS CLAVES CONFESSIONIS B. PETRI, QUAS VOBIS AD REGNUM TRANSMISIMUS.

(5) CONTIN. FREDEGAR. *cap.* 110. Ipſe

 mirifico

ſoon after, interrupted the whole Affair; ſo that it is very uncertain, whether he was ever actually declar'd *Patricius*. This Treaty is, however, very remarkable, as it is the firſt Plan, according to which, in After-times, the Pope, treated with the Kings of the *Franks*.

Pope *Zachary* comes to an Agreement with the King, and viſits him at *Narni*.

§ XXI. *ZACHARY*, *Gregory's* Succeſſor (1), had therefore no Means left, but to make as good an Agreement as he could, with *Luitprand* himſelf, who was preparing for a freſh Attack upon the *Romans*. He gave him to underſtand, that he was ready to abandon the Duke of *Spoleto*, if the King would reſtore the four Cities. It is, indeed, often the Caſe in Treaties, that an impotent Ally is ſacrific'd to a more powerful Enemy. However, in the preſent Inſtance, the Duke gave but a too apparent Pretence for it, againſt himſelf; by not having performed one ſingle Article of all that he had promiſed to the Pope and the Duke of *Rome*; eſpecially with Regard to re-taking the four Cities, juſt now mention'd. The King accepted the Propoſal; and the *Romans* themſelves march'd to his Aſſiſtance againſt *Thraſamund* (2). His offer of throwing himſelf upon the King's Mercy would now no longer do: He was oblig'd to give up his Duchy, and retire into a Monaſtery (3). As for *Godeſchalc*, he did not think it ſafe to wait the King's Arrival at *Benevento*. *Luitprand* delaying to evacuate the above-mention'd Places, the Pope reſolv'd to viſit him in Perſon. The King then reſided at *Narni*, on the Confines of the Duchy of *Spoleto*. He no ſooner receiv'd Advice, that the Pope was arriv'd at *Orta*, than he ſent *Grimoald*, one of his

mirifico ac magnifico honore ipſam Legationem recepit, munera pretioſa contulit, atque cum magnis præmiis, cum ſuis ſodalibus miſſis, Grimonem Abbatem Corbenſis *(Corbeienſis)* Monaſterii, & Sigebertum, Recluſum Baſilicæ Sancti Dionyſii Martyris, Romam ad limina S. Petri & S. Pauli diſtinavit.

§ XXI. (1). F. Franc. Pagi in Brev. Pontif. in Zachar. n. 1. *pretends, that this Pope was conſecrated, without the Confirmation being ask'd of the* Exarch, *as 'till then had always been cuſtomary, and was yet done at the Election of* Gregory III. *But this Conjecture, which aroſe meerly, becauſe it was believed, that the* Romans *had withdrawn their Allegiance, in* Leo's *Time, is but ſlenderly grounded: On the contrary, we ſhall find, in the Sequel, that as well* Zachary, *as the* Romans *in general, ſtill acknowledg'd the Emperor, and the* Exarch.

(2) Anast. Miſſa igitur legatione apud jam dictum Regem Longobardorum ſalutaria illi prædicavit. Cujus ſancti viri admonitionibus inclinatus, prænominatas quatuor, quas a Ducatu Romano abſtulerat civitates reddere promiſit. Dumque motione militum facta ad comprehendendum Thraſimundum, Ducem Spoletinum, accingeret ſe, exhortatione ſancti viri, exercitus Romanus in adjutorium prædicti Regis egreſſi ſunt. Et dum ipſe Thraſimundus ſuam deceptionem conſpiceret, egreſſus a Spoletana civitate ſeſe prædicto tradidit Regi.

(3) Paulus L. 6. *c.* 57. At vero Luitprandus Spoletum perveniens Thraſimundum ducatu expulit, eumque clericum fecit. Cujus in loco Agiprandum, ſuum nepotem, conſtituit, &c.

principal

principal Civil Officers, to receive him, and went himſelf a conſiderable Way out of the City to meet him. In general, greater Tokens of Honour and Confidence cannot be imagin'd, than were ſhewn at this Interview. After having, the firſt Day, which happen'd to be on a *Friday*, perform'd their Devotion together, in the Church of *St. Valentin*, the King accompanied the Pope half a Mile back again to his Tent. The next Day, they began a Negociation in earneſt; and the Pope obtained all that he deſired. The King made a Truce with the Duchy of *Rome*, for twenty Years; and not only made a Preſent to the Pope of the four Cities above-mention'd; but of ſeveral other Eſtates, which had, in former Times, belong'd to the *Roman* Church; but had 'till then been retain'd by the *Longobards* (4). The following *Sunday*, the Pope entertain'd *Luitprand*, at Dinner, and the King gave evident Marks of his Satisfaction (5). The next Day, the King took his Leave of the Pope, and gave Orders to *Aldeprand*, Duke of *Chiuſi*, his Kinſman, and three others of the principal Officers of the Kingdom, to accompany him (6), and actually to evacuate the four Cities (7). Perhaps the Pope promis'd

(4) ANASTAS. *n.* 184. Cujus piis eloquiis flexus, & conſtantiam ſancti viri, & admonitionem admiratus, omnia, quæcunque ab eo petiit, per gratiam Spiritus Sancti obtinuit, & prædictas quatuor civitates, quas ipſe ante biennium, per obſeſſionem factam pro prædicto Thraſimundo, Duce Spoletino, abſtulerat, eidem ſancto, cum earum inhabitatoribus, redonavit viro. Quas & per donationem firmavit in Oratorio Salvatoris, ſitam intra eccleſiam B. Petri Apoſtoli, in ejus nomine ædificato. Nam & Sabinenſe patrimonium, quod per annos fere triginta ſuerat ablatum, atque Narnicenſe & Auximanum, atque Anconitanum, nec non & Polimarenſe, & vallem, quæ vocatur magna, ſitam in territorio Sutrino, per donationis titulum ipſi B. Petro Apoſtolorum Principi reconceſſit, & pacem cum Ducatu Romano ipſe Rex in viginti confirmavit annos.

(5) IBID. 184. Eodem vero die Dominico, poſt peracta miſſarum ſolemnia, ad prandium eundem Regem, ad apoſtolicam benedictonem ſuſcipiendam, ipſe beatiſſimus Pontifex invitavit. Ubi cum tanta ſuavitate eſum ſumſit, & hilaritate cordis, ut diceret ipſe Rex tantum ſe nunquam meminiſſe commeſſatum.

(6) IBID. Alia vero die, quæ fuit ſecunda feria, valefaciens, ei ipſe Rex miſit in ejus obſequium Agriprandum, Ducem Cluſinum, nepotem ſuum, ſeu Tacipertum Caſtaldum in ejus obſequium, & Ramingum Caſtaldum Tuſcanenſem, atque Grimoaldum, qui eidem ſancto viro uſque ad prædictas civitates obſequium facerent: eaſdemque civitates cum ſuis habitatoribus traderent, quod & factum eſt. Imprimis Amerinam civitatem, deinde Hortanam: dumque in Polimartio caſtro conveniſſent, eumque recepiſſet, & fuiſſet itineris longitudo per circuitum finium Reipublicæ, eundique ad Bleranam civitatem per partes Sutrinæ civitatis, per fines Longobardorum Tuſciæ, quia de propinquo erat, id eſt, per caſtrum Viterbium, ipſe miſſus Regis, Grimoaldus, eundem beatiſſimum Pontificem perduxit uſque ad Bleranam civitatem, quam & ipſi ſancto viro prænominatus Ramingus Caſtaldus, & jam dictus Grimoaldus miſſus, contradiderunt. Et ſic regreſſus eſt, Deo propitio, cum victoriæ palma in hanc urbem Romam.

(7) *The King had taken theſe four Cities from the Duchy of* Rome: *It is therefore probable, that they were now reſtor'd to that Duchy: As* Anaſt. in Greg. III. p. 180. *writes of another Place:* Hujus temporibus

promis'd the King ſomething conſiderable, in Return for all this: At leaſt, we ſhall ſoon find, that the *Longobards* were treated with great Confidence in *Rome*.

Carolomannus & Pipin divide the Adminiſtration, between them *&c.*

† *Cariſiacum.*

§ XXII. *CHARLES* died, *A.* 741, the 22*d* of *October*, at his Country-houſe of *Quiercy* †, on the *Oyſe*, in about the 50*th* Year of his Age. His Hiſtory alone, as mutilated as it is handed down to us, is a ſufficient Eulogy of him. His Experience in War, Wiſdom in his Preparations, Valour, and, what is more, Succeſs in the Execution, gained him the Confidence of the Nation, and the Admiration of Foreigners. Tho' amidſt the great Wars he had to carry on, the Eſtates and Conſtitution of the Church may have ſuffered ſomething in general (1); yet, on the other Hand, he contributed greatly to the Propagation of the *Chriſtian* Religion, and himſelf laid ſome charitable Foundations. Not long before his End, at a general Aſſembly of the Nation, he divided the Adminiſtration of the Government among his Sons; in ſuch Manner, that *Carolomannus* was to have *Auſtraſia*, *Swabia* and *Thuringia*, and *Pipin*, *Neuſtria*, *Burgundy* and *Provence* (2); but ſet apart a certain Portion, for his youngeſt Son, *Grifo*, whom he had by his *Bavarian* Conſort, *Sunehild*. But this Partition did not take Effect; for neither the two eldeſt Sons, nor the *Franks* themſelves, who were to be under the Portion alloted *Grifo*, were ſatisfied with it. The two eldeſt Brothers, therefore, immediately after their Father's Death, ſet upon the younger, who fled to his Mother at *Laon*; but was ſoon oblig'd to ſurrender: And he himſelf was ſent a Priſoner by *Carolomannus*, to a Caſtle in the *Arduennian* Foreſt, whilſt *Sunehild* was oblig'd to retire to a Convent, at *Chelles* (3). In the mean Time, *Chiltrud*, the Daughter of *Charles*, had, without the Knowledge and Conſent of her Brothers, married *Odilo*, Duke of *Bavaria*, by Procurement of her Step-mother,

temporibus Gallienſum caſtrum recuperatum eſt, pro quo quotidie expugnabatur ducatus Romanus, a ducatu Spoletino: dans pecunias non parvas Thraſimundo, duci eorum, ut ceſſarent bella, & ſic cauſa finita eſt: & in COMPAGE SANCTÆ REIPUBLICÆ atque in corpore CHRISTO DILECTI EXERCITUS ROMANI annecti præcepit.

§ XXII. (1) *On this Occaſion, many Fables are forged of* Charles Martel, *which* Valeſius, F. le Cointe. Pagius, *and other* French *Hiſtorians ſufficiently explode.*

(2) CONT. FREDEGAR. 110. Igitur memoratus Princeps conſilio Optimatum ſuorum expetito filiis ſuis regna dividit. Itaque primogenito ſuo, Carlomanno nomine, Auſter & SUAVIAM, quæ nunc Alemannia dicitur, atque Thuringiam tradidit. Alterum vero ſecundum filium, Pippinum nomine, Burgundiæ, Neuſter & Provinciæ præfecit. ANN. Met. *ad A.* 741.

(3) ANNAL. METENS. *ad. A.* 741. *Add.* VALESIUS, T. 3. *p.* 547.

who

who perhaps thought this Marriage might very much help to ſupport her Son's Intereſt (4).

§ XXIII. THE Death of *Charles* was alone enough to occaſion great Revolutions; eſpecially at a Time when there was no King: His perſonal Qualities were ſufficient to keep in Awe ſuch as might be inclin'd to any Attempts, even againſt their Wills. But now, beſides his Death, a Diſſention ariſing between his Sons; the Dukes of *Bavaria*, *Swabia*, and *Acquitain*, thought it a more favourable Juncture to exert themſelves. *Carolomannus* and *Pipin* march'd firſt, *A.* 742, againſt *Hunold* (1), who, in their Father's Life-time, had ſworn Allegiance to them: They went, however, this Time, no farther than *Bourges*. During this Expedition, they made a new Partition (2): And the ſame Year they gave the *Franks* a new King (3), perhaps becauſe they hoped to govern with more Security, under his Name (4). This King was *Childeric* III, the laſt of the *Merovingian* Line, and, as it is ſuppoſed, a Son of *Chilperic* II. In Harveſt, *Carolomannus* march'd againſt *Theodebald*, Duke of *Swabia*; but tho' the *Franconian* Hiſtorians ſay, in his Praiſe, that he advanced as far as the *Lech*, and reduc'd the *Alemanni* to Obedience (5), yet the Sequel evidently ſhews, that the Reduction of this Nation, coſt him more than one Campaign.

An Expedition againſt *Acquitain*, *Childeric* III, King of the *Franks*.

(4) CONT. FREDEG. *cap.* 111. Chiltrudis quoque filia ejus, faciente conſilio nefario novercæ ſuæ fraudulenter per manus ſodalium ſuorum Rhenum tranſiit, & ad Odilonem, ducem Bagoariæ pervenit: ille vero eam ad conjugium copulavit, contra voluntatem & conſilium fratrum ſuorum.

§ XXIII. (1) CONTIN. FREGEGAR. *l. c.* Interea rebellantibus Waſconibus in regione Aquitaniæ, cum Chunoaldo Duce, filio Eudonis quondam, Carlomannus atque Pippinus principes Germani, congregato exercitu, Ligeris alveum Aurelianis urbe tranſeunt, ROMANUS proterunt, uſque Beturigas urbem accedunt, ſuburbana ipſius igne comburunt. Chunoaldum ducem perſequentes fugant, cuncta vaſtantes. *He calls the Inhabitants of* Aquitain, Romani, *the Reaſon of which is already ſhewn*, § 3.

(2) ANN METENS. *ad An.* 742. In ipſo autem itinere diviſerunt regnum Francorum, in loco qui dicitur Vetus Pictavis.

(3) *It is not yet certain, at what preciſe Time,* Childeric *was made King: But, by Records, it appears, that he reign'd the* 20th *of June.* Vid. Ecn. p. 443.

(4) F. Daniel *is of Opinion, that* Pipin *made* Childeric *only King of* Neuſtria *and* Burgundy; *and that* Auſtraſia *remain'd quite ſeparate: But there are Records in* Auſtraſia *dated according to the Year of this King's Reign.*

(5) CONT. FREDEGAR. 1. c. Inde (*ex Aquitania*) reverſi, circa tempus autumni, eodem anno, iterum exercitum ordinaverunt ultra Rhenum contra Alemannos, ſederuntque, caſtra metati ſuper fluvium Danuvii, in loco nuncupato Uſquequo. Habitatores Alemanni, ſe victos videntes, obſides donant, jura promittunt, munera offerunt, petentes eorum ſe ditioni ſubmittunt. *Some Annals aſcribe this Expedition to* Carolomannus *alone.*

§ XXIV.

The *Franconian* Dukes vanquish *Odilo.*

§ XXIV. The Duke of *Bavaria* had omitted nothing that could favour his Design againſt the *Franks*. *Theodebald*, King of *Swabia*, and the *Sclavi*, his Neighbours on the other Side, were in Alliance with him, as were likewiſe the *Saxons*, and even the Duke of *Aquitain*. It was, in particular, ſtipulated, with the latter, that if one of them ſhould be attack'd, the other ſhould make a Diverſion in his Favour, and, from his Side, invade the *Franconian* Dominions. Thus an Ambition to rule, and a Love of Liberty, can unite Nations at ſo great a Diſtance, and of ſo different Languages and Manners. In 743, both Brothers march'd with an Army towards *Bavaria* (1), and advanc'd, without Oppoſition, as far as the *Lech*, on which River *Odilo* placed his greateſt Dependance. He had cauſed all the Bridges to be broken down, all the Boats to be taken away, and the Banks, on his Side, to be lin'd with pointed Paliſadoes. The Armies lay fifteen Days oppoſite to one another, when, at Length, the *Franks* diſcovered a Ford in the River, and falling upon the *Bavarians*, when they leaſt expected it, obtain'd, with the greateſt Eaſe, a Victory. The Battle being loſt, *Odilo* retreated over the *Inn*, and the Duke of *Swabia* ſought his Safety in his own Country (2). Among the Priſoners made by the *Franks*, were *Gunzebald*, Biſhop of *Ratisbon*, and *Sergius*, Pope *Zachary's Nuntio* (3). The latter had been, the Day before, in the *Francoian*

§ XXIV. (1) *For the Cauſe of this* Bavarian *War, ſee the* Contin. Fredegar. 112. Inde reverſi anni II. regni eorum, cognatus eorum Odilo, Dux Bagoariorum, contra ipſos rebellionem excitato. Compulſi ſunt generalem cum Francis in Bagoaria admovere exercitum. Ann. Metens. *ad An.* 743. Ogdilo, Dux Bajoariorum, qui Hiltrudem, filiam Karoli ad ſe fugientem in conjugium ſibi copulaverat, contra voluntatem Pippini & Carlomanni, ſe, & etiam ducatum ſuum, quem largiente olim Principe Carolo habuerat, a dominatione Francorum ſubtrahere nitebatur. Qua de cauſa compulſi ſunt glorioſi Germani exercitum contra ipſum ducere.

(2) Contin. Fredeg. *l. c.* Venienteſque ſuper fluvium, qui dicitur Lech, federunt ſuper ripam fluminis uterque exercitus, hinc inde ſe mutuo videntes uſque ad dies quindecim, qui tandem provocati irriſionibus illius gentis, indignatione commoti, periculo ſe dederunt per loca deſerta & paluſtria, ubi mos tranſeundi nullatenus aderat. Nocteque irruentes, diviſis exercitibus eos improviſos occupaverunt. Commiſſoque prælio, prædictus dux, Odilo, cæſo exercitu ſuo, vix cum paucis turpiter ultra Igne fluvium fugiendo evaſit. His triumphis peractis, non ſine diſpendio multorum, tamen feliciter victores ad propria remeaverunt.

(3) Ann. Metens *l. c.* Ipſi vero victores cum exercitu ſuo Bajoariam circumeunt, & moram fecerunt in eadem regione quinquaginta duorum dierum. Captus eſt autem in eodem prœlio Sergius, Preſbyter, Miſſus Domini Zachariæ, Papæ, qui pridie, quam bellum committeretur ab Ogdilione, Carlomanno & Pippino directus fuerat, falſoque ex auctoritate Domini Apoſtolici bellum interdixerat, & quaſi ex præcepto ſupradicti Pontificis Francos a Bajoariis diſcedere perſuaſerat. Patrata itaque victoria, in præſentiam invictorum principum perductus eſt una cum Gauzebaldo, Epiſcopo, *(nempe Ratiſbonenſi)* cui Pipinus Princeps ſedato pectore dixit: O Domine Sergi, modo cogno-

Franconian Camp, and had endeavour'd, in the Name of the Pope, and the Apoſtle *Peter*, to prevail on the two Dukes, not to moleſt the *Bavarians*. This was now imputed to him, by the Conquerour, as a Partiality, ſince the Apoſtle himſelf had granted him the Victory. The *Franks* remained near two Months in *Bavaria*, and thereby obliged the Duke to acknowledge the Supremacy of the *Franconian* Empire, in the ſame Manner he had before done (4).

§ XXV. IN the mean Time, *Hunold* had indeed paſs'd the *Loire*, and ravag'd the Country as far as *Chartres*, together with that City, with Fire and Sword (1). The *Saxons* were likewiſe not backward to invade *Thuringia*: But as the War in *Bavaria* came to ſo unexpected an End, theſe Motions had not the Effect that was hop'd. When *Carolomannus*, after the *Bavarian* Expedition was at an End, led his Army againſt the *Saxons*, they ſued for Peace, and *Dietric*, a mighty Lord, of that Nation, who, tho' without ſufficient Grounds, is generally accounted a Duke of all *Saxony*, offer'd himſelf as an Hoſtage (2). At the

An Expedition againſt the *Saxons* and *Swabians*, &c.

cognovimus, quia non probaris eſſe Sanctus Petrus Apoſtolus, nec legationem illius ex veritate geris. Dixiſti enim nobis heſterna die, quod Dominus Apoſtolicus ex auctoritate Sancti Petri, & ſua, noſtram juſtitiam de Bajoariis contradixiſſet. Et nos diximus tibi, quod nec Sanctus Petrus, nec Dominus Apoſtolicus te iſtam legationem miſiſſet dicere: Id circo autem ſcias, quia ſi Sanctus Petrus cognoviſſet, quod noſtra juſtitia non fuiſſet, hodie in iſto bello nobis adjutorium non præſtitiſſet. Nunc vero certus eſto, per intercеſſionem Beati Petri, Apoſtolorum principis, & per judicium Dei, quod ſubire non diſtulimus, Bajoariam, Bajoarioſque ad Francorum imperium pertinere.

(4) *The* ANN. FULDENS, *mention a Peace concluded*, ad An. 744. Carlomannus cum Odilone, duce Bajoariorum, pacem facit.

§ XXV. (1) ANNAL. METENS. *l. c.* Hæc dum apud Bajoarios agerentur, Hunaldus, Dux Aquitaniæ, Ligerim tranſiens cum manu valida, ad Carnotis urbem perveniens, ipſa civitate diruta, igne eam cremavit, cum eccleſia Epiſcopali, quæ in honore ſanctæ Dei genitricis Mariæ conſecrata fuerat. Hæc autem fecit per ſuggeſtionem Ogdilonis, ducis, qui per internuntios fœdus inierunt, ut unuſquiſque eorum, inruentibus Francis, ferre alter alteri ſubſidium debuiſſent.

(2) CONTINUAT. FREDEGAR. *c.* 113. (*An.* 744.) Carolomannus confinium Saxonorum, ipſis rebellantibus, cum exercitu inrupit, ibique captis habitatoribus, qui ſuo regno adfines eſſe videbantur, abſque belli diſcrimine feliciter adquiſivit, & plurimi eorum, Chriſto duce, baptiſmi ſacramento conſecrati fuerunt.

ANN. BERTIN. *A.* 743. Tunc Carolomannus & Pippinus contra Idolonem (*lege Odilonem*) ducem Bajoarium, inierunt pugnam, & Carolomannus per ſe in Saxoniam ambulavit in eodem anno, & cepit caſtrum, quod dicitur Ohſerburg, per placitum, & Theodericum Saxonem, placitando conquiſivit. *And* ad A. 744. Iterum Carolomannus & Pippinus perrexerunt in Saxoniam, & captus eſt Theodericus Saxo, altera vice.

ANN. METENS. *A.* 743. Carolomannus perrexit in Saxoniam, & cepit caſtrum, quod dicitur, *Ocſioburg*; & Theodericum, Ducem Saxonum ſubjugavit. *And* ad A. 744. Rebellantibus Saxonibus Carolomannus & Pippinus ſuper eos exercitum ducunt, & Theodericum, perfidum ducem illorum, ceteris ſubactis, altera jam vice ceperunt.

ſame Time, *Pipin* had viſited *Theodebald*, Duke of *Alemannia* (3). Nevertheleſs, the Tranſactions with the *Saxons*, and *Swabians*, which we find recorded in the ſucceeding Years, evidently ſhew, how difficult it was to them, to live in Peace. At Lengrh, in the Year 745, both Brothers fell upon the Duke of *Aquitain*, who followed the ſame Example, and offer'd Hoſtages as a Security for his Fidelity. Soon after, he reſolv'd to reſign the Government to his Son *Waifarius*, put his Ducheſs into a Convent; and choſe himſelf a Monaſtick Life, on the Iſland of *Rhea*, which lies on the Coaſts of *Aquitain* (4). It is hard to judge, whether he was really weary of the World, or only reſign'd the Adminiſtration to his Son, that he might try his Fortune againſt the *Franks*. At leaſt *Waifarius* purſued theſe Meaſures, and his Father, after 25 Years Retirement, again left his Monaſtery, to embrace the Enſigns of War.

The Foundation of the Biſhopricks of *Würtzburg* and *Eicſtadt*.

§ XXVI. *BONIFACE* had, in the Year 741, with the Approbation of *Carolomannus*, founded three Biſhopricks, in the Countries where he had propagated the *Chriſtian* Faith; and conſecrated *Burcardus* Biſhop of *Würtzburg*, *Willibald* Biſhop of *Eichſtädt*, and *Vitta* or *Vittanus*, Biſhop of *Büriburg*, who were all three *Anglo-Saxons*, by Birth, and his Fellow-Labourers in the Word. The two firſt Foundations yet ſubſiſt; but that of *Büriburg*, a Place in *Heſſen*, not far from *Fritzlar* (for *Vittanus* is likewiſe nam'd Biſhop of *Fritzlar*) is no more, and was probably afterwards collated to the See of *Mentz*. It is likewiſe generally aſcrib'd to *Boniface*, that he founded a Biſhoprick at *Erfurt*; but without ſufficient Grounds (1). The Dukes of *Franconia*, and particularly *Carolomannus*, plac'd ſo great a Confidence in him, that they employ'd him to re-eſtabliſh the Conſtitution of the Church, which had ſuffer'd much in the late Diſtractions. We have the Decrees of a Synod held by the Duke of the *Oſtro-Franks*, in the Year 742 (2); at which were preſent,

(3) Cont. Fredeg. *c.* 113. *(An.* 744.) Per idem tempus, rebellante Theudebaldo, Filio Godfridi, Ducis, Pippinus cum virtute exercitus ſui, ab obſidione Alpium turpiter expulit fugientem, revocatoque ſibi ejuſdem loci ducatu, victor ad propria remeavit.

(4) Ann. Met. *ad An.* 744.

§ XXVI. (1) Eckhard, p. 406. *and* 403.

(2) Vid. Acta, T. 6. Conc. (Labb.) p. 1533. *The Preamble to the Decrees of this Synod is remarkable:* Ego Carolomannus, Dux & Princeps Francorum, anno ab incarnatione Domini DCCXLII. XI. videlicet Kalendas Maii, cum conſilio ſervorum Dei, & optimatum meorum, Epiſcopos, qui in reguo meo ſunt, cum preſbyteris, ad Concilium & Synodum, pro timore Chriſti, congregavi; id eſt, Bonifacium archiepiſcopum & Burchardum & Regenfridum, Wittanum, & Wilbaldum, & Dadanum & Eddanum, ac reliquos Epiſcopos, cum preſbyteris eorum, ut mihi conſilium dediſſent, quomodo lex Dei & eccleſiaſtica religio recuperetur,

ſent, with *Boniface*, among others, *Hetto*, Biſhop of *Straſsburg*; *Burchard*, of *Würtzburg*; *Regenfried* of *Cologn*; *Vintanus* of *Büriburg*, and *Vilibald* of *Eichſtädt*. In that Synod, the new Biſhopricks were confirm'd (3); the Clergy in general were forbid going to the War, following the Chace, and wearing the Habit of the Laity; the Monks and Nuns were confin'd to the Order of St. *Benedict* (4), and the Biſhops, together with the Counts, enjoin'd, fully to root out the Remains of *Paganiſm* (5), which was ratified the next Year, in another Aſſembly at *Liptin* (6), in the Diſtrict of *Cambray*. *Pipin* followed this Example, in *Neuſtria* and *Burgundy*, and, in the Year 744, conven'd an Aſſembly at *Soiſſons* (7), at which were preſent, 23 Biſhops, with a great Number of the inferiour Clergy, as well as Lay-Officers of the State, on whoſe general Approbation, the Canons are grounded (8): So that, as well Eccleſiaſtical as Temporal Affairs, were, in the moſt ancient Times, cogniſable in the Aſſembly of the whole Nation. A Difficulty aroſe, concerning the

retur, quæ in diebus præteritorum principum diſſipata corruit, & qualiter populus Chriſtianus ad ſalutem animæ pervenire poſſit, & per falſos ſacerdotes deceptus non pereat. F. Papebrocius *queſtions the Genuineneſs of the Decrees of this Synod*: *But* Baluzius *and* F. Mabillon *defend them.*

(3) *Can.* 1. Itaque per conſilium ſacerdotum religioſorum, & Optimatum meorum, ordinavimus per civitates Epiſcopos, & conſtituimus ſuper eos Archiepiſcopum Bonifacium qui eſt miſſus S Petri. *This is probably to be underſtood of the three above-mention'd Biſhopricks.*

(4) *Can.* 2. & 7.

(5) *Can.* 5. Unuſquiſque Epiſcopus in ſua parochia ſollicitudinem gerat, adjuvante GRAVIONE, qui defenſor eccleſiæ ejus eſt, ut populus Dei paganias non faciat.

(6) V. CANONES SYNODI LIPTINENSIS, T. 6. CONCIL. (LABB.) p. 1537. *It begins thus:* Modo autem in hoc ſynodali conventu, qui congregatus eſt ad Kalendas Martias, in loco, qui dicitur Liptinas, omnes venerabiles ſacerdotes Dei, & comites & præfecti, prioris ſynodi decreta conſentientes firmaverunt, ſeque ea implere velle & obſervare promiſerunt. Et omnis eccleſiaſtici ordinis clerus, Epiſcopi, & preſbyteri, diaconi, cum reliquis clericis, ſuſcipientes antiquorum patrum canones, promiſerunt, ſe velle eccleſiaſtica jura moribus, & doctrinis, & miniſterio recuperare. Abbates vero & monachi receperunt regulam ſancti patris Benedicti, ad reſtaurandam normam regularis vitæ.

(7) V. CANONES SYNOD. SUESSIONENS. IBID. p. 1552. *The Beginning of it is as follows:* In Dei nomine & Trinitatis. Anno DCCXLIV. ab incarnatione Chriſti, ſub die VI. Nonas Martii, & Luna XIV. in anno ſecundo Childerici, regis Francorum, ego Pippinus, Dux & Princeps Francorum. Dum pluribus non habetur incognitum, qualiter nos in Dei nomine, una cum conſenſu Epiſcoporum, ſive Sacerdotum, vel ſervorum Dei conſilio, ſive comitum & optimatum Francorum colloquio, apud Sueſſionis civitatem, ſynodum vel concilium facere decrevimus, &c.

(8) IBID: *can.* 10. Si quis contra hoc decretum, quod XXIII. Epiſcopi cum aliis Sacerdotibus vel ſervus Dei, una cum conſenſu Principis Pippini, vel Optimatum Francorum conſilio, conſtituerunt, tranſgredi, vel legem irrumpere voluerit vel deſpexerit, judicandus ſit ab ipſo Principe, vel Epiſcopis, vel Comitibus, & componat ſecundum quod in lege ſcriptum eſt, unuſquiſque juxta ordinem ſuum.

Eſtates of the Clergy, with which *Charles Martel*, and his Sons, had inveſted their Soldiers, and which the Church would now fain have had reſtored: But it was agreed, in Conſideration of the War, which yet ſubſiſted againſt the Infidels, that as many of them as the the Church and Monaſteries could ſpare, ſhould, upon their Supplication, be left in the Hands of the Poſſeſſors, paying a yearly Rent for them *. We likewiſe find ſome Tokens †, that, at the ſame Time, each Metropolitan had the Inſpection over his Province confirm'd to him; and it was likewiſe ordain'd, that every one ſhould apply to *Rome*, for the *Pallium*; which they conſented to with Reluctance, alledging the Expence they would thereby be render'd liable to.

† See Annot. 28.

Thus was Chriſtianity, and the Conſtitution of the Church, eſtabliſh'd in *Germania*. Now as this Conſtitution does not conſiſt in Points of Faith only; but, at the ſame Time, has Regard to the Actions and Duty of Mankind; ſo we might reaſonably expect happy Conſequences from a Religion, in which Truth and Virtue conſtitute the moſt noble Part of its Worſhip: But the Ignorance and unciviliz'd Cuſtoms of theſe Times, were not eaſily curb'd; to which I ſhall only add a Remark or two, on the then State of the Sciences and even of Manners. *Boniface* was at Variance with *Virgilius*, a *Bavarian* Prieſt, who, however, was a Native of *Ireland*, among other Things, becauſe he taught, that the World was round, and that there were *Antipodes*; which ſeem'd to *Boniface* and to Pope *Zachary*, to be an erroneous and a dangerous Tenet (9). We cannot, however, ſo very much blame *Boniface*, ſince the Fathers of the Church, and in particular *Lactantius*, *Jerom*, and *Auſtin*, in general deviated from the Opinion of the Philoſophers, and imagin'd the Earth to be a Plain. *Beda*, the moſt learned of this Age, for whom *Boniface* had ſo great an Eſteem, taught indeed that the Earth was round (10); but did not believe the whole Circumference to be inhabited; becauſe there was no certain Knowledge of

* Syn. Liptin. *Can.* 2. Statuimus cum conſilio ſervorum Dei & populi Chriſtiani, propter imminentia bella, & perſecutiones ceterarum gentium, quæ in circuitu noſtro ſunt, ut ſub precario & cenſu aliquam partem eccleſialis pecuniæ in Adjutorium Exercitus Noſtri, cum indulgentia Dei, aliquanto tempore retineamus, ea conditione, ut annis ſingulis, de una quaque caſata, ſolidus, *i. e.* duodecim denarii, ad eccleſiam vel monaſterium reddantur, &c. *Add.* Syn. Sueſſion. *Can.* 3.

(9) *This we find by Pope* Zachary's *Letter (int. ep. Bonifac.* 140.) De perverſa autem & iniqua doctrina, quam contra Deum & animam ſuam locutus eſt, ſi clarificatum fuerit, ita eum confiteri, quod alius mundus, & alii homines ſub terra ſint, hunc, accito concilio, ab eccleſia pelle, ſacerdotii honore privatum.

(10) Beda *de natura rerum, cap.* 46. *(Op. T. 2. p.* 37.) Orbem Terræ dicimus, non quod abſoluti Orbis ſit forma, in tanta montium camporumque diſparilitate, ſed cujus amplexus, ſi cuncta linearum comprehendantur ambitu, figuram obſoluti Orbis efficiat,

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its being ſo (11). Nor is it any Diſparagement to *Virgilius*, who was afterwards Biſhop of *Saltzburg*, if we ſuppoſe him to be the ſame Perſon, mention'd in Pope *Zachary*'s Letter *. What Pains *Boniface* took to reform the vulgar Cuſtoms of thoſe Times, we may ſee by the Queſtions he propos'd, on that Head, to the Pope. Among other Things, he was offended, that the *Germans* eat raw Bacon (12) and Horſe-fleſh (13); which latter the ancient *Northern* Nations were wont to make Uſe of, not only for their Sacrifices, but for their daily Food: But he might e'en have allow'd theſe poor People to eat what they were habited to; if they had not practis'd many other execrable Cuſtoms. Human Sacrifices were yet here and there, in Uſe (14), and if we have an Eye to the Remains of *Paganiſm* (15), which were condemn'd at the Synods, we ſhall there find all the Follies and Wickedneſs, which, in After-times, are conſtantly related of Witches and Sorcerers.

§ XXVII. HITHERTO *Boniface* had propagated the Goſpel, as an Archbiſhop, and the Pope's Vicar, without having any conſtant See. The Biſhoprick of *Cologn* was intended for him (1); but as that was

Boniface made Archbiſhop of *Mentz*, &c.

(11) IDEM *de Temp. rat. cap.* 32. *(Ibid. p.* 111.) Solſtitialem & brumalem ſignificat, quæ vicina utrinque ferventis & gelidarum ſunt vi temperatæ: ideoque ambas dicunt habitabiles, id eſt, habitationi habiles, & nec frigoris immanitate, nec caloris, mortalium a ſe repellentes acceſſum: quamvis unam ſolummodo probare poſſunt habitatam. Neque enim vel Antipodarum ullatenus eſt fabulis accommodandus aſſenſus, vel aliquis refert Hiſtoricus vidiſſe, vel audiſſe, vel legiſſe ſe, qui meridianas in partes ſolem tranſierunt hybernum, ita ut eo poſt tergum relicto, tranſgreſſis Æthiopum fervoribus, temperatas ultra eos hinc calore, illinc frigore, atque habitabiles mortalium repererint ſedes.

* *It is generally believed, that* Virgilius, *Biſhop of* Saltzburg, *the Succeſſor of* John, *is the very ſame Perſon, with whom* Boniface *had this Controverſy, tho'* F. le Cointe *and* F. Pagius, *chooſe rather to make two of them.*

(12) ZACHARIAS, *(ep.* 142. *inter ep. Bonif.)* Nam & hoc inquiſiſti, poſt quantum temporis debet lardum comedi. Nobis a patribus inſtitutum quo hoc non eſt. Tibi autem petenti conſilium præbemus, quod non oporteat illud mandi, priuſquam ſuper fumo ſiccetur, aut igne coquatur.

(13) GREGORY, III. *writes to* Boniface, ep. 122. Inter cætera agreſtem caballum aliquantos comedere adjunxiſti, pleroſque & domeſticum. Hoc nequaquam fieri deinceps, ſanctiſſime frater, finas, ſed quibus potueris, Chriſto juvante, modis, per omnia compeſce, & dignam eis impone pœnitentiam. Immundum enim eſt, atque execrabile. *Pope* Zachary *renews this Prohibition*, ep. 142. Equi ſylvatici multo amplius vitandi. *Conf.* KEYSLER *de Interdict. carnis equin. uſu, in Antiq. Sept. & Celticis, p.* 322.

(14) GREGORY, III. *writes*, Ep. 122. Et hoc inter alia agi crimen in partibus illis dixiſti, quod quidam ex fidelibus, ad immolandum, paganis ſua vendent mancipia. *I have already given an Account of the Human Sacrifices of the* Germans, V. I. B. 2. § 26.

(15) *They are call'd* Paganiæ. *We find*, p. 405, ſeq. *an* Indic. Paganiarum, *which* Monſ. von Echard *has illuſtrated with learned Remarks.*

§ XXVII (1) *Conf.* Pag. *ad An.* 745. *n.* 4. ECH. 470.

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not brought to bear, he obtain'd, about the Year 745, the See of *Mentz* in the Room of it. *Zachary* confirm'd him in it, in the Year 748, and allow'd him, in Conſideration of his Age, and Decay of Strength, to conſecrate another ſufficient Perſon, as Biſhop, to make his Office more eaſy to him (2). There is yet a Letter extant, of the ſame Pope, in which he declares *Mentz* to be an eſtabliſh'd *Metropolis*, and ſubjects the Churches of *Worms*, *Spire*, *Cologn*, *Tongres* and *Utrecht*, and all the *German* People, whom *Boniface* had converted, to its Juriſdiction (3). But tho' this may have been the Pope's Deſign, his Order never took Place, with Regard to the Churches of *Cologn*, *Tongres* and *Utrecht* †; for *Cologn* remain'd the *Metropolis* of *Germania Secunda*, and the Biſhops of *Tongres* and *Utrecht* were Suffragans to it. In the mean Time, the Foundation was laid, in the *Buch-Wald*, on the Borders of *Thuringia*, on the River *Fulda*, to the famous Monaſtery, which has its Name from that River: *Boniface* made a Choice of this Place, to be a conſtant Habitation for the Clergy who were his Aſſiſtants; and *Carolomannus* not only added to it a Diſtrict of four *German* Miles in Circumference, but prevail'd upon others who had Lands adjacent, to do the ſame. *Sturmio*, a Native of *Bavaria*, and a zealous Diſciple of *Boniface*'s, was the firſt, who, with ſeven Monks, took Poſſeſſion of it, *A.* 744, and caus'd the Building of the Church and Monaſtery to be purſued. This encreaſed, in a ſhort Time, ſo greatly, that before the Death of *Sturmio*, there were 400 Monks in it. *Pipin* took it afterwards under the immediate Royal Protection; and as it was long the moſt famous Seminary in the *German* Church, many Biſhops who were educated there, ſhewed their Gratitude in the Sequel, by rich Donations (4). This Monaſtery, in Proceſs of Time, was dignified with the remarkable Privileges, that the Abbot obtain'd, of being Primat throughout *Germania* and *Gallia*, a Prince of the Empire, and Arch-Chancelor to the *Roman* Empreſs.

† See Annot. 28.

Continuation of the Hiſtory of the Empire, &c.

§ XXVIII. DURING theſe Tranſactions, *Leo* died, in the Year 741, the 12th of *July*; and his Son, *Conſtantine*, enter'd upon the Government alone. This Prince, who was ſurnam'd *Copronymus*, bore a very bad Character, in the Mouths of thoſe who favour'd the Adoration of Images. While he was engag'd in a War with the *Saracens*, *Artabaſdus*, who had married his Siſter, aſſum'd the Imperial Dignity, and caus'd the

(2) *Vid.* PAG. *ad An.* 748. *n.* 3.

(3) IDEM. *ad An.* 751. *n.* 8.

(4) *The Hiſtory of this Abby is ſufficiently illuſtrated, by* Schanat, *in Hierarchia Fuldenſii, in corpore Traditionum Fuldenſium, and in Archivo Fuldenſi vindicato.*

Images

Images in *Conſtantinople* to be reſtor'd (1), in which he had the Approbation of *Rome*, and all *Italy*. *Conſtantine* now ſought for the Aſſiſtance of the *Saracens*, and as *Artabaſdus* likewiſe ſued for their Friendſhip; the *Caliph* could pride himſelf with the Satisfaction, that both Parties made him, as it were, the Umpire of the Empire; and he fed them up with vain Hopes, while, in the mean Time, his Troops plunder'd the Imperial Dominions, without Moleſtation. In all Probability, this Diviſion was the Occaſion of *Luitprand*'s taking to Arms again in *Italy* †. He took † *An.* 743.
Ceſena, and threaten'd even to attack *Ravenna* again. *Eutychius*, the *Exarch*, the Archbiſhop of *Ravenna*, and the principal Inhabitants of *Pentapolis* and *Æmilia*, entreated the Pope to eſpouſe their Party. At firſt he made Remonſtrances to the King; but his Deputies not being able to effect much, he undertook the Journy in Perſon. When he approach'd, *Ravenna*, he was met at a conſiderable Diſtance from the City, by the *Exarch* (2), and from thence he went farther to *Pavia*. He ſucceeded ſo far, that a Truce was concluded, 'till the firſt of *June*, of the following Year; and, in the mean Time, the King was to keep a third Part of *Ceſena*, and to reſtore the other two to the Empire, whilſt he ſent Ambaſſadors to *Conſtantinople* to treat with *Artabaſdus* himſelf (3). The ſame Year, 743, *Zachary* held a Synod at *Rome* (4), by the Acts of which we may ſee, that a good Intelligence then ſubſiſted between the *Romans* and *Longobards*; for they were equally zealous in engaging to conform to the Tenets of it (5); and for the Acts themſelves, they are dated,

§ XXVIII. (1) NICEPH. PATRIARCH. *in Brev. p.* 39, 40.

(2) ANASTASIUS, *n.* 213. In ſubſequenti XI. Indictione, dum nimium opprimeret prædictus Rex provinciam Ravennatium, fuiſſetque præparatus ad motionem faciendam & obſidendam Ravennatium urbem, cognita motione ejuſdem Regis, Entychius, excellentiſſimus Patricius, & Exarchus, una cum Joanne, Archiepiſcopo eccleſiæ Ravennatis, atque univerſo populo prædictæ civitatis, ac civitatum Pentapolios, & Æmiliæ, facta in ſcriptis obſecratione, prædicto ſancto miſerunt viro petentes, ut pro eorum curreret liberatione. Qui ſanctus vir, miſſa legatione, & muneribus, ad obſecrandum eundem Regem per Benedictum, Epiſcopum, & Vice Dominum, atque Ambroſium, Primicerium notariorum petiit, ut a motione ceſſaret, & Ceſenatenſe Ravennatibus redderet caſtrum. Sed paſſus non eſt. Cujus dum duram perſeverantiam conſpiceret jam nominatus ſanctiſſimus vir, trophæo fidei munitus, relicta Romana urbe jam dicto Stephano, Patricio & Duci, ad gubernandum, non ſicut mercenarius, ſed ſicut vere paſtor, relictis ovibus, ad eas, quæ perituræ erant, redimendas occurrit, &c.

(3) IDEM, *n.* 216. Et duas partes territorii Ceſenæ caſtri ad PARTEM REIPUBLICÆ reſtituit. Tertiam vero partem de eodem caſtro ſub obtentu retinuit, inito conſtituto, ut uſque ad Kal. Junii, dum ejus miſſi a regia reverterentur urbe, quam pignoris cauſa detinebat, PARTI REIPUBLICÆ reſtitueret.

(4) *T.* VI. CONCIL. (LABB.) *p.* 1546.

(5) *In the Acts, the Biſhops who were preſent, are introduced as ſpeaking to the Pope thus:* Quæ a veſtro ſancto apoſtolatu decreta ſunt Capitula, cum præmiſſis, nobis lectione pandantur, ut antidoto ſalutari morbus a grege Domini expellatur, ne deinceps quiſque Romanus aut Longobardus, vel cujuſcunque gentis, qui inter baptizatos ſunt, attentare præſumat.

not

not only according to the Years of the Emperor's Reign, but also according to those of King *Luitprand* (6).

Constantine makes *Artabasdus* Prisoner, &c.

§ XXIX. But the Face of Affairs was suddenly changed. *Constantine* made himself Master of the Capital of the Kingdom, the second of *November*, 743, made *Artabasdus* and his two Sons Prisoners, and led them, together with the Patriarch *Anastasius*, in a Sort of Triumph. He took a severe Revenge on the Adherents of *Artabasdus*; but shew'd himself very graciously disposed to the Pope's Ambassadors, who were at *Constantinople*, and made a Present to the *Roman* Church, of two Estates, belonging to the Imperial Chamber in *Italy* (1): And the Pope, after that, again dated all his Writings, from the Years of the Reign of *Constantine*. From all which, it is plain †, that *Rome* and *Italy* had not then withdrawn their Allegiance; and that the Imperial Officers of State, yet exercis'd their Jurisdiction there, in the same Manner as in former Times; tho' the greatest Confidence was reposed in the Pope, whom the *Romans*, as well as the *Longobards*, held in great Esteem, on Account of Religion. *Constantine* was successful against the *Saracens*, the *Christian* Arms being favour'd by a Quarrel these Infidels had among themselves; and, as long as he was busied with this War, he left the People to their own Wills, with Regard to the Adoration of Images: But he was no sooner freed from this Incumbrance, than he resolv'd to pursue what his Father had begun, and conven'd a Synod, at which there appear'd 338 Bishops †, who abolish'd the Adoration of Images; of which I shall treat more circumstantially in the Sequel.

† See above, xiv.

† *An.* 754.

Rachis, King of the *Longobards*, retires into a Monastery.

§ XXX. At the Beginning of the Year 744, *Luitprand* died in *Italy*, before the Truce agreed on was expir'd. His Grandson, *Hildebrand*, who had born the Title of King, from the Year 736, now possess'd the Government alone: But the *Longobards* revolted against him, and elected *Rachis*, Duke of *Friuli*, for their King. This Prince, at the Instances of the Pope, renewed the Truce with the *Roman* Empire, for 20

(6) *And the Conclusion is:* Factum est hoc Concilium anno II. *(f.* III.*)* Artabasdi, Imperatoris, nec non Longobardorum Regis, Luitprandi, Anno XXXII. Indict. XII.

§. XXIX (1) Anastasius, *n.* 220. Post hæc requirens missum Apostolicæ sedis, quem ibidem in tempore perturbationis contigerat advenisse, eumque repertum ad sedem absolvit Apostolicam, & juxta quod beatissimus Pontifex postulaverat, donationem in scriptis de duabus mansis, quæ Nymphas & Normias appellantur, Juris Existentes Publici, eidem sanctissimo ac beatissimo Papæ, sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ, jure perpetuo direxit possidendas.

Years

Years (1): But it was not long before, under what Pretence I know not, he invaded the *Roman* Dominions, and beſieged *Peruſia*. Pope *Zachary*, together with ſeveral other Perſons of Diſtinction, as well Clergy as Laity, went to him to the Camp, and prevail'd on him to raiſe the Siege. He ſoon after laid down as well the Scepter as the Sword, and went with his whole Family to *Rome*, deſigning to ſpend the Remainder of his Life in Retirement (2). For that Purpoſe, he fix'd on the Monaſtery on Mount *Caſſino*, where he took the Habit, and his Queen and Daughter founded a Nunnery in the Neighbourhood (3). His Brother *Aiſtulphus*, ſucceeded him in the Government †: This Prince was of a Diſpoſition very different from his Brother *Rachis*; and engag'd in that War with *Pipin*, which produced ſo great a Revolution in *Italy*.

† *An.* 749.

§ XXXI. NOT long before, the *Franconian* Prince, *Carolomannus*, was taken with the like Fit of Devotion. In the Beginning of the Year 747, he left the Dominions he had 'till then govern'd, to *Pipin*, to whoſe Care, he, at the ſame Time, recommended his Son, *Drogo*, and went with a large Retinue of Perſons of Diſtinction, both Eccleſiaſticks and Laicks, to *Rome*. He was there conſecrated by Pope *Zachary*, and choſe, at firſt, for the Place of his Retirement, Mount *Soracte*, or *St. Sylveſter*, lying not far from *Rome*, but he afterwards retir'd to the Monaſtery at *Caſſino* *, where he was a Pattern of as great Humility and Devotion, as he was of Valour and Magnanimity in his Government. About the ſame Time, ſeveral Kings of the *Saxons* in *Britain*, and but juſt before the Duke of *Aquitain*, had embrac'd the ſame Reſolution. Such ſtrange Revolutions are the Minds of Men ſubject to. Some

Carolomannus reſolves to go into a Monaſtery.

§ XXX. (1) ANASTASIUS, *n.* 217. *p.* 188. Aldeprandum, nepotem ſuum, quem ipſe reliquerat, regem malevolum, projecerunt de regno, & Rachiſum, qui fuerat Dux, ſibi Longobardi, elegerunt in Regem. Ad quem miſſa legatione ipſe beatiſſimus Pontifex continuo ob reverentiam Principis Apoſtolorum, & ejus precibus inclinatus Rex, uſque ad viginti annorum ſpatium inita pace, univerſus Italiæ quievit populus.

(2) IDEM, *n.* 223. Ipſis itaque temporibus Ratchis, Longobardorum Rex, ad capiendam civitatem Perufinam, ſicut cætera Pentapoleos oppida, vehementi profectus eſt cum indignatione, quam & circumdans, fortiter expugnabat. Hoc audiens ſanctiſſimus Papa continuo ſpe divina fretus, aſſumptis aliquantis ex ſuo clero, cum optimatibus, quanto opus, ad eandem pervenit civitatem, impenſiſque eidem regi, pluribus muneribus, atque oppido eum deprecans, opitulante Domino, ab obſeſſione ipſius civitatis eum amovit. Cui & ſalutifera prædicans, Deo auctore, valuit animum ejus in ſpeciali ſtudio inclinare. Et poſt aliquantos dies iſdem Ratchis, Rex, relinquens regalem dignitatem, decore cum uxore, & filiis ad beati Petri, Principis Apoſtolorum, conjunxit, limina acceptaque a præfato ſanctiſſimo Papa oratione, clericuſque effectus, monachico indutus eſt habitu, uxore, & filliis.

(3) HEREMPERTUS *in Epit. ap.* CARACCIOL: *p.* 18.

§ XXXI. * ANN. FULD. & METENS. *ad An.* 747.

give up all Thoughts of every Thing elſe, and run all Hazards, for the ſake of Rule, while others ſpontaneouſly lay down the Crown and Purple. But this very Difference of Inclination, is neceſſary to keep human Life in Motion; and is no leſs an Ornament on the Stage of this World, than a Mixture of Light and Colours, and different Bearings are in Painting.

Rebellion of the *Saxons*. *Grifo* joins them.

§ XXXII. *PIPIN* having thus engroſs'd the whole Power of the *Franconian* Monarchy, into his own Hands, it is no wonder if he was thereby excited to great Undertakings, which he, ſome Time afterwards, put in Execution; but this Power, at firſt, gave Occaſion to great Uneaſineſs. The *Swabians*, *Bavarians*, and Part of the *Saxons*, would not now ſtand to what they had ſtipulated with *Carolomannus* (1); as indeed it was cuſtomary, on the like Occaſions, for all Obligations to ceaſe. Some civil Diſſentions among the *Franks* themſelves, gave more Force to their Reſolution. *Pipin* had releas'd his half Brother, *Grifo*, from his Impriſonment, and put him in Poſſeſſion of ſeveral conſiderable Eſtates; but he thought all too little, unleſs he could be allow'd a Share in the Government; and he ſoon found Adherents, not only among the *Franks*, and more eſpecially among the younger Sort; but even among the *Saxons*, with whom he held a private Intelligence. How dangerous this Inſurrection appear'd to *Pipin*, we may judge by the Preparations he made to ſtifle it. He prevail'd upon the *Friſii* and *Venedi*, to fall upon the *Saxons*, on their Side, whilſt he himſelf march'd thro' *Thuringia*, (the very Country *Grifo* ſeems to have firſt fix'd his Views on) (2), to purſue him even in the Midſt of the *Saxons*. The firſt

§ XXXII. (1) *The* Cont. Fredegarii, cap. 117. *mentions theſe Tranſactions with the* Saxons. Eodem anno Saxones, more conſueto, fidem, quam germano ſuo promiſerant, mentiri conati ſunt. Qua de cauſa, adunato exercitu, ad eos pervenire compulſus eſt. Cui etiam Reges Vinidorum, ſeu Friſionum, ad auxiliandum uno animo convenerunt. Quod videntes Saxones, conſueto timore perculſi, multis ex iis etiam trucidatis, & in captivitatem miſſis, regionibus eorum igne concrematis, pacem petentes, juri Francorum ſeſe, ut antiquitus mos fuerat, ſubdiderunt, & ea tributa, quæ Chlotario quondam præſtiterant, pleniſſima ſolutione ab eo tempore deinceps ſe reddituros promiſerunt. Ex quibus plurima multitudo videntes, ſe contra impetum Francorum rebellare non poſſe, propriis viribus deſtituti, petierunt ſibi Chriſtianitatis Sacramenta conferri. *He does not mention* Grifo, *for which Particular, we may have Recourſe to the* Annales Metenſes, *and* Fuldenſes, *or other Accounts.*

(2) *This we may preſume, by the Contents of a Letter from* St. Boniface *to* Grifo; *(ep. 26.)* Obſecro —— ſi Deus tibi poteſtatem donaverit, ut adiuvare ſtudeas ſervos Dei, ſacerdotes, preſbyteros, qui ſunt in Thuringia, Monachos & ancillas Chriſti defendere contra paganorum malitiam. *He, at the ſame Time, aſſures him of his conſtant good Wiſhes:* Cognoſcite, quod memoria veſtra nobiſcum eſt coram Deo, ſicut & pater veſter vivus, & mater jam olim mihi commendarunt.

who

who were the Objects of his Fury, were the *North-Swabians* (3), the Deſcendants of thoſe *Swabians*, who, in the ſixth Century, took Poſſeſſion of a Part of *Saxony* *. At length the two Armies came within Sight of one another, on the River *Ocker*, about the Place where the City of *Wulfenbuttel* is now ſituate. The *Saxons* entering into a Treaty with *Pipin*, *Grifo*, not truſting to their Mediation, left the Army, and fled into *Bavaria:* They came to an Accommodation with the Duke of the *Franks*, and again promis'd to pay the ſame Tribute, they had, in former Times, given to *Clotarius* †: And, on this Occaſion, many were baptiz'd (4).

* xiv. 7.

† See xv. 6.

§ XXXIII. *GRIFO* was kindly received in *Bavaria*, having ſeveral Relations, by the Mother's Side, of that Nation, and *Odilo*, who died but juſt before, had left an only Son, a *Minor*. The *Franconian* Hiſtorians make him Lord over the whole Duchy, and pretend that *Lanfrid*, Duke of *Allemannia*, was his Ally (1). *Carolomannus* was very uneaſy in his Retirement, to hear of this Diſſention between his Brothers, and did

Grifo eſcapes into *Bavaria*; but is obliged to ſurrender to *Pipin*. *Taſſilo* Duke of *Bavaria*, &c.

(3) ANN. METENSES *ad An.* 748. Fines Saxonum, quos Nordo-Squavos vocant, cum valida manu intravit. Ibique Duces gentis aſperæ Slavorum in occurſum ejus venerunt, unanimiter illi auxilium contra Saxones ferre parati. Pugnatores quaſi centum millia. Saxones vero, qui NARDOSQUAVI vocantur, ſub ſuam ditionem ſubactos contritoſque ſubegit. Ex quibus plurimi per manus ſacerdotum baptizati ad fidem Chriſtianam converſi ſunt.

(4) ANN. METENSES, *l. c.* Inde proficiſcens, pervenit ad fluvium, qui dicitur OBACRA, & caſtra metatus eſt juxta ripam ejuſdem fluminis. Saxones vero cum Grippone ex alia ripa erant, ubi maximam inter ſe, & Francos firmitatem ſtatuerunt. Sed cum viderent, quod eos eadem firmitas minime defendere poſſet, per noctem fuga lapſi caſtra deſerverunt. Pippinus vero cum exercitu ſuo totam pene Saxoniam per dies XL. vaſtavit, & caſtella eorum deſtruxit, indeque victor remeavit ad propria. ANN. FULDENSES *ad A.* 748. Grypho frater Carlmanni & Pipini, poteſtatem quandam affectans, ad Saxones ſe contulit. Pipino vero per Thuringiam ingreſſo Saxoniam, ſuper fluvio OBACRA, in loco, qui dicitur HOROHEIM, Saxones occurrunt, Gryphonem cum eo pacificare cupientes. ORHEM *is now a poor Village on the River* Ocker. ANN. BERTINIANI: Grifo ſcilicet fugit in Saxoniam, & Pipinus iter faciens per Thuringiam, Saxoniam intravit uſque ad fluvium MISSAHA, in loco, qui dicitur SCHAHANINGI. Et Grifo collectam fecit in Saxonibus ſupra fluvium ABACRO, in loco, qui dicitur ORLUM. MISSAHA *is an inconſiderable River.* Schöningen *is a Town in the Duchy of* Wolfembuttel.

§ XXXIII. (1) ANN. METENS. *ad A.* 749. Grippo videns, quod Saxonum armis minime defendi poſſet, in Bajoariam confugit. Quorum Dux eo tempore Odilo defunctus erat, cui Thaſſilo filius ejus ſucceſſerat. Quem de principatu Gripo abegit, & ſibi ipſe Bajoarios ſubjugavit, cui etiam in ſolatium Lanfridus venit. ANN. FULD. 748. Grypho autem nec Saxonibus, nec Francis ſe credens, in Bajoariam aufugit. ANN. BERTIN. *ad A.* 748. Grifo de Saxonia iter peragens, fugiendo in Bajoariam, uſque Palatium, ipſum ducatum ſibi ſubjugavit. Hiltrudem cum Taſſilone conquiſivit. SUIDGER ad eum venit in ſolatio ſupradicti Grifonis. *It is believed that this is the very* Suidgerus, *who is mention'd in the Hiſtory of* S. Vilibald, *as a powerful Lord, in* Nortgow.

what he could to reconcile them. He likewiſe prevail'd on Pope *Zachary*, to write to the *Franconian* Clergy, for the ſame End (2): But where Revenge and Ambition are the Grounds of Diſguſt, amicable Propoſitions have little Weight, and do but add to a Hatred among Relations. The eaſy Reduction of the *Saxons*, was a good Omen of Succeſs to *Pipin*, in *Bavaria*. He paſs'd the *Lech* without Oppoſition; for the *Bavarians* were retired, with their Wives and Children, over the *Inn*; where *Grifo* and the Duke of *Swabia*, were encamp'd with their Troops. But the *Bavarians* ſoon found, that *Grifo* would not be able to protect them, and therefore, on their Side (3), were ready to accept of Terms; and *Grifo* himſelf, together with the Duke of *Swabia*, were oblig'd to ſubmit (4). *Pipin* granted the Duchy to young *Thaſſilo*, who, in ſucceeding Times, was very famous, as well for his good as adverſe Fate. *Grifo* was ſatisfied with the City of *Mans*, and twelve Counties, which at that Time, were accounted equal to a Duchy: But whether he did not place any Confidence in his Brother, or hoped he might, ſoon or late, have better Fortune, he fled from thence to *Waifarius*, Duke of *Aquitain* (5).

Pipin made King of the *Franks*; *Childeric* is oblig'd to retire into a Monaſtery, *&c.*

§ XXXIV. The *Franconian* Annals ſay, that the two following Years, were peaceable: But the greater was the Revolution, *Pipin* was

(2) Zacharias Papa, *ep.* 15. *Tom.* 6. *Conc.* (Labb.) *p.* 1529. *ad ſacerdotes & preſbyteros Franciæ:* Quia innotuerunt nobis Optatus, religioſus Abbas, preſbyter monaſterii S. Benedicti, & Carolomannus, Dei amabilis monachus, germanus filii noſtri Pippini, excellentiſſimi Majoris domus, per hos religioſos Dei ſervos, monachos, concordiæ & pacis ſermones inter eum & Griphonem, fratrem ejus miſiſſe, ut et nos in ea ipſa admonendo dirigamus Excellentiam ejus, ut ad pacis concordiam redeant, vobis propter Deum pacifice mediantibus, &c.

(3) *Of this* Bavarian *Expedition, we have an Account in the* Cont. Fredegarii, c. 117. *but without any Mention of* Grifo: Quo peracto tempore Bajoarii conſilio nefandorum, iterum eorum fidem fefellerunt, & contra præfatum Principem eorum fidem mentiti ſunt. Qua de re commoto exercitu, cum magno agmine apparato eorum patrias acceſſit. Ipſi vero terrore compulſi ultra fluvium Igni, cum uxoribus ac liberis eorum, fugientes, & memoratus Princeps ſuper ripam Igni caſtra metatus, navale prælium preparavit, qualiter eos ad internecionem perſequeretur. Quod videntes Bojoarii, eorum viribus ſe auxiliare non poſſe, legatos cum muneribus multis tranſmittunt, & in ejus ditione ſe ſubdunt, & ſacramenta vel obſides donant, ut ne ulterius rebelles exiſtant. Ipſe vero, duce Chriſto, cum magno triumpho in Franciam, ad propriam ſedem, feliciter tranſmeavit.

(4) Ann. Metens. *l. c.* Hæc audiens Pipinus, cum exercitu illuc pervenit victiſque Bajoariis, Griponem ſecum & Lanfridum inde abducens, Taſſilonem in Ducatum Bajoariorum collocavit. Ann. Fuldens. *ad A.* 749. Pipinus in Bajoarium pergens Thaſſilonem, nepotem ſuum, natum ex Hiltrude, ſorore ſua, ducem ibi conſtituit: Griphone & Lantfrido inde eductis. Ann. Bertinian. *ad A.* 748. Hæc audiens Pippinus, iter illic arripiens cum exercitu ſuo, ſupra nominatos totos ſibi ſubjugavit. Griſonem ſecum abduxit, ſimiliter & Lantfridum. Taſſilonem vero in ducatu Bajoariorum collocavit per ſuum beneficium.

(5) Ann. Metens. *l. c.* Solita autem pietate Griponi fratri ſuo, & omnibus his, qui cum eo confugium fecerunt, miſericorditer non ſolum pepercit, ſed etiam beneficiis ditavit. Nam Griponi Cinomaniam urbem cum xii. comitatibus dedit. Quibus ille ſolito more deſpectis, Waſconiam petiit, & ad Waifarium, ducem perfidum Aquitanicum, pervenit.

preparing

preparing for, in his own Favour. The Kings of the *Franks* had long before only had the Shadow of Power: But it is uncertain, whether their own natural Incapacity, or their evil Conduct, and the exorbitant Power the *Maires de Palais* had already assum'd, were the Occasion of it. Most of them came young to the Throne, and many of them died young; before they could, on Account of their Minority, make any Figure in the World. *Eginhard*, and other Writers, who liv'd in the Time of *Charlemaign*, and his Successors, give indeed a very despicable Account of them: But it is evident, that Prejudice, and an Inclination to set the Undertakings of *Pipin* in the most plausible Light, were, in a great Measure, their Guides (1). Besides, the *Maires de Palais* had long been, as it were, within a Step of the Throne; and we have an Instance, in the foregoing Century *, that *Grimoald*, even then attempted, after King *Sigebert's* Death, to place the Crown of *Austrasia*, on his Son's Head †. But *Pipin* had now a fairer Prospect, on his Side, than any of his Predecessors ever had. His Grand-father *Pipin* II, and his Father, *Charles Martel*, had raised the Power and Reputation of their Office to the highest Pitch; and now, upon the Resignation of *Carolomannus*; he had it wholly in his own Hands. He had, at the same Time, Reason to hope, the Nation itself could not be against him. The most Valiant of the *Franks*, had, in many Campaigns, been in Person, Witnesses of his Valour and Success: Articles which are but too apt to blind the Eye, and easily lead away the Minds of Men from a minute Examination of Circumstances: The Clergy were oblig'd to him for their new Constitution, of which I have already taken Notice; and *Boniface*, who was the most renown'd of all the Prelates of the *Franconian* Church, had already as many Obligations to him, as he had future Expectations from him. It was likewise said, that Pope *Zachary* himself approved of this Revolution. Historians mention a particular Ambassy, which was sent to *Rome*, on that Account; and some Annals mention *Burchard*, Bishop of *Würtzburg*, and *Fulrad*, Abbot of *St. Denys*, who had always great Influence over *Pipin*, as the Persons employ'd (2). How far *Zachary* explain'd himself, on this

* A. 650.

† XV.

§ XXXIV. (1) Valesius *and* F. le Cointe *have already shewn, how little Credit is to be given to these Relations. The Abbot de* Vertot *has done it more at large, in a particular Dissertation.*

(2) ANN. BERTIN. *ad A.* 749. Burchardus, Wirceburgensis Episcopus, & Fulradus CAPELLANUS, missi sunt a Pipino Romam, ad Zachariam Papam, ut consulerent Pontificem de causa Regum, qui in illo tempore fuerunt in Francia, qui nomen tantum Regis, sed nullam potestatem regiam habebant. Per quos dictus Pontifex mandavit, melius esse illum vocari Regem, apud quem summa potestas consisteret. Dataque auctoritate sua, jussit Pipinum Francorum Regem institui. *Of the Ambassy in general other ancient Annals, and particularly the* Contin. Fredegarii, *give an Account.* Cointius, ad A. 752. n. 8. seq. *will not allow, that this Matter was laid before* Zachary, *or that an Ambassy was sent him for that Purpose:*

this Head, is uncertain (3): But they certainly go too far, who pretend, that it was by his Command *Childeric* was dethron'd, and *Pipin* chosen King †. This Pretence is neither consistent with the then State of the *Franks*, nor even with that of the *Roman* Church (4). Even the ancient Annals give us to understand, that *Zachary's* Opinion was only requir'd, and *Boniface* had before accustom'd himself to apply to him frequently for his Advice. *Pipin* was solicitous for his Approbation, to justify himself to those who might pretend a Scruple of Conscience, on Account of their Oath to *Childeric*. It is, likewise, easy to be conceived, why *Zachary* did not omit this Opportunity of laying *Pipin* under an Obligation to him. We may remember what Views his Predecessor, *Gregory* III, had with *Charles Martel*. That Plan was not forgot in *Rome*; and *Stephen* III, a few Years afterwards, brought that Treaty to a Conclusion with *Pipin*, which *Gregory* begun with *Charles*. The Matter, in short, was brought upon the Carpet, in a Convention of the States of the Realm, at *Soissons*, which seems to have been held in the Year 752. We have no certain Account of any Thing that pass'd there, excepting that *Childeric* was depos'd, and *Pipin* chosen King (5). *Boniface* anointed and crown'd the new King, together with his Consort,

pose: But Pagius ad An. 751. n. 2. seq. *confutes him. Notwithstanding which, the Opinion of some famous Men, as* F. Alexander, Mons. le Gendre, *and* von Eckard, *favour the former, and doubt of this Ambassy, or that* Zachary *ever consented to this Revolution.* l. c. p. 580. seq.

(3) CONT. FREDEGAR. Quo tempore una cum consilio & consensu omnium Francorum, MISSA RELATIONE, a sede apostolica, auctoritate percepta, præcelsus Pippinus electione totius Franciæ in sedem regni, cum consecratione episcoporum, & subjectione principum, una cum regina Bertrandane, ut antiquitus ordo deposcit, sublimatur in regnum. F. le Cointe *is of Opinion that this Passage is corrupted, and that we ought to read:* Quo tempore præcelsus Pippinus, electione totius Franciæ in sedem regni una cum Regina, &c. *But as he cannot justify his Assertion by any Manuscript* Codex, *it is a pretty bold one. In an ancient Account, written* A. 767. *which we find in* Pagius, ad A. 751. n. 4. *it is said:* Ipse prædictus Dominus florentissimus Pippinus, Rex pius, per auctoritatem & imperium sanctæ recordationis Domini Zachariæ Papæ, & unctionem sancti chrismatis, per manus beatorum sacerdotum Galliarum, & electionem omnium Francorum, in regni solio sublimatus est.

† *Here a new Doubt arises, what it was then, that* Zachary *contributed towards the Advancement of* Pipin *to the Throne? According to some, he had the* Franconian *Crown in his Disposition. Such a Passage we find in the* Decr. Gratiani. *Caus.* 15. 9. 6. Alius item Romanus Pontifex, Zacharias scilicet, Regem Francorum non tam pro suis iniquitatibus, quam pro eo, quod tantæ potestati erat inutilis a regno deposuit, & Pipinum, Caroli Magni, Imperatoris, patrem, in ejus locum substituit, omnesque Francigenas, a juramento fidelitatis, quod illi fecerant, absolvit. *But this Passage is taken out of one of* Gregory VII *Letters.*

(4) *The best* French *Historians have sufficiently exploded this Pretence, and particularly,* Blondellus *in his Treatise,* de formula regnante Christo, p. 159. & seq. LAUNOIUS Ep. 645. *and* 651. *gives a special Answer to* Card. BELLARMINO. Add. PETR. RIVAL Differt. si le Pape Zacharie depose Childeric III?

(5) *The exact Time of this Revolution is not yet determined.* F. Mabillon *and* Pagius *place it in* 751. Mons. von Eckhard *in* 752. *with more Probability. He even pretends to assign the Day, viz. the* 3d *of* May, l. c. p. 508. seq.

Bertrada,

Bertrada, in the Preſence of the Reſt of the Biſhops (6). Some learned Men are likewiſe of Opinion, that this was the firſt Time the *Franks* ever anointed a King (7); and that this Ceremony was now choſen, the better to bring the People into a Belief, that *Pipin* was ordain'd by GOD himſelf, for the Government. On the other Hand, *Childeric* repair'd to the Monaſtery of *Sithieu*, which is now the Abby of *St. Bertin*, at *St. Omer's*, where he died, a few Years afterwards (8). His Son *Theoderic*, was ſent to the Monaſtery of *Fontenelle*, in *Normandy*, where he was oblig'd to take the Habit (9). Thus the Succeſſors of the great *Clovis* were oblig'd to reſign the Throne, which their Anceſtors had eſtabliſh'd at the Expence of much Labour and Peril, to another Family, and in Return to take up with a Monaſtick Life. Hiſtory can go no farther than the Certainty of this Event; but, for the particular Circumſtances of it, muſt leave it in its Obſcurity. The few Accounts we find among the Ancients are obſcure and imperfect, and modern Writers confound them yet more, becauſe they allow or diſapprove of Things as their particular Views direct them (10). As this Matter was concluded at a general Convention of the whole Nation, and put in Execution, without any Oppoſition, on the Part of King *Childeric*, one would almoſt preſume, that they were able to give it the Appearance of Juſtice:

(6) *That* Boniface *anointed* Pipin, *we have the concurrent Teſtimony of the moſt approved Hiſtorians of this Time.* ANN METENSES *ad* A. 750. Ex conſenſu B. Zachariæ, Papæ urbis Romæ, Pippinus Princeps a Bonifacio Archiepiſcopo unctus, rex Francorum conſtituitur. ANN. BERTIN. *ad e. an.* Hoc anno, ſecundum Romani Pontificis ſanctionem Pippinus Rex Francorum appellatus eſt, & ad hujus dignitatem honoris unctus ſacra unctione, manu S. memoriæ, Bonifacii, Archiepiſcopi & martyris: & more Francorum elevatus in ſolium regni, SUESSIONE civitate. *And, in particular the* ANN. FULDENSES: Pipinus vero, in civitate Sueſſionum, a S. Bonifacio, Archiepiſcopo, in regem unctus, regni honore ſublimatus eſt. *But* F. le Cointe *doubts of this Circumſtance*, ad A. 752. n. 5. *becauſe* Villibald *and* Othlonus *take no Notice of it, in the Life of* Boniface. *So, likewiſe*, Monſ. von Eckhard, l. c. p. 508. ſeq. *takes a great deal of Pains to prove, that* Boniface *had no Share in, nor even was pleas'd with this Revolution: But theſe Conjectures cannot weaken the expreſs Teſtimony of the approved Hiſtorians of theſe Times.*

(7) *Several learned Men, and but latterly* F. Daniel, T. 1. p. 363. *are of Opinion, that the Ceremony of anointing was now firſt introduced among the* Franks. *I my ſelf have defended this Opinion* in Diſſ. de Regali, Imperialique coronatione, Cap. II. §. 4. & ſeq. *But the Words* in CONTINUATORE FREDEGARII: Cum conſecratione Epiſcoporum, & ſubjectione Principum, UT ANTIQUITUS ORDO DEPOSCIT, ſublimatur in regnum, *might make one almoſt believe, that this Ceremony of Anointment had been before in Uſe with the* Franks: *Eſpecially as it was alſo introduc'd among the Kings of the* Wiſi-Goths, *in* Spain. *At leaſt, this is the firſt expreſs Mention made of this Cuſtom in the Hiſtory of the* Franks.

(8) CHRON. FONTANELL. *Childericum depoſitum, tonſuratum.*

(9) CHRON. FONTANELL. Cujus filius, nomine Theodericus, in hoc Fontanellenſi monaſterio, anno ſequenti, clericus effectus collocatus eſt.

(10) *So many Circumſtances occurring, we are not to wonder, that the Dethroning of* Childeric, *and* Pipin's Election *are related differently.* F. le Cointe, F. Natalis Alexander, *and* F. Gerardus Du Bois *have written particular Diſſertations on this Subject.*

It

It ſhews, at leaſt, how wiſely *Pipin* had taken his Meaſures; and how ill advis'd the Royal Family muſt have been. The new King, however, govern'd in ſuch Manner, that Poſterity has almoſt forgot, by what Means he came to the Throne (11).

Of the Conſtitution of the Monarchy of the *Franks*.

§ XXXV. THIS Revolution is the more memorable in the Hiſtory of the *Franks*, and of the *German* Nations in general, becauſe the *Franconian* Monarchy, in many Things, chang'd its Form, under *Pipin*. We will, therefore, to conclude, caſt an Eye backwards, on the Conſtitution of the Realm, and the Manners of the Nation, as they appear to have been at this Period, and, in a great Meaſure, have already been deſcrib'd, in the Courſe of this Hiſtory. The *Franks* had their Kings in the moſt ancient Times. Even the very Name of King (or *König*) was in Uſe, as well with them as ſeveral other *German* Nations (1). As long as they were divided into different Nations, each had its own King, 'till *Clovis* united them all under his Dominion. He, and his Succeſſors, aſſumed thoſe exteriour Honours, by which the Royal Dignity is exalted above all others, as the Purple, Crown and Scepter (2), as may be partly ſeen by their Coins: Tho' they often bore a Lance, according to ancient Cuſtom, inſtead of a Scepter; as *Gregory*, in particular, obſerves of *Guntram* (3). At their Acceſſion, they followed the very ancient *German* Cuſtom, that the King was lifted up on a Shield, and ſhewn to the People (4), amidſt Shouts of Joy; 'till *Pipin*'s Time, when the Ceremony of Coronation and Anointing were added. Among other Ornaments of their Crown and Scepter, were Figures not unlike Lillies, which in Time became the Arms of *France*. But it would be difficult to prove, that the *Franks* had, at this Time, a Coat of Arms in Form, as afterwards came into Uſe: And it would be as little to the Purpoſe to pretend it to have conſiſted of *Lillies*, as in *Chifflet*, who

(11) *Among thoſe who repreſent* Pipin's *Injuſtice we muſt alſo reckon* ECKHARD. l. c. p. 511.

§ XXXV. (1) *This Name is written, in different Dialects,* König, Kuning, King, Koning.

(2) *Of this, See the Diſſert. before the firſt Part of the* Monumens de la Monarchie Françoiſe, *entitled:* Diſcours ſur l'inauguration des premiers Rois de France, le Nimbe, ou cércle luminieux, les couronnes, et l'origene des Fleurs de Lis, le Trone, le Sceptre, la Main de Juſtice, les Habits Roiaux.

(3) GREGOR. *lib.* 7. *c.* 33. Rex Guntchramnus data in manu Regis Childeberti haſta, ait: Hoc eſt indicium, quod tibi omne regnum meum tradidi. XIV. 21. *n.* 1.

(4) *In this Manner the* Canenifates *elected their Duke* Brinno. V. 1. 4. 42. *n.* 1. *Among the* Franks *we find ſeveral Examples. So* Clovis *was received as King, by the* Ripuarii, *at* Cologn: (XI. 17. *n.* 7.) Sigebert *in* Neuſtria, (XIV. 12. *n.* 2.) *In the Account of* Gundebald's *Acceſſion, we find another Circumſtance.* Gregory *ſays:* Parmæ ſuppoſitus Rex eſt levatus. Sed CUM TERTIO CUM EODEM GYRARENT, cecidiſſe fertur. XIV. 20. *n.* 3.

will

will have them to have been *Bees* (5). It was reckon'd as a Thing peculiar to Perſons of the Royal Houſe, that they ſuffered their Hair to grow, and to make Uſe of it as an Ornament (6). Tho' this perhaps was more an ancient Cuſtom * than any particular Prerogative. The Kingdom was hereditary in the Male-Line (7). Of this, among others, the Partitions made either by the Kings, in their Life-time, or their Sons, after their Deaths, are Teſtimonies. In their Marriages, the Kings pretty much indulg'd their Inclinations (8); 'till by Degrees the Church put them under greater Reſtraint †. The Queens had, in ſome Meaſure, a Share in the Adminiſtration: The Nation did Homage to them (9), and when the Crown fell to a Prince in his Minority, the Queen-Mother had the Guardianſhip (10). The Kings had, indeed, their Palaces in the Capital Cities; but, in Conformity to the Ancient *German* Cuſtom, and eſpecially being moved thereto, by their Paſſion for the Chace, they reſided chiefly at their Pleaſure-houſes in the Country. Among the high Offices of the Court, the *Major Domus* (or *Maire de Palais*) and the *Archicapellanus*, were the Chief. We find likewiſe the Titles of *Domeſticcus*, *Referendarius* and *Cancellarius*; as likewiſe thoſe of *Comes Pala-*

(5) Triſtan *pretends that* Lillies (Fleurs de Lis) *were anciently the Enſign of* Gaul; *and, in this Period, the Arms of the* Franks. Chifflet, *in* Anaſtaſi Childer. cap. 11. *and* 12. *ſuppoſes, they had, at firſt,* Bees *for their Arms: But this* F. Ferrand *refutes, in* Epinicio pro liliis.

(6) Hottoman *treats of this Matter, in* Franco-Gallia, cap. 11. *under the Title:* de Jure Regalis Capillitii. Gregory, *here and there mentions this Cuſtom; particularly* Lib. 3. *c.* 18. *where the King of* Paris, Childebert, *writes to* Clotarius, *concerning the Sons of* Clodomir, *his Brother:* Debes velociter adeſſe Pariſiis, & habito communi conſilio pertractare oportet, quid de his fieri debeat: UTRUM INCISA CÆSARIE, UT RELIQUA PLEBS HABEANTUR, an certe his interfectis regnum Germani noſtri inter noſmetipſos, æqualitate habita, dividatur. *So, likewiſe,* Lib. 6, *c.* 24. *where he ſays of* Gundobald: Hic cum natus eſſet in Galliis, & diligenti cura nutritus eſſet, UT REGUM ISTORUM MOS EST, CRINIUM FLAGELLIS PER TERGA DEMISSIS, &c. *The* Greeks *thought this a very ſtrange Dreſs.* Agathias *gives the following Deſcription of it:* Solemne eſt Francorum regibus nunquam tonderi. ——— Cæſaries tota decenter eis in humeros propendet, anterior coma e fronte diſcrimanata in utrumque latus deflexa. Neque vero, quemadmodum Turcis & Barbaris, implexa iis & ſqualida ſordidaque eſt coma, vel complicatione indecenter circata, ſed ſmigmata varia ipſi ſibi adhibent, diligenterque curant, idque velut inſigne quoddam, eximiaque honoris prærogativa regio generi apud eos tribuitur. Snddíti enim orbiculatim tondentur, neque eis prolixiorem comam alere facile permittitur. *Ada.* MABILLON *de Re Diplom. p.* 137.

* *So* Claudian, *in his Time, uſed the Expreſſion:*
Crinigero flaventes vertice Reges.
See V. I. 8.2. *n.* 3.

(7) *For this we refer to* Mſr. DE FONCEMAGNE: *Vid. Memoire pour établir, que le Royaume de France à été ſucceſſif-hereditaire dans la premiere Race*; in the *Memoires de Literature* T. VI. p. 680.

(8) *See, of this, the Paſſage from* GREGORIUS TURON. XIV. 11. *.

† V. HERTIUS Notit. Veteris Francor. Regni, *p.* 280. ſeq.

(9) *See the Example of Queen* Gaileſvinta, XIV. 11. *n.* 2.

(10) *So* Fredegund *had the Guardianſhip of her Son,* Clotarius II, Brunehild, *of her Grandſons,* Theodebert *and* Theoderick (XIV. 31.) *and* Balthildis, *of her Son,* Clotarius III, (XV. 15.)

tinus, Marſhall, Chamberlain, chief Butler, Hunt, and Falconer; the latter of which was the Director of a Diverſion almoſt peculiar to the *German* Nation (11). Moſt of theſe Offices had their Riſe from the ancient Cuſtoms of the *Germans*, with whom Nobles of an inferior Dignity likewiſe had them †. But the Power of the *Maires de Palais* was, in Time, the Occaſion, that the Conſtitution of the Court, and even of the Kingdom itſelf, was, in many Things, alter'd. They drew every Thing after them, as they had the Power of doing every Thing. Not wholly to paſs by the Coins of theſe Kings, we find that they followed the Romans, in their Method of Dividing and Reckoning. Their Gold-Coins preſerved the Name of *Solidi*, and their Silver of *Denarii* (12). Tho' we have an Example, that, in the Time of Pope *Gregory*, the *Great*, the *Franconian* Coins would not paſs in *Italy* (13); either becauſe they had not the intrinſick Value required, or becauſe the Emperor would not ſuffer any foreign Coin to be current (14).

The Form of Government. The Conſtitution of the Provinces.

§ XXXVI. MOREOVER the Kings had no unlimited Power. The Authority was rather diſpos'd with a View to the Welfare of the Kingdom, and the People. When, at their Acceſſion to the Government, they received the Homage of their Subjects, they, on their Side, promiſed to maintain every one in the Enjoyment of their Liberty, Eſtates and Rights (1). With ſuch a mutual Affection and Obligation, the *Franks* eſtabliſh'd an Empire, which, next to the *Roman*, was the moſt powerful in the *Weſtern* Parts. Affairs of the greateſt Conſequence were treated at the general Convention of the People. Under the Kings of the

(11) *We find the following Titles of principal Officers of the Court, under the Kings of the firſt Line: Major Domus, Archicapellanus, Comes Palatii, Domeſticus, Referendarius, Cancellarius, Comes Stabuli, Camerarius, Præpoſitus Pocillatorum, Manſionarii, Venatores, Falconarius, Magiſter Oſtiariorum.*

† Conf. Lex Salica, Tit. XI. 6.

(12) *The Value of the* Solidi, *as they were reckoned in the* Salick Law, *we may ſee by* INCMARUS *in Vit. S. Remigii:* Solidorum quantitas numero quadraginta denariorum computatur, & in Francorum lege Salica continetur: & generaliter in ſolutione uſque ad tempora Caroli perduravit, ſicut in ejus capitulis continetur.

(13) *So ſays Pope* GREGORY M. Lib. V. ep. 10. ad Candidum, Preſbyterum, *who was to receive ſome Revenues, for the* Roman *Church in* Provence: Volumus, ut dilectio tua ex ſolidis, quos acceperit, veſtimenta pauperum, vel pueros Anglos, qui ſunt ab annis decem & ſeptem, vel decem & octo, ut in monaſteriis dati Deo proficiant, comparet; quatenus ſolidi Galliarum, qui in terra noſtra expendi non poſſunt, apud locum proprium utiliter expendantur.

(14) *How rigorous the Emperors yet were, in the ſeventh Century, not to ſuffer any Money, but what was of their own Coining, to paſs current, we may ſee in the Hiſtory of* Juſtinian II. Zonaras *writes of him:* Iis gaudens, & fretus, etiam Arabicum fœdus rupit, cauſa ex eo ſumta, quod annui tributi moneta, non Romanum ſignum, ſed novum Arabicum haberet.

§ XXXVI. (1) GREGOR. TUR. *Lib. 9. cap.* 30. Se unumquemque pro ſuo gradu, ſuaque dignitate, ac perſona, quantum poſſint, honoraturos & defenſuros, ac ſuum cuique jus ſervaturos.

firſt

firſt Line, it was always held in the Month of *March*, with which the Year then begun, in *Gaul*: But *Pipin*, for more Convenience-ſake, removed it to *May*, from whence it was call'd *Campus Maii*. The Kings were likewiſe wont, in their daily Converſation, to ſhew a mild and gracious Diſpoſition; as, in particular, it is extoll'd in *Guntram*, that he would often be the Gueſt of private Perſons †. The Monarchy of the *Franks* was made up of ſeveral Nations. Among the *Franks* themſelves, the *Salii* and *Ripuarii* are accounted particular Nations. In *Gaul*, they had reduc'd ſome conſiderable Provinces, and even the Kingdom of *Burgundy* itſelf, under their Dominion. In *Germania*, they had *Alemannia*, *Thuringia*, *Bavaria* and *Frieſland*. The ancient Provincials were ſtill call'd *Romani*, and the *Germans* were not aſhamed of the Name of *Barbari*, which had been long in Uſe to ſignify Foreigners in general. The Dominion was properly in the *Franks*: They enjoyed all the Advantages of this Pre-eminence. But then the Obligations the other Nations were laid under were ſuch, that they had near as much the Reſemblance of being Fellow-Members of a Community, as of being under Subjection. Even the Inhabitants of the *Roman* Provinces, were not ſo hardly uſed by the Conquerors, as ſome pretend (2). They retain'd their Civil Liberty and Effects, their Cuſtoms and Habit, and, in ſome Provinces, even the Uſe of the *Roman* Laws, particularly in thoſe which had belong'd to the Kingdoms of the *Burgundians* and *Wiſi-Goths*. Many of them, in Time, rais'd themſelves to the higheſt Poſts of the *Franconian* Empire, as well at Court as in the Provinces and in the Army (3). So likewiſe the principal Cities, here and there, retain'd a good Part of their ancient Polity. Theſe generous Proceedings proved highly advantageous to themſelves. The Mildneſs of their Government encouraged People to live under it, and the Valour and Vigilance of the ruling Nation, prevented thoſe from withdrawing their Allegiance, who might be inclin'd to it. The ſeveral Diſtricts and People were govern'd, as was likewiſe cuſtomary with other *German* Nations, by Dukes and Counts. It was, in particular, the Care of the latter, to ſee Juſtice adminiſter'd, and to appoint particular Judges for that End. But there were ſome Dukes alſo, who were not to be regarded ſo much the King's Lieutenants, as Lords of their own Lands, acknowledging only the Supremacy of the *Franconian* Monarchy. Upon that Footing were the Dukes of *Aquitain* in *Gaul*, and thoſe of *Bavaria*, *Swabia* and *Thuringia*, in *Germany*. In the Provinces of *Burgundy*,

† xiv. 30. n. 8.

(2) C. DE BOULAINVILLERS Hiſt de l'ancien Gouvern. de la France, T. I. p. 21. 37 & ſeq.

(3) Conf. Hiſtoir. de l'Etabliſſ. de le Monarch. Francoiſe, T. III. p. 413. ſeq.

even the Dignity of *Patricius* (4) was retain'd, after they were under the Juriſdiction of the *Franks*; perhaps, becauſe they had been accuſtomed to it in the Time of the *Roman* Power. When any Thing happen'd contrary to the common Courſe of Things, the *Miſſi-Domini* were ſent, to take Care that every one perform'd his Office duly: Tho' we find but few Inſtances of theſe, under the Kings of the firſt Line (5): But they are the more frequent under the *Carolingian*. This Kingdom of the *Franks* was indeed divided, in diverſe Manners, by the Sons of *Clovis* and their Succeſſors; but the moſt common Partition was into *Auſtraſia* and *Neuſtria*, with which, after the Time of *Clotarius* II, was reckon'd that of *Burgundy* (6). *Auſtraſia* remain'd always the Seat of the ancient *German* Valour; becauſe the *Oſtro-Franks* themſelves were reckon'd the moſt warlike of the whole Nation, and the other Nations of *Germany* were reckon'd a Part of this Portion (7). *Pipin*, of *Herſtall*, *Charles Martel* and his Sons, employ'd theſe Troops, with the greateſt Advantage: But the *Neuſtrians* never cared to ſee them in their Country; becauſe with their warlike Diſpoſition, they did not keep the beſt Diſcipline (8).

Different Ranks of Men among the *Germans*.

§ XXXVII. The Nation itſelf was diſtinguiſh'd into ſeveral Ranks of Men. The *Germans* originally knew probably of no Diſtinction, but what, in a State of Liberty, was derived from Nature itſelf: Tho' *Tacitus*, in his Time, mentions four Degrees of Perſons among the *Germans*: *Nobiles*, *Ingenui*, *Liberti* and *Servi*. So likewiſe among the *Franks* we find (1), *Nobles*, *Freemen*, *Freedmen* and *Slaves* (2). It is,

(4) *In* Gregorius Turonenſis *we find many of theſe* Patricii, *in the* Burgundian *Portion. I ſhall give an Example only in one Paſſage*, L. 4. cap. 24. Cum autem Guntramus rex regni partem ſicut fratres ſui obtinuiſſet, amoto Argrœcula, patricio, Celſum Patriciatus Honore Donavit, virum procerum ſtatu, in ſcapulis validum, lacerto robuſtum, in verbis tumidum, in reſponſis oportunum, Juris Lectione Peritum.

(5) Franc. le Roye *de Miſſ. Dominic. cap.* 7.

(6) Neuſter *or* Neuſtria, *was perhaps ſo call'd from the* Celtick *Word* Neuis Tir (Terra nova) *and therefore ſignifies a Country newly gain'd, as that was which the* Franks *conquer'd in* Gaul.

(7) Vit. S. Balthildis, *cap.* 2. Factique ſunt Burgundiones & Franci ex illo tempore uniti. *Tho' the* Burgundians, *at firſt, had no great Mind to this Union.* XV. 16. n. 5.

(8) Vid. P. Daniel Hiſt. de la mil. Franc. T. 1. p. 19.

§ XXXVII. (1) *The* C. de Boulainvilliers *has very ſingular Opinions of the Nobility, under the* Franks: *But another learned Pen has exploded them.* Vid. Memoires de Literature et d'Hiſtoire, T. IX.

(2) *Among the* Saxons, Nithardus *reckons but three Orders of Men*, Lib. 4. Gens Saxonum omnis in tribus ordinibus diviſa conſiſtit. Sunt enim inter illos Edelingi, ſunt, qui Frilingi, ſunt, qui Lassi illorum Lingua dicuntur. Latina vero lingua hoc ſunt: Nobiles, ingenui, ſerviles. *The Word* Las *ſignifies* Servus: *But* Ad. Bremenſis, Lib. 1. cap. 5. *reckons four Orders:* Nobiles, Liberi, Liberti, *and* Servi.

however,

however, yet a Doubt, whether the *Nobles* made a ſeparate Order (3). *Roman* Writers uſe the Word, *Nobilis*, when they ſpeak of the *Germans*, in the ſame Senſe as it was taken among the *Romans* themſelves, that is, of Perſons and Families, who were in the moſt diſtinguiſh'd Employs and Poſts of Honour. So, in the *German* Laws, the Titles *Nobiles* and *Optimates* are uſed in the ſame Signification; and the Word *Athalick* is in particular applied to thoſe who were deſcended from renowned Families. Even Freedom itſelf had its different Degrees (4), and the Circumſtances of Fortune made a certain Diſtinction among the Freemen. In particular we find an Order of Men, who making it their Buſineſs to ſerve others, as Maſters, were, as it were, in a middle State, between Freemen and Slaves, and were properly called Servants. Bondage itſelf, with the *Germans*, was anciently different from what it was with the *Romans*; and they now introduced it, in the ſame Manner, in thoſe Provinces which formerly belong'd to the *Romans* (5). But the Freedmen made no diſtinct Order among them (6).

§ XXXVIII. WAR was the chief Occupation of the *Franks*. It was not 'till after they had been long Maſters of *Gaul*, that they begun, by Degrees, to take a Pleaſure in other Affairs. The Conqueſt of theſe Countries is the ſureſt Proof of their Valour. And we need not wonder, that a People, naturally warlike, ſhould take a Delight in Arms, when the fortunate Progreſs of their Wars turned ſo much to their Advantage. The Booty they made, and even the Countries they conquer'd, were divided between the King and the People, by Lot; from whence aroſe the Term of *Terra Salica*, among the *Franks* (1). Their chief Strength conſiſted anciently in their Infantry: Among whom the *Salii* were particularly

Of their State of War, &c.

(3) HAD. VALESIUS *doubts of it, and* Hertius, *who follows him, explains himſelf*, l. c. p. 310. *in the following Manner.* Hac in re Franci diverſum habuerunt morem a cæteris Germanis, qui diſtinguebantur in nobiles, ingenuos, libertos, ut alibi docuimus. At in L. Salica nobilium nulla fit mentio: non quod apud Francos nulli nobiles ac viri honorati eſſent, ſed quia nobilium nullus ordo erat a populo ſeparatus, nobilitatis nullum in regno Francorum corpus a plebe diſtinctum. *He replies, at the ſame Time, to* Thomaſius, *who attempts to confute* Valeſius.

(4) *We find, in ſucceeding Times, different Degrees of Freedom: As* Semperfrey *(always free)* Mittelfrey *(half free)* &c. *But whether theſe Diſtinctions are ſo ancient as the Times we are treating of, I am uncertain.*

(5) *Vid. Hiſt. de l'Etabliſſ. de la Monarch. Franc. T. 3. p. 297.*

(6) *The Freedmen were likewiſe call'd* Ingenui. Leg. Sal. Tit. 15. 3.

§ XXXVIII. (1) *Theſe Eſtates had probably their Name from the* Salii, *taken in the ſame Signification with the* Sortes Burgundicæ, *among the* Burgundians, *and the* Sortes Vandalicæ *among the* Vandals.

larly

larly noted (2). In Time, they applied themſelves more and more to the Uſe of Cavalry, which at Length came in as great Eſteem among the *Franks*, as it had ever been before in *Gaul* (3). We likewiſe find, that they had, at this Time, a certain Diſtinction in the Service of their *Militia*, as was cuſtomary with other *German* Nations (4). This, in Time, introduced the different Kinds of Vaſſals, as likewiſe various Titles and Poſts of Honour in their Army. Their common Arms were Sword and Shield, a Kind of Halberds, and the Battle-Ax, which from them was call'd *Franciſca* (5), as being, in a Manner, peculiar to the *Franks* *: Bows and Slings are ſeldom mention'd in this Period (6): But in the Times of *Charlemaign*, and his Succeſſors, they were more in Uſe. I find, among other *German* Nations (7), and particularly the

(2) *So ſays* SIDON. APOLLIN.

—— —— —— Vincitur illic
Curſu Herulus, SALIUS PEDE.

(3) *Vid.* P. DAN. *l. c. p.* 20.

(4) *Of the* Oſtro-Goths *and* Longobards, *ſee the* XV Ann.

(5) AGATHIAS, Lib. 2. *The whole Paſſage deſerves a Place here.* Parabilis eſt, quantum intelligo, gentis illius armatura, nec multis opificibus indigens, ſed ab ipſis quibus geſtatur, facilis ſi quid laxatum ſit, reconcinnari. Loricas & tibialia plane ignorant, intecti caput plerique, pauci galeati præliantur. Pectus & terga nudi lumbos uſque, inde feminalia induuntur, ad tibias deſcendentia, e lino alii, nonnulli e corio. Equis, niſi paucis admodum, non utuntur; avito more & educatione ad pedeſtrem pugnam exerciti. Enſes a femore, a ſiniſtro latere clypeus dependet; arcus, ſundas, & quæ alia eminus feriunt, non habent; ſed ancipites ſecures, *(vulgo Franciſcas a gente cognominatas)* & angones, maximorum operum inſtrumenta. Sunt angones haſtæ, neque magnæ omnino, neque nimium exiguæ; tales ut & jaci oſſint, & ſi conſerta manu pugnandum ſit, incuſſu validæ. Pars maxima horum ferro obducta eſt, vix ut haſtile appareat, & id, qua terræ infiguntur. In ſummo ad cuſpidis latera ſpicula prominent, hamorum in modum ad inferna ſe deflectentia. Non temere inter pugnandum angonem emittit Francus: Si corpus intraverit, penetrat cuſpis, nec facile ſe ea liberaverit, qui vulnus accepit. Prohibent enim anci inhærentes carni, tantoſque excitant cruciatus, ut, etiamſi ceterum lethalis ictus non ſit, dolor ad interitum ſatis ſit. Quod ſi impactus ſit clypeo, dependet & cum eo circumagitur, parte extima ſolum verrens, neque poteſt, qui impeditus eſt, aut evellere haſtam ſpiculis retinentibus, aut gladio abſcindere, quod ad lignum pertingere nequeat, ferro intercedente. Id ſimul conſpexit Francus, partem angonis infimam, inſtans ac premens pede, prægravatum deducit clypeum, ita ut ferentis cedat manus, caputque ejus & pectus nudetur; Sic patentem nactus nullo negotio interficit, aut ſecuri in frontem adacta, aut alia haſta gulam tranſverberans. PROCOPIUS *agrees with this*, de Bell. Goth. Lib. 2. *In* MAURICII Strategico, Lib. 11. cap. 4. *we have a particular Reference.* Quomodo cum rufis gentibus ſit congrediendum, h. e. Francis, Longobardis & cæteris ſimilibus.

* *The* Vandals *likewiſe made Uſe of theſe Battle-Axes. See* V. 1. B. 10. 35. n. 10.

(6) *Tho' they were not wholly unknown.* L. SAL. Tit. 20. Si quis alterum de ſagitta toxicata percutere voluerit.

(7) TACITUS, Hiſt. IV. 22. *ſays of the Ancient* Germans, *of his Times, that their Enſigns were:* depromtæ ſilvis, lucifque ferarum imagines. *See* Vol. I. B. 4. 44. n. 2.

Goths

Goths (8), *Anglo-Saxons* (9), and *Longobards* (10), that Colours or Banners were in Uſe, and more eſpecially that their Kings had them: And hence we may reaſonably conclude, that the *Franks* made Uſe of theſe Enſigns of the Field. But their Victories were not ſo much owing to the Nature of their Arms, as to their Courage, and Skill in uſing them; which *Narſes*, a famous General of Emperor *Juſtinian*'s, himſelf ſays in their Praiſe (11). To this we may add the great Experience they had gain'd, in their Wars with ſo many different Enemies. They fought with Succeſs againſt the *Romans*, againſt the *Goths*, *Burgundians*, and other *German* Nations, and, at Length, under the Conduct of *Charles Martel*, againſt the *Saracens*. The Kings generally went themſelves to the Field, even in their moſt tender Youth (12), and the *Maires de Palais*, found nothing ſo effectually eſtabliſh'd their Power, as taking the Command of the Army. Their intended Expeditions were made known by a general Proclamation or Summons, call'd the *Ban*. They were generally limited to a certain Time, and every one was obliged to maintain himſelf, and the People under him. It was difficult, in their State of Liberty, to keep a Diſcipline, of which we have an Example in the Hiſtory of King *Sigebert* †, However, as great Friends as they were xiv. 9.] to War, they had their Heralds, for treating of Peace and amicable Accommodations, who were as ſacred as the *Feciales*, among the *Romans* (15).

§ XXXIX. ONE particular Fruit of the *German* Cuſtoms, and chiefly of their State of War, is the Introduction of Feodal Tenures; when a Piece of Land, or certain Advantages are granted to any one, to engage his Fidelity and Service. In the Times of which *Tacitus* wrote, we find nothing explicit or certain of this Matter: But after the *German* Nations had ſecur'd a Footing in the *Roman* Provinces, their Chiefs were in a better Capacity, to extend their Liberality, and others learn'd how to Origin of Feodal Tenures.

(8) *Of the* Goths, *ſee* Annot. X. n. 5.

(9) *Of the* Anglo-Saxons, Beda *writes*, Lib. 2. c. 16. *of King* Edwin. Tantum vero in regno excellentiæ habuit, ut non ſolum in pugna ante illum vexilla geſtarentur, ſed & tempore pacis equitantem inter civitates, ſive villas aut provincias ſuas cum miniſtris, ſemper antecedere ſignifer conſueviſſet: nec non & antecedente illo ubi libet per plateas, illud genus vexilli (quod Romani TUFAM, Angli vero appellant THUF) ante eum ferri ſolebat.

(10) *Of the* Longobards *and* Heruli, *ſee* Ann. 23. n. 2.

(11) *He calls the* Franks, in Agath. Lib. 2. Gentem apprime validam belli meditamentis.

(12) *We have Examples in* Sigebert II, *King of* Auſtraſia, (xv. 8.) Clotarius, (xiv. 31. 5) *As likewiſe in* Theodebert *and* Theodorick, *the Sons of* Chidebert.

(13) GREGORY *ſays*, Lib. 7. cap. 32. *Of the Heralds, which* Gundobald *ſent to* Guntram, *King of* Burgundy. Cum virgis conſecratis, juxta morem Francorum, ut ſcilicet non contingeretur ab ullo.

make

make a better Advantage of it. Thoſe Lands which the ancient Inhabitants were obliged to give up to the Conquerors, were divided among the moſt valiant of the Nation. Hence aroſe the *Sortes* of the *Goths*, *Vandals* and *Burgundians*, and alſo probably the *Terræ Salicæ*. In Conſideration of theſe Lands, the Poſſeſſors were obliged to ſerve in the Field; and for this Reaſon they did not deſcend to the Female Heirs. Theſe Eſtates were probably on the ſame Footing as the *Fundi Militares*, of the *Romans* (1), for the Enjoyment of which the Poſſeſſors were obliged to ſerve in the Wars. But, with the *Franks*, we find a Circumſtance which comes up nearer to Feodal Tenures. Their Kings were often wont to grant ſome of their own Domains to Perſons who deſerved it, or were ſo fortunate to be in the King's Eſteem (2). Theſe Grants were reverſible; or at leaſt the Enjoyment of them only for Life, unleſs the Kings, as particular Marks of their Favour, granted them to the Children of the Poſſeſſors. They were therefore call'd *Beneficia* (3), which Word, with the *Franks*, had the ſame Sigification as *Feudum*, and the Poſſeſſors of them *Beneficiarii* (4), or likewiſe *Leudes* (5), *Fideles*, *Vaſi* *, *Milites* **, The *Maires de Palais* had likewiſe their Vaſſals, as is evident by the Hiſtories of *Pipin* II, *Grimoald*, and *Charles Martel* (6): So likewiſe the Dukes of *Bavaria* and *Swabia*; and, probably all the Nobles, who poſſeſs'd ſo large Eſtates, as to be able to part with any Lands to others. We likewiſe find another Sort of Feodal Tenure and Vaſſalage. Whole Nations ſubmitted to the *Franks*, on Condition, that they would be loyal to the King, and ſerve him; but that, for the Reſt, they ſhould retain their Liberty and Conſtitution. This was the Caſe of the Dukes of *Aquitain*, *Bavaria*, and *Swabia* (7). The *Longobards* (8), in this Article, made a particular Regulation, according to the Circumſtances of

§ XXXIX. (1) *See* Vol 4. 9. *and* 5. 55. n. 9.

(2) *Such are the* Agri Fiſcales ap. GREGOR. ix. 20.

(3) *In vit.* S. GODEBERTÆ, *p.* 472. *Add.* HERT. 334.

(4) *Regis* BENEFICIARII *occ. tempore Clodovei* III. *ap.* DUCH. *T.* 1. *p.* 671.

(5) *The* Leudes *were not all of one Kind:* Fredegarius *diſtinguiſhes them by Higher and Lower*, cap. 58. Tanto timore Pontifices & Proceres in regno Burgundiæ conſiſtentes, ſeu & cæteros Leudes adventus Dagoberti concuſſerat. *And ſoon after:* Tanta in univerſis Leudibus ſuis, tam ſublimibus quam pauperibus judicabat juſtitia. *In the* Burgundian *Laws, we likewiſe find* Leudes. *See* Annot. iii. n. 4.

* *We find the Name of* Vaſſus, *in the* LL. Bajoariorum, Tit. III. Sive Regis VASSI, ſive Ducis.

** AVITUS *calls* Gundobald, *King of* Burgundy, Miles Clodovei. ix. 10. n. 13.

(6) FREDEGARIUS *names* Leudes *Pipini & Grimoaldi.* XV. 25. n. 2.

(7) *See of this the* XXXV, *and* XXXVI. Annot.

(8) *See* XIV. 24. n. 2.

their

their Kingdom; as did, likewiſe, the *Wiſi-Goths* (9), *Burgundians* (10), and *Anglo-Saxons* (11). The firſt Traces of Things are obſcure; and the Law of Feodal Tenures, likewiſe, was not brought into a regular Form at once. As well Lords as Vaſſals, according to the Circumſtances of the Times, borrowed ſometimes one Thing, and ſometimes another, from the Cuſtoms of different People.

Their Laws, Courts of Juſtice, &c.

§ XL. As well the *Franks* as other *Germans*, were always, even amidſt the Tumults of their Wars, great Favourers of Juſtice; a ſure Sign of a well diſpoſed People. As to their Laws, we can the better judge of them here (1), as, in this Period, the greater Part of them were reduced into Writing. We find two Bodies of Law among the *Franks*, thoſe of the *Salii*, and thoſe of the *Ripuarii*. The *Burgundians* preſerv'd their Laws under the Dominion of the *Franks*; and under theſe Kings, the Laws of the *Bavarians* and *Swabians*, were brought into ſome Order. The *Wiſi-Goths*, in *Spain*; the *Longobards* in *Italy*; and the *Anglo-Saxons* in *Britain*, eſtabliſh'd each a new Body of Laws. The *Franks* not only allow'd the other *German* Nations who were under their Juriſdiction, each the Exerciſe of their own Laws; but the ancient Inhabitants of ſome of the Provinces of *Gaul*, thoſe of the *Romans*. We are not to look for much Politicks in the Laws of the *German* Nations (2). They chiefly conſiſt only of the firſt Principles of a publick Security, which they had learned from Experience; and, as they were form'd by the Judgment, and with the Aſſent of the People themſelves, are, in many Points, pretty mild. We might ſay Neceſſity firſt dictated them, and Liberty reduced them to Writing. They ſerv'd the *Germans* tolerably well, in the penurious and unciviliz'd State they were then in (3). In Time, other Manners requir'd other Laws. Under *Charlemaign*, and his Succeſſors, many new ones were added: But the more imperfect the temporal Laws were, the more Advantages the Biſhops drew into their Eccleſiaſtical Courts. However, theſe ancient Monuments of the *German* Laws, are to be valued for Antiquity's Sake. We may there obſerve, as it were,

(9) *See the* xxvi. Annot. num. 4.

(10) *See the* iii. Annot. num. 4.

(11) *See the learned Biſhop of* Durham, William Nicholſon's, Diſſ. de Jure Feudali Veterum Saxonum.

§ XL. (1) GREGORY, 4. 24. *calls* Celſus, *whom* Guntram, *King of the* Franks *named* Patricius *in* Burgundy, juris lectione peritus; *which is here to be underſtood of the* Roman *Law.*

(2) H. GROTIUS in Prolegom. ad Script. Hiſt Goth. p. 63. *has ſaid all that can be ſaid in Praiſe of the ancient* German *Laws; and will almoſt give them the Preference to the* Roman *Laws.*

(3) *As the Poet ſays of the obſolete* Roman *Laws:*

Hæc fuerant ſub Rege Numa, ſub Conſule Bruto,
Nunc alia eſt ætas.

the firſt Steps, which our Forefathers took, in their Advances towards civil Society. They held their Aſſizes under the Cope of Heaven, in a general Aſſembly; and every Freeman had this to comfort himſelf with, that his Judges were his Equals. In their Pleadings, they kept as ſtrictly to certain Forms, as the *Romans* did, and had, likewiſe, near as many exterior Signs, to denote the Meaning of what they were about. Even their Arms were of Uſe on ſuch Occaſions. At an Adoption, the Adopter preſented the Adopted with ſome Weapon (4); becauſe it was cuſtomary for Fathers to inveſt their Sons, with the firſt Arms they bore (5). So likewiſe, when any Perſon took an Oath, he laid his Hand on his Sword (6), probably, becauſe they aim'd at nothing ſo much, as to be ſucceſsful in the wielding of it. Among the *Longobards*, in the moſt ancient Times, an Arrow was the Token of giving a Man his Freedom (7), perhaps to ſignify, that he who before was a Slave, was now thought worthy of bearing Arms, and ſerving in their Wars, a Privilege belonging only to thoſe who were free *. In doubtful and uncertain Caſes, Superſtition had introduced the Trials by Fire and Water (8), and the Fool-hardineſs of Duelling. The latter is even preſcrib'd in the *Burgundian* Laws, and in thoſe of ſome other *German* Nations; and the *Franks* themſelves carried this Folly to the higheſt. *Theoderic*, King of the *Oſtro-Goths*, can alone boaſt of having demoliſh'd it in his Nation (9). That which, in the Beginning, was a judiciary Juſtification, Petulancy and Revenge made at Length ſo common, that whoever but imagin'd his Honour to be infring'd upon by another, had recourſe to his own Sword; without conſidering, that he, at the ſame Time, offer'd his own Perſon a Sacrifice to the Enemy. So that it has coſt as much Labour

(4) *An Example of this we have in King* Guntram, *when he adopted* Childebert. Gregory *mentions, on this Occaſion, a Shield and a Lance. In the ſame Manner, the Emperor* Juſtin, *adopted* Eutharicus, Theoderic's *Son in Law, (See* xi. 43. n. 4.) *and* Theodoric *himſelf, the King of the* Heruli. Var. 4. ep. 12. (xi. 23.)

(5) *See the Words of* Tacitus, Vol. I. B. 2. 37. n. 15.

(6) *Of this Cuſtom, ſee the Teſtimony of* Amm. Marcell. Vol. I. 2. 37. n. 16. *The* Franks *did Homage in this Manner, to Queen* Gaileſwinth, Chilperic's *Conſort.* xiv. 11. n. 2.

(7) *Of the* Longobards, Paulus Diaconus *ſays, that, in the moſt ancient Times,* manumiſſio per ſagittam *was in Uſe amongſt them.* Lib. 1. cap. 13. Longobardi tandem in Mauringam pervenientes, ut bellatorum poſſint ampliare numerum, plures a ſervili jugo ereptos, ad libertatis ſtatum perducunt, utque rata eorum haberi poſſet libertas, ſanciunt more ſolito per ſagittam, immurmurantes nihilominus, ob rei firmitatem, quædam patria verba. *But in his Time this Cuſtom was already obſolete, as we may ſee by the* Longobard *Laws,* Lib. 2. Tit. 35.

(8) *Of the Trial by red-hot Irons, ſee* L. SAL. Tit. 55.

* *See the* iii. Annot. *of the* Burgundians.

(9) *See the* xiv. Annot. num. ix.

to

to prevent this Evil, by modern Laws, as to form the ancient Statutes for eſtabliſhing it.

§ XLI. FROM theſe ancient Laws, we may likewiſe form a Judgment of their private Life. The firſt Inſtance I ſhall mention is their Marriages, the moſt natural of human Societies. In the moſt ancient Times, it was cuſtomary with the *Germans*, as well as other Nations, to buy their Wives of their Parents (1); Children being, as it were, reckon'd a Part of their Subſtance. Of this, we yet find ſome Traces in their Laws (2), particularly in thoſe of the *Franks*, the Betrothing *per ſolidum & denarium*. The matrimonial Articles were ſtipulated in the Preſence of the Family, or at a publick Entertainment (3), at which proper Witneſſes were provided. There the eſpouſed Couple exchanged the matrimonial Pledges (4), and, at the ſame Time, the Bridegroom aſſign'd the Bride a Jointure, in Caſe of his Deceaſe before hers (5). The Day after the Nuptials, the new married Man made his Wife a Preſent, diſtinguiſh'd in the *German* Laws, by the Name of *Morgengabe* * (or *Morning's Gift*) (6). As Chriſ- Of their Cuſtoms in private Life, Marriages, &c.

§ XLI. (1) *The ſame Cuſtom was formerly in Practice with the* Perſians, Phrygians *and* Thracians, *nay even with the ancient* Greeks. Add. GUNDLING de Emtione Uxorum apud Germ.

(2) *In the* L. Salica *we find but one Token of this Cuſtom,* Tit. 47, *which treats of the ſecond Marriages of Widows.* Et tunc ille, qui viduam accipere vult, cum tribus teſtibus, qui adprobare debent, TRES SOLIDOS, æque penſantes, & DENARIUM habere debet. Et hoc facto, ſi eis convenit, viduam accipiat. *But in the* Burgundian *Laws, it is more explicit. See the* iii. Annot. n. 5.

(3) *We find a memorable Paſſage of the Marriages of the* Germans, *in* Tacitus, cap. 18. Quanquam ſevera illic matrimonia, nec ullam morum partem magis laudaveris. Nam prope ſoli barbarorum ſingulis uxoribus contenti ſunt, exceptis admodum paucis, qui non libidine, ſed ob nobilitatem plurimis nuptiis ambiuntur. Dotem non uxor marito, ſed uxori maritus offert. Interſunt parentes & propinqui, ac munera probant: munera non ad delicias muliebres quæſita, nec quibus nova nupta comatur; ſed boves & frenatum equum, & ſcutum cum framea, gladioque. In hæc munera uxor accipitur. Atque invicem ipſa armorum aliquid viro offert. Hoc maximum vinculum, hæc arcana ſacra, hos conjugales Deos arbitrantur. Ne ſe mulier extra virtutum cogitationes, extraque bellorum caſus putet, ipſis inſtipientis matrimonii auſpiciis admonetur, venire ſe laborum periculorumque ſociam, idem in pace, idem in prælio paſſuram, auſuramque. Hoc junĉti boves, hoc paratus equus, hoc data arma denunciant. Sic vivendum, ſic pereundum: Acipere ſe, quæ liberis inviolata ac digna reddat, quæ nurus accipiant, rurſuſque ad nepotes referant. *It is evident, that he mentions this Inſtance of the* German *Cuſtoms, in Order, as is uſual with him, to compare it with thoſe of the* Romans. *At the Time I am now writing of, it is neceſſary to conſult the* German *Laws, to underſtand thoſe of the* Romans.

(4) FREDEGARIUS, cap. 18. *where he deſcribes the Eſpouſals of* Clotildis: Legati offerentes ſolidum & denarium, ut mos eſt Francorum, eam partibus Clodovei ſponſant. *Conf.* BIGNONIUM *in not. ad formulas Marculfi, p.* 219. & 364.

(5) *This* Dotalitium *is, indeed, wholly different from the Bride's Fortune or Portion; and yet Writers ſometimes call it* Dos. *In this Senſe,* Gregory *uſes that Word,* Lib. 6. cap. 18, *where he mentions the Ambaſſadors, which King* Chilperic *ſent into* Spain, *to take a View of what was deſign'd for his Daughter's Jointure:* Igitur legati Chilperici Regis, qui ad CONSPICIENDAM DOTEM in Hiſpanias fuerant miſſi regreſſi ſunt. *So, in another Paſſage, n.* 6.

* *A peculiar Kind of matrimonial Articles are therefore call'd* Matrimonium ad Morganaticam

(6) GREG. 9. 20. De civitatibus vero —— quas Gaileſuindam, tam in DOTE, quam in MORGANEGIBA, hoc eſt, matutinali dono, in Franciam venientem certum eſt aquiſiviſſe.

tianity cauſed, in general, a great Alteration in their Cuſtoms, ſo it reduced the Ceremony of their Marriages into better Form; and, in particular, required the Prieſt's Bleſſing to be added to it. It is generally believed, that, among the ancient *Germans*, Husbands had no great Fortunes with their Wives. Of ancient *Germania*, as deſcrib'd by *Tacitus*, this is very probable: But Time made alſo an Alteration in this. According to ſome Laws, Daughters had only their Mother's Jewels, Ornaments and Attire (7). In others they were admited as Co-heirs (8), except in the *Terra Salica*, and *Burgundica*. We likewiſe find Inſtances in *Gregorius Turonenſis*, where Brides have been thought more agreable on Account of their Portions. What *Tacitus* ſays, of the *Germans* being unacquainted with laſt Wills and Teſtaments, muſt not be underſtood of the *Franks* after they were poſſeſs'd of *Gaul*. The ſame *Gregory* makes frequent Mention of their Teſtaments, and Legacies, for pious Uſes; and even the Laws give Sanction to this Privilege. The more a Man poſſeſſes, the greater Satisfaction it muſt naturally be to him, that he has a Power to diſpoſe of it, at his laſt Moments, according to his own Will and Pleaſure.

Of the Language of the *Franks*, &c.

§ XLII. It is no Wonder, that the *Franks* were ſo long, before they chang'd their Cuſtoms, in *Gaul*, ſince they preſerv'd their Language likewiſe. In the Year 813, at the Council of *Tours*, it was decreed, that the Biſhops ſhould preach either in the *German* or vulgar *Roman* Tongue (1): For there were, at that Time, two Dialects of the *Roman* Tongue in Uſe in *Gaul*. In Divine Service, in publick Deeds, and in the ſmall Remains of Learning, a Sort of *Latin* was in Uſe, which ſavour'd very much of the Declenſion of the Times: But the Vulgar ſpoke it yet worſe, and their Dialect was called *Lingua Ruſtica* (2). The Kings, as well as the whole Nation, not only retain'd the *German* Tongue (3); but likewiſe underſtood and ſpoke that which was call'd the *Roman*. At leaſt ſo it is ſaid in Praiſe of ſome of them; as well as of thoſe Perſons of Diſtinction (4), who qualified themſelves for the Service of both

(7) *See the Paſſage taken from the Laws of the* Burgundians *and* Saxons *in the* iii *Annotation*, n. 3.

(8) Vid. L. Sal. Tit. 42. *Where we find the following remarkable Paſſage.* De Terra vero Salica in mulierem nulla portio hereditatis tranſit, ſed hoc virilis ſexus acquirit, hoc eſt, filii in ipſa hereditate ſuccedunt. Sed ubi inter nepotes aut pronepotes, poſt longum tempus, de alode terræ contentio ſuſcitatur, non per ſtirpes, ſed per capita dividantur.

§ XLII. (1) Concil. Turon. III. *de An.* 813. cap 17. Ut Epiſcopi habeant homilias ruſtica Romana lingua, aut Theotiſca.

(2) Mabil. *R. Dipl. Lib.* 2. *cap.* 1.

(3) Cont. Fredegar. *cap.* 103. Pippinus duxit aliam uxorem, nobilem & elegantem, nomine Alpheidam, ex qua genuit filium, vocavitque nomen ejus Lingua Propria Carlum.

(4) Venantius Forturatus *ſays this in Praiſe of King* Charibert. xiv. 1. n. 2.

Nations

Nations (5). But, by Degrees, the *Franks*, in *Neuſtria*, began to accuſtom themſelves to the Dialect of the ancient Provincials, and theſe, on the other Side, borrowed a great deal of the Dialect of the *Franks*, ſo that, out of both, gradually aroſe the modern *French* Tongue. The Inhabitants of *Auſtraſia*, on the contrary, remain'd by their Mother Tongue. This Diſtinction is moſt diſcoverable in the Reigns of the Succeſſors of *Charlemaign*, and the Difference grew greater, after the Monarchy itſelf came to be divided.

XLIII. THE *Franks* retain'd a great deal of the ancient *German* Dreſs, as deſcrib'd by *Tacitus* (1), particularly their ſtreight Garments, and the Cuſtom of wearing their Hair long (2), which *Sidonius Apollinaris* likewiſe ſays of the *Burgundians* (3). Ancient Writers, repreſent the *Franks*, in this Particular, pretty near in the ſame Manner, as *Tacitus* does the *Swabians* (4). But theſe Paſſages are either only to be underſtood of Perſons Their Habit.

(5) GERARD. *in vit.* S. ADALARDI, *Abbatis:* Qui ſi vulgari, *i. e. Romana*, lingua loqueretur, omnium aliarum putaretur inſcius: ſi vero Teutonica, eminebat perfectius: ſi Latina, in nulla omnino abſolutius.

§ XLIII. (1) SIDONIUS APPOLINARIS *deſcribes the Stature and Cloathing of the* Franks, Lib. 4. ep. 20. *where he relates the Entry of* Sigimer, *a Prince of the* Franks, *See* Vol. I. 10. 27. n. 2. *Another Paſſage, in the* Panegyr. Majoriani, *is likewiſe generally underſtood of the* Franks. (ix. 21. n. 3.)

Hic quoque monſtra domat, rutili quibus arce cerebri.
Ad frontem coma tracta jacet, nudataque cervix
Setarum per damna nitet: tum lumine glauco
Albet aquoſa acies, ac vultibus undique raſis
Pro barba tenues perarantur pectine criſtæ
Strictius aſſutæ veſtes proceera coërcent
Membra virum. Patet his altato tegmine poples:
Latus & anguſtam ſuſpendit balteus alvum.

But it is not quite a Certainty, that this is to be underſtood of the Franks.

(2) *As to this Circumſtance in particular, we find, beſides* Sidonius Apollinaris, *the following Teſtimonies of it.* Eumenius, Paneg. Conſtantii, cap. 16. *mentions the Overthrow which* Allectus *ſuffer'd in* Britain, (vi. 10.) *and on that Occaſion, takes the following Notice of the* Franks, *who were in his Army.* Illa barbara, aut imitatione barbariæ olim CULTU VESTIS, & PROLIXO CRINE RUTILANTIA corpora, &c. CLAUDIANUS de 6. Conſ. Honor. *when he deſcribes the Tranſactions which* Stilico *had with the* Alemanni *and* Franks, *ſays of the latter*; (Vol. I. viii. 2. n. 3.)

Ante Ducem noſtrum flavam ſparſere Sicambri
Cæſariem, pavidoque orantes murmure Franci
Procubuere ſolo.

Add. § *præc.* 35. *n.* 6.

(3) *He calls them* crinigeras catervas. x. 22. n. 8.

(4) TACITUS *ſays of the* Suevi, cap. 38. Inſigne gentis obliquare crinem, nodoque ſubſtringere. Sic Suevi a ceteris Germanis, ſic Suevorum ingenui a ſervis ſeparantur. In aliis gentibus ſeu cognatione aliqua Suevorum, ſeu (quod ſæpe accidit) imitatione, rarum, & intra juventæ ſpatium; apud Suevos uſque ad canitiem horrentem capillum retro ſequuntur, ac ſæpe in ipſo vertice religant. Principes & ornatiorem habent. Ea cura formæ, ſed innoxiæ, neque enim ut ament, amenturve, in altitudinem quandam & terrorem adituri bella compti, ut hoſtium oculis, ornantur. *We find a Paſſage in* Seneca, ep. 124, *where he deſcribes the different Cuſtoms of Nations in this Particular.* Quid capillum ingenti diligentia comis? cum illum vel effuderis modo Parthorum, vel GERMANORUM NODO VINXERIS, vel ut Scythæ ſolent, ſparſeris: in quolibet equo denſior jactabitur juba, horrebit in leonem cervice formoſior. *Other Paſſages of the common Cuſtoms of the* Germans, *ſee in the* IX. Annot. 8. 2.

of

of the firſt Diſtinction of the Nation (5), or the *Franks* changed afterwards very much in this Article: For the Hiſtories of the *Merovingian* Line obſerve, that theſe Ornaments of the Hair were peculiar to the Royal Family only, or at leaſt to ſome of the Chiefs of the Nation; but that the common People wore their Hair cut very ſhort (6). The ancient *Franks* ſeem not to have regarded their Dreſs ſo much as their Arms: For the latter remain'd always in as great Eſteem with them, as with their Anceſtors (7). They valued them as their beſt Ornaments, even in Time of Peace, and at all publick Feſtivals. However the *Germans* did not all conform to the ſame Dreſs, as we find by what is ſaid, on this Head, of the *Goths* (8), *Saxons* (9), and *Longobards* (10): But in ſucceeding Times, after *Germany* had its own Kings, they ſeem'd to be beſt pleas'd with the Habit of the *Franks* (11).

Their Diverſions, Poetry and Muſick, &c.

§ XLIV. THEIR Diverſions were chiefly Hunting, and the Exerciſes which could be ſerviceable to them in War; which Exerciſes or Turnaments, were likewiſe in Uſe among the *Goths* (1). This Bent of theirs contributed to the total Neglect of the *Ludi Circenſes*, which were yet in Vogue in King *Chilperic*'s Reign. They were, however, Lovers

(5) *Add. L. Sal. Tit.* 28. Si puerum crinitum ſine conſilio aut voluntate parentum totonderit. *Where* puer crinitus *ſignifies the ſame as* ingenuus. LEG. BURG Tit. 6. 4. *it is ſaid:* Quincunque ingenuo, aut ſervo fugienti CAPILLUM FECERIT, quinque ſolidos perdat: ſi ſciens CAPILLUM FECERIT, fugitivi pretium cogatur exſolvere. *So we find Inſtances, that the Locks of other Perſons of Diſtinction have been cut off. Of the* Maire de Palais, Ebroin, *ſee* xv. 6. n. 4.

(6) AGATH. 1. 1. Subditi orbiculatim tondentur, neque prolixiorem comam alere facile permittitur.

(7) *See the Words of* Tacitus, Vol. 1. 2. 37. n. 15.

(8) *Of the Habit of the* Goths, *ſee the* ix. Annot. 8. 2.

(9) *Of the* Saxons, *we find it ſaid, in* SID. AP. 10. 28.

—— Crinibus ad cutem reciſis
Decreſcit caput, additurque vultus.

(10) *The Habit of the* Longobards *is deſcribed by* PAULUS, Lib. 4. cap. 23. In qua pictura manifeſte oſtenditur, quomodo Longobardi eo tempore comam capitis tondebant, vel qualis illis veſtitus qualiſve habitus erat. Siquidem cervicem uſque ad occipitium radentes nudabant, capillos a facie uſque ad os dimiſſos habentes, quos in utramque partem in frontis diſcrimine dividebant. Veſtimenta vero eis erant laxa, & maxime linea, qualia Anglo-Saxones habere ſolent, ornata inſtitis latioribus, vario colore contextis. Calcei vero eis erant uſque ad ſummum pollicem pene aperti, & alternatim laqueis corrigiarum retenti. Poſtea vero cœperunt hoſtes uti, ſuper quas equitantes tubrugos birreos mittebant. Sed hoc de Romanorum conſuetudine traxerunt.

(11) *Thence* Vitichind *ſays*, Lib. 2. *when he deſcribes the Coronation of* Otto, M. *at* Aix la Chapelle. *He was dreſs'd*, tunica ſtricta, more Francorum.

§ XLIV. (1) *They are particularly extoll'd for their Activity.* Sidonius *ſays*, p. 304,

Excuſſiſſe citas vaſtum per inane bipennes
Et plagæ præſciſſe locum, clypeoſque rotare
Ludus, & intortas præcedere ſaltibus haſtas
Inque hoſtem veniſſe prius.

EGINHARD *ſays of the Diverſions of* Charlemaign. Aſſidue exercebatur equitando ac venando, quod illi gentilium erat, quia vix ulla in terris natio invenitur, quæ in hac arte Francos poſſit æquare.

of

of Poetry and Muſick. Rhime was the principal Requiſite of their Verſes, and not, as with the *Romans* and the *Greeks*, a Tone proceeding from Meaſure and a Limitation of Words. However the *German* Poetry did never depend alone on the Sound of the laſt Syllable; we find a Sort of Meaſure obſerv'd in their moſt ancient Songs. Muſick is, as it were, the Siſter of Poetry; but I believe the Songs of the *Burgundians*, which *Sidonius Apollinaris* mentions, and thoſe which the *Anglo-Saxons* tuned to their Citterns (2), ſounded as harſh, as the *Scythian* Lines, as that Author only names them (3), ſeem'd ſtrange to the *Romans*. However *Iſ. Voſius* does Injuſtice to the *German* Language, when he, to this Day, pretends even to exclude it from almoſt all Pretences to Muſick and Poetry (4). The *Germans* had, beſides, a Kind of String-Muſick, peculiar to themſelves; the Invention of which ſome ancient Authors attribute to the *Scyths* (5), others to the *Celtæ* (6). *Sidonius Apollinaris* mentions the ſame among the *Burgundians*; and *Venantius Fortunatus* compares the *German* Harp to the *Roman* Lyre (7). In *Pipin*'s Reign, the *Franks* got acquainted with the Organ, the Emperor *Conſtantine* having ſent that Prince one among other Preſents (8). But we muſt not compare this to the Muſick of the *Greeks*: They had a better natural Capacity for Muſick, and made it one Part of their Philoſophy (9): And the Stories, that *Apollo* built the Walls of *Troy*, and *Amphion* thoſe of *Thebes*, with the Sound of their Lyres, are only fit to take Place in the *Grecian* Hiſtories. However, the Muſick of the *Germans* need not be aſhamed of its Original, if it be true what *Iſaac Voſſius* ſays, that the Invention of moſt of the muſical Inſtruments, which are now in Uſe, is owing more

(2) BEDA *relates*, 4. 24. *of the* Anglo-Saxons, *that they play'd on the Cittern at Feaſts, and ſung to it.* Unde nonnunquam in convivio, cum eſſet lætitiæ cauſa, ut omnes per ordinem cantare deberent, ille, ubi adpropinquare ſibi cytharam cernebat, ſurgebat a media cœna.

(3) SID. APOLL. *in Panegyr. Majoriani, n.* 218.
——— Fors ripæ colle propinquo
Barbaricus reſonabat hymen, SCYTHISQUE CHOREIS
Nubebat flavo ſimilis nova nupta marito.
See Vol. I. 9. 21. n. 3.

(4) Is. VOSSIUS *de Poëmatum cantu, pag.* 56.

(5) POLLUX, *Lib.* 4. *c.* 9. *n.* 60. Sed quinquechordium organum a Scythis repertum eſt, loris vero bovillis compactum erat: & plectra caprarum erant labia.

(6) DIOD. SIC. *Bibl. Hiſt. Lib.* 5. *pag.* 308. Sunt etiam apud hos *(Gallos)* carminum Melicorum poëtæ, quos Bardas nominant. Hi ad inſtrumenta lyris non diſſimilia, aliorum laudes, aliorum vituperationes decantant.

(7) *See below*, n. 10. LEX VERINORUM, Tit. 5, 20. Qui harpatorem, qui cum circulo harpare poteſt, in manu percuſſerit, componat illum quarta parte majori compoſitione, quam alteri ejuſdem conditionis homini.

(8) ANN. LAURESH. *ad An.* 757. *Add.* MABILLON. *in Ann. Benedict.* ECKH. *T.* 1. *p.* 564.

(9) PLUT. *de muſ.*

to

to foreign Nations, than to the *Greeks* or *Romans* (10). I leave this Enquiry indeed to others *: But for Drums and Kettle-Drums, in particular, I have made a Remark of them in another Place (11).

(10) Voss. *l. c. p.* 107. Si originem inſtrumentorum, quæ hodie in uſu ſunt, inquiramus, pleraque ea a barbaris ad nos perveniſſe inveniemus. De organo, quod ſollibus animatur, ſatis diximus. Harpam vulgarem, & ipſam quoque barbarorum eſſe inventum, ſatis teſtatur ille Fortunati verſiculus:

Romanuſque lyra plaudat Tibi, barbarus harpa.

Nec dubito quin illud ipſum ſit inſtrumentum, quo Bardi, Gallorum olim ſacerdotes, uterentur, velut quod lyræ non abſimile fuiſſe ſcribat Diodorus Siculus. Teſtudinem, Barbiton ſive Tiorbam, Panduram, Citharam, cæteraque inſtrumenta vulgaria, licet vocabula habeant antiqua, barbara tamen eſſe potius, quam Græca vel Romana, vel illud ſatis declarat, quod pleraque cervicem diſtinctam habeant tactibus, ut vocant, nervis nempe tranſverſis, quibus ceu gradibus ab uno tono ad alium fiat aſcenſus, quale nihil in antiquis comparet inſtrumentis. Commoda & expedita admodum barbaris viſa eſt hæc ratio. Brevi enim illud adſequebantur, ut tonos a tonis quam exactiſſime diſtinguerent.

* *Of this ſee the* Reflexions ſur la muſique des anciens, p. 51. ſeq.

(11) *See the* Annot. pag. ult.

The End of the Second Volume.

THE

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I. ANNOTATION.

Of the BURGUNDIANS, *and the Eſtabliſhment of their Kingdom in* GAUL.

1. THE *Burgundi* or *Burgundiones*, a *German* Nation, are ſuppoſed by *Pliny*, to be of *Vandal* Extraction, as well as the *Varini* and *Guttones* (I. 2. 4.) This their Original is confirm'd by the Teſtimony of thoſe Writers, who afterwards had a nearer Knowledge of them, their Language and Laws. I have already mention'd, in its proper Place (VII. 8. n. 2.) the Relation of *Oroſius*, that *Druſus* and *Tiberius* entruſted them with the *Burg-Feſten* (or Fortreſſes) on the Confines of the *Roman* Dominions, in *Germany*, and that they borrowed their Name from thence. They were afterwards frequently engaged in Wars with the *Romans*, as well as with other *German* Nations.

2. I HAVE already taken Notice (V. 33.) of the ſignal Overthrow which they ſuffered from *Faſtida*, King of the *Gepidæ*.

3. *ZOSIMUS* mentions a memorable Battle, which *Probus* fought with the *Vandals* and *Burgundians*. (V. 54. 1.)

4. In the Reigns of *Diocletian* and *Maximian*, they, together with the *Alemanni*, invaded *Gaul*; and the *Chaibones* and *Heruli* attempted to do the ſame from the North, (See the Words of *Mammertinus*, (VI. 1.)

5. SOON after, they had ſeveral Skirmiſhes with the *Goths* and *Alemanni*. (VI. 6.)

6. *VALENTINIAN*, I, made a League with the Princes of the *Burgundians*, to take the Field againſt the *Allemanni*, whom he intended to fall upon, on the other Side: And they advanced as far as the *Rhine*. *Amm. Marcell.* (VII. 8. 2.)

7. WHEN, in the Reign of *Honorius*, ſeveral *German* Nations broke into the *Roman* Provinces, an Army of *Burgundians*, under the Command of their King, *Gunthicarius*, likewiſe paſs'd the *Rhine*. (VIII. 26.)

8. SOON afterwards, *Jovinus* aſſum'd the Imperial Dignity in *Gaul*, and *Gunthicarius*, together with ſome other *German* Nations, eſpouſed his Cauſe. *Olympiodor.* (VIII. 34. 3.)

9. *JOVINUS* was murdered, *A.* 413. But the Emperor came to an Accommodation with the *Burgundians*; that he might purſue the Wars with the *Wiſi-Goths*, with more Vigour: He evacuated a Tract of Land for their Uſe, probably in *Germania prima*; (*Proſp.* and *Caſiodor.* VIII. 38. 1.) which is to be look'd upon as the Riſe of the *Burgundian* Kingdom in *Gaul*.

10. THEY embraced the *Catholick* Religion early; and, according to the Relation of *Oroſius*, as ſoon as they entered *Gaul*; but, as *Socrates* ſays, ſooner. (*IB. n.* 2. 3.) But we find afterwards, that ſome of their Kings, particularly *Gundobald*, were Adherents to *Arianiſm*.

11. BUT it was not the whole Body of the *Burgundian* Nation, that went to *Gaul*. Thoſe who remain'd behind probably intermix'd with the *Goths*, and incurr'd their Fate; as we find there were *Burgundians* in *Attila*'s Army. (IX. 25. 3.) *Paulus Diaconus*, in his Deſcription of the Emigration of the *Longobards*, L. 13. mentions, among other Things, that they paſs'd thro' the *Burgundiab*. The Name of this Country is, however, loſt, as is that of the *Burgundians* who remain'd behind in *Germany*.

12. I SHALL mention the Revolutions of the *Burgundian* Kingdom, according to the *Series* of their Kings; on which Occaſion ſeveral other Matters will be added. And as, in many Circumſtances, we are not arrived to a ſufficient Certainty; it may be of Service to take Notice of what may be but conjectured.

II. ANNO-

II. ANNOTATION.

A Series of the Ancient Kings of BURGUNDY.

I.
GIBICA
GODOMARUS
GISLARUS.

OF theſe three Kings, we find an Account, in one of King *Gundobald's* Laws, leg. 3. *de libert. ſerv: Si quos apud Regiæ memoriæ auctores noſtros, id eſt,* GIBICAM, GODOMARUM, GISLAHARIUM, GUNDAHARIUM, *patrem quoque noſtrum & patruos, liberos fuiſſe conſtiterit, in eadem libertate permaneant: quicunque ſub iiſdem fuerint obnoxii ſervituti, in noſtro dominio perſeverent.*

II.
GUNDICARIUS.

1. OF this King, we have the firſt authentick Account; becauſe he eſtabliſh'd the Kingdom of the *Burgundians* in *Gaul.* He broke into *Belgica, A.* 435, or 436, and ſeveral other Nations were his Adherents. *Ætius* vanquiſh'd him, in a bloody Battle; but came to a new Agreement with him: *Idat. Proſp. Sidon.* (IX. 11. n. 1. 2.) And then it probably was that *Savoy* was evacuated to him. In the *Chronicon* PROSPERI, publiſh'd by PITHOEUS, we find, ad an. Theod. XX. (421.) *Sabaudia Burgundionum reliquiis datur, cum indigenis dividenda.* But there is undoubtedly a Miſtake in the Year.

2. *GUNTHICARIUS* ſuffer'd a great Overthrow from the *Huns*, which was probably, *A.* 450, when *Attila* invaded *Gaul.* (IX. 27. n. 2.) And perhaps what is mention'd, *Tit.* 17, in the *Burgundian* Laws,

Laws, of the *Pugna Mauriacenſi*, is to be underſtood of this. *Proſper's Chron.* carries the Matter too far, when it ſays: *Illum Hunni cum populo ſuo ac ſtirpe deleverunt.* (IX. 11. n. 1.)

III.

GUNDEUCHUS† *and* CHILPERIC.

† alias Gundiacus, ſ, Gundiucus.

1. *GREGORY* ſays, *Gundeucus*, was of the Family of *Athanaric*, the famous King of the *Wiſi-Goths*, L. II. c. 28. *Fuit autem & Gundeuchus, Rex Burgundionum, ex genere Athanarici regis perſecutoris, de quo ſupra memoravimus.* He makes mention of *Athanaric*, Lib. II. c. 4. Of this Affinity, ſee below, n. 3.

2. WHEN *Avitus* aſſum'd the Imperial Dignity in *Gaul*, as well the *Burgundians* as the *Wiſi-Goths* eſpouſed his Party; and when *Theoderic*, King of the *Wiſi-Goths*, march'd, to the Aſſiſtance of *Avitus*, againſt the *Suevi*, to *Spain*, both the Kings of the *Burgundians* accompanied him. JORNAND. c. 48. (ad an. 456.) *His auditis ægre tulit Theodericus, compacatuſque in cæteris gentibus arma movit in Suevos, Burgundionum quoque* GUNDIACUM & HILPERICUM *Reges auxiliares habens, ſibique devotos.* (X. 12.) On this Occaſion, they over-run the *Provincia Viennenſis, Lugdunenſis*, and *Maxima Sequanorum*: And hence we find, in *Sidonius*, the Name of *Germania Lugdunenſis*. Of theſe, *Majorianus* was oblig'd to leave them in Poſſeſſion, being reſolved to employ all his Force againſt the *Vandals* in *Africa*. (X. 15. n. 4.)

3. *GUNDEUCUS* was *Magiſter Militum* (X. 22. n. 5.) and married the Siſter of *Ricimer*, the *Patricius*, who had ſo much Influence in *Rome*, and throughout all *Italy*: Which Circumſtance we learn from the *Hiſtorica Miſcella*. Lib. XV. *Mortuo Ricimero, Olybrius Imperator, Gundibarum*, (l. Gundibatum) *ejus nepotem, Patricium effecit.* This is *Gundibald*, the Son of *Gundeucus*. *Ricimer* himſelf was born of a Daughter of *Wallia*, King of the *Wiſi-Goths* (X. 19. n. 2.) If therefore *Wallia* was related to the abovemention'd *Athanaric*, we have an Illuſtration of *Gregory*'s Words: *Gundeucum fuiſſe de genere Athanarici.*

4. *SIDONIUS* (X. 22. 4.) makes mention of *Chilperic*, who ſeems to have taken his Reſidence at *Lyons*, and, at the ſame Time, extols his Conſort: *Sane, quod principaliter medetur afflictis, temperat Lucumonem noſtrum Tanaquil ſua*: and farther: *neque quicquam, Deo propitiante, nocitura, ſi modo quandiu præſens poteſtas* LUGDUNENSEM GERMANIAM *regit, noſtrum ſuumque Germanicum præſens Agrippina moderetur.* Some therefore call this Queen, *Agrippina*: Tho' *Sidonius* only

only gives her this Name, by Way of Compariſon, as he before calls her *Tanaquil*: It is, however, but a Conjecture, that theſe Paſſages are to be underſtood of this ſame *Chilperic*.

IV.
GUNDOBALD, GODEGISILUS, CHILPERIC, GODEMAR.

1. FOUR Sons of *Gundeucus*. *Gregory* names them in the ſame Order I have here placed them. *Chilperic* and *Godemar* were the firſt who made Way for the other two; but the Circumſtances with which *Gregory* relates this, are not ſo authentick as not to leave us ſome Room for Doubt. (IX. 9.) The ſame *Gregory* mentions a King *Chilperic*, who kept his Court at *Geneva*: de vit. Part. I. in vit. S. Romani & Lupicini: *Lupicinus autem jam ſenex acceſſit ad* CHILPERICUM *Regem, qui tunc Burgundiæ præerat. Audierat enim, hunc habitare apud urbem* JANUVAM; which is taken for this *Chilperic*, who, beſides, is the moſt noted, on Account of his Daughter, *Clotildis*, who was *Clovis*'s Queen, from whom all the Kings of the *Franks* deſcended. The Ambition of *Godegiſelus* paved the Way to his Ruin; (XI. 10.) ſo that the whole Kingdom was united under *Gundobald*.

2. *A.* 472, the Emperor *Olybrius* nominated *Gundobald*, *Patricius* and *Magiſter Militum* (X. 22.) and he contributed very much to the Advancement of *Glycerius*, to the Imperial Throne, *A.* 473. (X. 23. 2.) His Reign I have treated of in its proper Place. (XI. 10 and 11.)

3. TWO Circumſtances are proper to be here examin'd into, his Death, and his Queen. MARIUS *in Chron.* PETRO CŌS. (*A.* 516.) HOC COS. *Gundebaldus obiit, & levatus eſt filius ejus Sigiſmundus.* PAGIUS *ad An.* 519. *n.* 19. indeed imagines *Gundobald* died *A.* 517; becauſe, in the *Burgundian* Laws, the 52*d*. *Tit. de mulieribus deſponſatis*, is dated IV. *Kal. Aprilis, Agapito Coſ.* But I ſhall obſerve below, that the Collection of the *Burgundian* Laws, which we have, was made in the Reign of *Sigiſmund*, and that, therefore, we have no occaſion to depart from *Marius*'s Computation.

4. *GREGORY* extols his Queen, without naming her, *de Gloria Martyrum, Lib.* II. *c.* 7. where he takes Notice, that ſome *Burgundian* Soldiers made a Preſent to King *Gundobald*, of a Silver Veſſel, which they had ſtolen out of the Church of *St. Julian*, at *Brioude*, in *Auvergne*: But the Queen prevail'd upon him to ſend it back to the Place it was taken from. *Quatuor ex his per fugam lapſi patenam, & urceum qui anax dicitur, in patriam deferunt, & diviſam in tantis, ut erant, partibus*

tibus patinam, urceum, REGI GUNDOBALDO *ob gratiam exhibent conquirendam. Reliquum vero argentum Reginæ ſagacitas reperit, cui, additis multis muneribus, loco illi ſancto reſtituit, fideliter inſinuans Regi non oportere eum, ut gratiam martyris ſancti propter argenti prævitatem amitteret.* ANDR. DU CHESNE. T. I. p. 514. has the following Epitaph, of a Queen whoſe Name was *Caratene*, and who was found interr'd in the Church of *St. Michael's*, in *Lyons*, which ſhe had founded:

Sceptrorum columen, terræ decus, & jubar orbis
Hoc artus tumulo vult CARETENE *tegi.*
Quam famulam, Tu Chriſte, Tuam, rerumque potentem,
De mundi regnis ad Tua Regna vocas.
Theſaurum ditem felici fine ſecutam,
Fotis pauperibus, quem dedit illa Deo.
Jamdudum caſtum caſtigans ASPERA *corpus*
DELITUIT VESTIS MURICE SUB RUTILO.
Occuluit læto jejunia ſobria vultu.
Secreteque dedit Regia membra cruci.
Principis excelſi CURAS PARTITA MARITI,
Adjuncto rexit culmina conſilio.
Præclaram ſobolem, dulceſque gaviſa nepotes
Ad veram doctos ſollicitare fidem.
Dotibus his pollens ſublimi mente SUBIRE
NON SPREVIT SACRUM POST DIADEMA JUGUM.
Cedat odoriferis quondam dominata Sabæis.
Expetiit mirum quæ Salomonis opus.
CONDIDIT HÆC TEMPLUM PRÆSENS, *quod perſonat orbe,*
Angeliciſque dedit limina celſa choris.
Laxatura reos, Regi, quas ſæpe ferebat,
Has offerre preces nunc tibi, Chriſte, poteſt.
Quam cum POST DECIMUM RAPUIT MORS INVIDA LUSTRUM,
Accepit melior tum ſine fine dies.
Jamquo bis Octona Septembrem luce movebat
† 506. *Nomen* MESSALÆ CONSULIS † *annus agens.*

Some learned Men, as *Valeſius*, and *F. Pagius*, ad An. 509. n. 20. ſuppoſes her to have been *Gundobald's* Queen: But it is a mere Conjecture. *Du Cheſne* himſelf believes her to have been *Gundeucus's* Queen.

V. SIGIS-

V.
SIGISMUND. *

I HAVE already given his Hiſtory, in its proper Place (XI. 13. & ſeq.) I ſhall here only give farther Proofs of ſome Circumſtances.

Of his Converſion, and of the Royal Title he bore in his Father's Life-time.

1. THAT he abjur'd *Arianiſm* in his Father's Life-time, is plain by ſeveral Letters, from *Avitus*: Eſpecially by the *67th*, in which he invites *Sigiſmund* to celebrate the Feſtival of *Eaſter* with him at *Vienne*; and by the *27th*, which is written in *Sigiſmund's* Name, to Pope *Symmachus*. Add. ep. 29. &c.

2. HE bore the Title of King, even in his Father's Life-time, as we may conclude from *Avitus*, ep. 27. and others, and by ep. 29. 30. & 70. we may reaſonably conjecture, that his Father aſſign'd him *Geneva*, for his Reſidence, with which *Fredegarius* agrees, in *Epit.* 34.

How the Burgundian *Kings, and particularly* Sigiſmund *behaved with Regard to the* Roman *Empire.*

3. *AVITUS* calls him, in the Superſcription of ſeveral Letters, particularly, ep. 42. & 84. *Comes*; and, in another Letter, *Patricius.* ep. 7. ad Papam Conſtantinopolitanum, *Dum domnus meus, filius veſter,* PATRICIUS SIGISMUNDUS, *glorioſiſſimum Principem officio legationis expetiit, nobis quoque deferendi ad vos famulatus aditum dupliciter ſancta opportunitate proſpexit.* This Letter was written in the *4th* Year of *Sigiſmund's* Reign.

4. BY the Letters, which *Avitus* wrote, in *Sigiſmund's* Name, to the Emperour *Anaſtaſius*, one would conclude, that the *Burgundian* Kings were wholly under the Command of the *Roman* Emperors. Ep. 83. we find theſe Words: *Quanquam iſtud famula veſtra proſapia mea ex devotione perſolverit, me tamen gratiæ debitorem non magis parentalia debita, quam beneficia mihi impenſa fecerunt. Veſter quidem eſt populus meus, ſed me plus ſervire vobis quam illi præeſſe delectat. Traxit iſtud a proavis generis mei apud vos deceſſoreſque veſtros ſemper animo Romana devotio, ut illa nobis magis claritas putaretur, quam veſtra per*

* *For* Sigiſmund's *Hiſtory, ſee alſo* Fr. Sigiſmund de S. Maurice Hiſtoire de S. Sigiſmond Martyr. Syon 1664. 4.

militiæ titulos porrigeret celſitudo: cunctiſque auctoribus meis ſemper magis ambitum eſt, quod a Principibus ſumerent, quam quod a Patribus attuliſſent. Cumque gentem noſtram videamur regere, NON ALITER NOS, QUAM MILITES VESTROS CREDIMUS ORDINARI. *Impartit nos gaudiorum munere veſtra proſperitas: quicquid illic pro ſalute omnium curatis, & noſtrum eſt. Per nos adminiſtratis remotarum ſpatia regionum, patria noſtra veſter orbis eſt.* And ep. 84. *Poſt obitum devotiſſimi, fideliſſimique vobis Patris mei, Proceris veſtri, cui ad feliciſſimos integra proſperitate ſucceſſus, id quoque contigit divino favore votivum, ut lactam florentemque rempublicam, vobis orbem regentibus, ſciret, voſque dominos nationum placido receptus fine derelinqueret: ad hæc intimanda, vobiſque commendanda, quin etiam militiæ meæ rudimenta, quæ genitore quidem meo ſuperſtite nutriſtis, ſed magis magiſque poſt eum cumulo ſacræ dignationis augebitis, ſicut debebam, vel optare par fuerat, unum de conſiliariis meis, qui, quantum ad ignorantiam Gallicanam, cæteros præire litteris æſtimatur, venerandi comitatus veſtri auribus offerebam, ſpecialius ſecuritate concepta, quod Rector Italiæ de pace veſtra publice plauderet, & rumore diſperſo redditam ſibi Orientis gratiam coloraret,* In another Place (ep. 69.) *Avitus* writes, in *Sigiſmund's* Name, to the ſame Emperor. *Nam licet mundum latere nequeat veſtra proſperitas, & orbem ſuum radiis perſpicuæ claritatis illuſtret: dulce tamen eſt, ſi hi, quos militiæ faſcibus, & peculiaris gratiæ pietate ſuſtollitis, quos in extremis terrarum partibus aulæ pollentis contuberniо, & venerandi Romani nominis participatione ditatis, ſpecialiter gaudia veſtræ perennitatis agnoſcant, quæ generaliter cunctis fama concelebrat. Ornat quippe imperii veſtri amplitudinem longinquitas ſubjectorum, & diffuſionem reipublicæ veſtræ aſſerit, quod remotius poſſidemur.* But in Reality, theſe are only Compliments, which coſt *Avitus*, who himſelf was not a little proud of the Title of *Senator Romanus* †, little or nothing. The Correſpondence between the Emperor, and the King of *Burgundy* was ſo difficult, that *Sigiſmund*, in that very 84*th* Letter, complains, he had not been able to forward a Letter to the Emperor, becauſe of *Theoderic*, King of *Oſtro-Goths.* And how little Power the Emperor had over the Kings of *Burgundy*, we may ſee (ep. 42.) by the Interceſſion *Anaſtaſius* makes Uſe of, to obtain of *Gundobald* the Freedom of a certain young Perſon.

* *He ſays* ep. 31. ad Fauſtum & Symmachum Senatores urbis: *Quibus cognitis, quaſi Senator ipſe Romanus, quaſi Chriſtianus Epiſcopus conteſtor.*

Of

Of the Foundation of the Monaſtery of St. Maurice, *and of the* Theban *Legion; and likewiſe of his Lance and Ring, &c.*

As for the Monaſtery of St. *Maurice*, the Foundation of which is generally aſcrib'd to *Sigiſmund*, *Marius Aventicenſis* ſuppoſes it to have been *A.* 515. *Florentino and Anthemio Coſ.* But *F. Mabillon*, *Ann. Ord. Bened.* T. I. p. 568. pretends the Foundation to have been earlier, and that *Sigiſmund* only repaired and adorn'd it. The Hiſtory of St. *Maurice*, and the *Theban*-Legion itſelf, is likewiſe mention'd (XI. 31.) *Eucherius*'s Life of St. *Maurice* is publiſh'd by *Chifflet*; and by *F. Ruynart*, *in Act. Martyr. Sinceris*, p. 273. The Hiſtory itſelf, at ſo great a Diſtance of Time, and for Want of ancient Accounts, is very obſcure. *Cave* doubts of the Truth of it, and *Jo. Dubordieu* publiſh'd a Treaty at *Amſterdam*, A. 1705, on purpoſe to prove it a Fable. *Baldeſano*, in his *Hiſtoria di S. Mauritio*, ſhews more of the Orator than the Hiſtorian. The Devotion of former Times, which was not ſo very Critical, held the Relicks of *St. Maurice* in very high Eſteem. In *Germany*, his Lance is preſerved among the *Regalia* of the Empire. The latter Kings of *Burgundy* bore it as a Token of the Royal Dignity, and *Rudolph*, the laſt, deliver'd it to the Emperor *Conradus Salicus*, when he gave up the Kingdom to him, in his Life-time. * The Dukes of *Savoy* have his Ring; of which ſee *Baldeſano*, l. c. p. 201.

VI.
GODEMARUS.

Succeeded his Brother, *A.* 524. (XI. 33. 34.) and was vanquiſh'd by the *Franks*. *A.* 534. (XII. 2.)

* Hugo Flaviniacensis in Chron. Virdun. cap. 29. *Rodulfus Rex, abſque liberis exiſtens, Conrado Imperatori Burgundiæ regnum dereliquit- dans ei lanceam S. Mauricii, quod erat inſigne regni Burgundiæ.*

Genealogical Table of the Kings of BURGUNDY.

GIBICA

GUNDAMARIUS

GISLARIUS, *See*, n. I.

GUNDICARIUS, *See* n. II.

GUNDIACUS *and* CHILPERICUS, *See* n. III.

GUNDOBALDUS, Ux. Caritene. n. IV. 4.	GODEGISILUS, *See* n. IV.	CHILPERICUS,	GODEMARUS,

SIGISMUNDUS, *Qu.* 1.) Oſtrogotha, *Daughter of* Theoderic, *King of* Italy. 2.) N.N.	GODEMARUS, *the laſt King of* Burgundy.	*A Daughter.* (XI. 11. n. 13.)	SEDELEUBA, *retired into a Convent.*	CLOTILDIS, Clovis's *Queen.*

I	I.	2.	2.
SIGERICUS, occ. An. 522.	SVAVIGOTHA, *the Qu. of* Theoderic, *King of* Auſtraſia.	GISCLADUS *and* GUNDEBALDUS, *were murder'd at the ſame Time with their Father and Mother.*	

III ANNO-

III. ANNOTATION.

The Conſtitution of the Kingdom of the BURGUNDIANS: *Of their Laws, Manners,* &c.

I.

State of the Kingdom of Burgundy *in* Gaul.

WE know little more of the *Burgundians*, while they remain'd in *Germania*, than what is obſerv'd above: But after they got a Footing in *Gaul*, the Kingdom of *Burgundy* became very famous, eſpecially under *Gundebald*; and their Kings are no longer to be compared with their former Dukes, from whom they were very apt to withdraw their Allegiance. In the Beginning, the Emperour may, in ſome Meaſure, have retain'd a Supremacy, in the Provinces granted them, at leaſt with Regard to the *Roman* Inhabitants. The very Titles of *Patricius* and *Magiſter Militum*, which their Kings accepted of, ſeem to imply a Subordination: But this ceas'd upon the Downfall of the Empire in the *Weſt*: Tho' we find ſome Marks of it afterwards. They continued to date according to the Years of the *Conſuls* (1): Some Perſons of the higheſt Rank in the *Burgundian* Provinces yet bore the Name of *Senators*: *Sigiſmund's* Letters to the Emperor *Anaſtaſius* abound with Reſpect: But theſe are meer Compliments. The three laſt Kings *Gundobald*, *Sigiſmund* and *Godomar* rul'd over the *Burgundians*, as well as over the *Romans*, in the Conquer'd Lands, not as *Magiſtratus Romanorum*, but as King: And, at Length, their Publick Acts were dated according to the Years of their Kings Reigns (2). The Biſhops ſhew'd them much greater Reſpect than was due to a *Patricius* or *Magiſter Mi-*

(1) Pagius *obſerves*, ad An. 509. n. 21. *that the* Burgundians *begun their Year with the Month of* March.

(2) v. Procem. LL. Burgundic.

litum;

litum; as we may conclude from the Words of *Avitus*, in a Letter to King *Sigiſmund*, (ep. 40.) *De feſtivitate, ad quam profectus fueram, ſumma quidem feſtinatione reverſus ſum, ſed quia jam duce Chriſto proceſſeratis, lætificandus, ut de Deo credimus, reditu veſtro, immodice tamen attonitus reddor abſceſſu: quod ſcilicet in ipſo ſucceſſuræ proſperitatis regreſſu, advolui genibus Domini mei, permulcere oſculis manus, & in ſancto illo pectore ſedem fidei noſtræ adorare non merui.* When after this, we meet with the Title of *Patricius*, in *Burgundy*, it is not as a Dignity of the Empire; but by Grant from the King. The Adminiſtration lay chiefly on the Counts, as is particularly to be ſeen in the Subſcription of their Laws: In which we likewiſe find more Traces of their Conſtitution: But I muſt firſt ſay ſomething of thoſe Laws.

II.

Of the Burgundian *Laws.*

1. We have a Collection of the *Burgundian* Laws, publiſh'd by *Heroldus* and *Lindenbrogius*: but it is uncertain when they were enacted. *F. Pagius* is of Opinion it was *A.* 501. We find, however, ſome Conſtitutions in it newer, as the 52*d*, *Agapito Coſ.* which is dated, 517. In the Preamble we find; *Anno ſecundo regni Domini noſtri glorioſiſſimi, Gundebaldi, Regis.* I ſhould rather agree with thoſe Copies, in which *Sigiſmund* is in the Room of *Gundebald*; for the abovemention'd 52*d* Conſtitution agrees with the 2*d* Year of his Reign, which he enter'd upon, *A.* 516, after his Father's Death. In this Collection, are many Conſtitutions of *Gundebald*, and, among them, two. *viz. Tit.* 42 and 45. *Abieno Coſ.* dated 501 or 502. It is therefore moſt probable, that *Gundebald* firſt brought the *Burgundian* Laws into a Body, which, from him, was call'd *Lex Gundobalda* in *French*, *Loi Gombette*, and that *Sigiſmund*, at his Acceſſion to the Throne, revis'd and publiſh'd them with Additions.

2. Theſe Laws have one Thing in common with thoſe of other *German* Nations, that they were enacted with the Advice of the whole Nation. They were indeed chiefly made for the *Burgundians*, who were diſtinguiſh'd from the ancient Inhabitants, or *Romans*, by the Name of *Barbari*; and in moſt Points carry with them evident Marks of the ancient Manners of the *Germans*: However, there are ſome Paſſages which regard the *Romans*, and, in Part, are even taken from the *Roman* Laws; for Inſtance, in *Tit.* 51, what is ſaid of Teſtaments. *Addit.* I. *Tit.* I. 7. the *Codex Theodoſianus* is expreſly referr'd to: *De ſervitute luminis, vel aëris ſimiliter conſtitutum, ut inter privatorum fabricas decem pedes, inter*

inter publicas quindecim dimittantur, SECUNDUM LEGEM THEODOSII. When a *Roman* and a *Burgundian* happen'd to be at Variance, a Judge was appointed of each Nation. In other Caſes, not provided for in theſe Laws, the *Romans* were, in ſome Meaſure, indulg'd, in the Uſe of their ancient Statutes.

3. About this ſame Time, one *Pappianus*, whom *Jac. Cujacius*, in the Dedication of his Edition, calls *Jureconſultus non incautus*, made certain *Reſponſa*, which are accounted a Part of the *Jus Burgundic.* He has followed the ſame Order in the Titles, as are obſerved in the Collection, and ſeems to have written for the *Romans*.

III.

Partition of the Country. Sortes Burgundicæ. *What* Hoſpes *and* Jus hoſpitalitatis *ſignify in the* Burgundian *Laws?*

THE *Burgundians* had agreed to a Partition with the ancient Inhabitants of the *Roman* Provinces, in ſuch Manner, that the former were allowed two Thirds of the Land, and one Third of the Slaves. Theſe were call'd *Sortes Burgundicæ*, *Tit.* LIV. *Licet eodem tempore, quo populus noſter mancipiorum tertiam, & duas terrarum partes accepit, ejuſmodi a nobis emiſſa fuerit præceptio, &c.* The Land ſeems afterwards to have been reduced to an equal Portion. Additamento II. Tit. XI. *De Romanis vero hoc ordinavimus, ut non amplius a Burgundionibus, qui infra venerunt, requiratur, quam ad præſens neceſſitas fuerit, medietas terræ: Alia vero medietas cum integritate mancipiorum a Romanis teneatur.* Theſe *Sortes Burgundicæ* were divided among the People, under the Obligation of ſerving in the Wars, in the ſame Manner as the *Terræ Salicæ*, with the *Franks*. In the Beginning it might ſeem as if the *Burgundians* were only quarter'd with the *Romans*. Whence they are both often nam'd *Hoſpites*, in the Laws. * And *Tit.* LV. it is ſaid: *Quoties de agrorum finibus, qui* HOSPITALITATIS JURE † *a barbaris poſſidentur, inter duos Romanos fuerit mota contentio, &c.* In Time they got Poſſeſſion of the whole. However a *Burgundian* was not eaſily ſuffered to alienate his *Sors*; but was oblig'd to leave it, with the Appurtenances

* *In this Senſe, a Soldier was call'd among the* Romans, Hoſpes. L. 2. C. de Metat.

† *The Cities in the* Roman *Provinces, and the* Legions, *which were quarter'd in them, had preſerv'd, from ancient Times, a* Jus hoſpitii: TACIT. H. 1. 54. Miſerat civitas Lingonum, vetere inſtituto, dona Legionibus, dextras, hoſpitii inſigne: *In the following Book,* c. 8. *he ſays,* dextras concordiæ inſignia.

to

to his Sons. Tit. I. Lib. I. *Decrevimus, ut patri etiam, antequam dividat, de communi facultate, & de labore ſuo cuilibet donare liceat,* Absque Terra Sortis Titulo Acquisita. On the other Hand the Daughters inherited all their Mother's Ornaments and Cloaths, excluſive of their Brothers. Tit. LI. 3. *Ornamenta & veſtimenta matrimonialia ad filias, abſque ulla fratris, fratrumque conſortio pertinebunt,* an ancient *German* Cuſtom, which we likewiſe find in the *Lex Angliorum & Werinorum,* Tit. VI. 6. 7. *Mater moriens filio terram, mancipia, pecuniam dimittat, filiæ vero ſpolia colli, id eſt, murenas, muſcas, monilia, inaures, veſtes, armillas, vel quidquid ornamenti proprii videbatur habuiſſe. Si nec filium, nec filiam habuerit, ſororem vero habuerit, ſorori pecuniam & mancipia, proximo vero paterni generis terram relinquat.* This Cuſtom is yet preſerved in *Saxony,* where all that has belong'd to the Mother, for *Uſe* and *Ornament,* call'd *Geräde* (Moveables) falls to the Daughters.

IV.

Difference of Ranks among the Burgundians. *What the* Leudes *were? Whether they had Feodal Tenures?*

As to the different Ranks of People, in the Nation, we find firſt *Freemen,* who are diſtinguiſh'd by the Names of *Ingenui, Nobiles,* and *Optimates:* Next *Freedmen,* and laſtly *Slaves.* But we likewiſe meet with another Order of Men call'd *Leudes,* who are different from the *Ingenui* and *Optimates.* Additament. I. Tit. XIV. *Quicunque Burgundio, Optimatis, aut mediocris, ſine ordinatione patris cum alicujus filia ſe copulaverit, jubemus, ut tripla ſolutione Optimatis ille, qui fuerit, patri ipſi, cujus filiam copulavit & ei ante ſcire non fecit, nec conſilium petiit, CL. ſolidos cogatur exſolvere: & mulctæ nomine ſolidos* XXXVI. Leudis *vero, ſi hoc præſumſerit facere, ſimiliter in tripla ſolutione, hoc eſt, ſolidos* XLV. *ſolvat: & mulctæ nomine ſolidos* XII. *Leudes* ſeem (as the Name it ſelf ſhews) to be a Species of thoſe People, who, in following Times, were call'd *Miniſteriales.* The Kings had, in particular, ſuch *Leudes,* to whom he granted certain Eſtates, on Condition of Services to be performed, of which we find ſome Footſteps: *Tit.* I. 3. *Illud etiam huic legi adjungi placuit, ut, ſi quis de populo noſtro a parentibus noſtris munificentiæ cauſa aliquid percepiſſe dignoſcitur, id quod ei conlatum eſt, etiam ex noſtra largitate,* Ut Filiis Suis Relinquat, *præſenti conſtitutione præeſtamus:* And farther, n. 4. *Id etiam ſtatuentes, ut ſi quid etiam de noſtro munere, aut Deo præſtante aliter perceperint,*

perint, donationum noſtrarum textus oſtendant. Supereſt, UT POSTERITAS EORUM EA DEVOTIONE ET FIDE DESERVIAT, *ut augere ſibi, & ſervare circa ſe parentum noſtrorum munera cognoſcant.* In Imitation of their Kings, the Counts, and other great Men, had their *Leudes*. But theſe Eſtates were, at this Time, Hereditary.

V.

A Cuſtom at their Marriages.

EVERY *Burgundian*, when he married, was oblig'd, according to the Cuſtom of the ancient *Germans*, to pay the Bride's Friends a certain Sum of Mony. Tit. XXXIV. 2. *Si quis uxorem ſuam ſine cauſa dimiſerit, inferat eì alterum tantum, quantum pro pretio ipſius dederat.* Add. Tit. XII. 1. 3. The Mony ſo paid by the Bridegroom was call'd *Wittemon*, from which, in Time, came the Word *Witthumb* (dotalitium) *Vid. Tit.* 66, 69, 86.

VI.

Of Duels among the Burgundians.

ONE memorable Article in the *Burgundian* Laws is, that tho' Manſlaughter was puniſhable by Death *; yet, in certain Caſes, Duelling was allowed; ſo that the Plaintiff had the Option, either to put his Counterpart to his Oath, or to fight him. Tit. VIII. L. 2. *Quod ſi ei ſacramentum de manu is, cui jurandum eſt, tollere voluerit, antequam eccleſiam ingrediatur, illi, qui ſacramentum audire juſſi ſunt, (quos a judicibus ternos ſemper ad ſacramentum audiendum præcipimus delegari) conteſtentur, ſe nolle ſacramenta percipere: & non permittatur is, qui juraturus erat, poſt hanc vocem ſacramentum præſtare: ſed ſint per nos illi, qui deliquerunt, Dei judicio committendi:* Which is expreſs'd more at large, *Tit.* XLV. *Multos in populo noſtro & perviçatione cauſantium, & cupiditatis inſtinctu ita cognoſcimus depravari, ut de rebus incertis ſacramenta plerumque offerre non dubitent, & de cognitis jugiter perjurare: Cujus ſceleris conſuetudinem præſenti lege ſubmoventes decernimus, ut, quotiens inter homines noſtros cauſa ſurrexerit, & is, qui pulſatus fuerit, non*

* Tit. II. *Si quis hominem ingenuum ex populo noſtro, cujuslibet nationis, aut ſervum Regis natione duntaxat barbarum, occidere, damnabili auſu aut temeritate, præſumſerit, non aliter admiſſum crimen, quam ſanguinis ſui effuſione componat.*

deberi a ſe quod requiritur, aut non factum, quod objicitur, ſacramentorum obligatione negaverit, hac ratione finem litigio eorum oportebit imponi, ut ſi pars ejus, cui oblatum fuerit jusjurandum, noluerit ſacramenta ſuſciper e ſed adverſarium ſuum dixerit veritatis fiducia armis poſſe convinci, & pars diverſa non ceſſerit, pugnandi licentia non negetur. Nay, the very Witneſſes, if requir'd, were oblig'd to appoint one among them to fight; and, if he were worſted, the Reſt were all liable to Fines. *Tit.* XLV. *Quod ſi teſtis partis ejus, quæ obtulerit ſacramentum, in eo certamine fuerit ſuperatus, omnes teſtes, qui ſe promiſerant juraturos, trecentos ſolidos mulctæ nomine cogantur exſolvere, &c.* And Tit. LXXXII. *Jubemus, ut de teſtibus, qui pro quacunque parte ſe tulerint, ſi ad conflictum cauſæ deſcenderint, & divino judicio falſus ibidem relator pugnans occubuerit, trecentos ſolidos mulctæ nomine omnes teſtes partis ipſius, ex qua parte teſtis ſuperatus eſt, cogantur exſolvere.* We find likewiſe Footſteps of the ſame Cuſtom in the Laws of the *Saxons*, *Alemanni*, and other *German* Nations. *Avitus*, Biſhop of *Vienne*, repreſenting to the King, the Abſurdity of putting the Deciſion of Right to the Teſt of the ſtrongeſt or moſt skilful Duelliſt; the King anſwer'd: By this Means, the Deciſion was left to God's Judgment: And even Kings themſelves, and whole Nations, had no other Means to decide their Differences. *See Agobardus adv. Leges Gondob*, p. 120. *Quid iſte venerandus & ſanctus vir ſæpe dicto Gondebaldo de ſupradictis certaminibus reſponderit, audiat, ſi placet, benignitas veſtra. Cum de his inter utrumque ſermo eſſet, & beatus Avitus talia reprehenderet, reſpondit ei Gondebaldus. Quid eſt, quod inter regna & gentes, & etiam inter perſonas ſæpe ſingulas dirimendæ præliis cauſæ divino judicio committuntur, & ei maxime parti, cui juſtitia competit, victoria ſuccedit? Ad quod beatus Avitus intulit dicens: Si divinum, inquam, judicium gentes & regna expeterent, illud prius formidarent, quod dicitur ſcribente Pſalmiſta:* Dissipa Gentes Quæ Bella Volunt, *& illud diligerent, quod perinde dicitur.* Mihi Vindicta, Ego Retribuam, *dicit Dominus. An forte ſine telis & gladiis cauſarum motus æquitas ſuperna non judicat, cum ſæpe, ut cernimus, pars aut juſte tenens, aut juſta depoſcens, laboret in præliis, & prævaleat iniquæ partis vel ſuperior fortitudo, vel furtiva ſubreptio.* This remain'd a Cuſtom with the *Burgundians*, when ſubject to the Kings of the *Franks*; of which we have an Inſtance under *Guntram*, in *Gregory*, Lib. X. c. 10. *Agobard*, Biſhop of *Lyons*, entreated the Emperor *Ludovicus Pius*, to aboliſh this Cuſtom, as we ſee in his Treatiſe, *adverſus legem Gundobadam*; but it was not done. This Abuſe of Duelling encreas'd rather more and more among the *Franks*; and what was ordain'd

ordain'd in their Laws, as a judiciary Proceeding, was alſo practis'd extra-judicially, on almoſt every Occaſion.

VII.

State of the Burgundians, *under the* Franks.

The *Burgundians* preſerv'd their Conſtitution, even under the *Franks* *, only they were oblig'd to perform certain Services, and pay a Tribute to the Kings. (XII. 2.) They kept their Laws, and had a *Major-Domus* of their own. Thoſe Kings who had *Burgundy* for their Portion, were ſtiled *Reges Burgundiæ*, as, in particular, the Example of *Guntram* ſhews. There were likewiſe Bodies of Troops form'd out of the *Burgundians*. To conclude, I will mention only one Diſtinction more, which the *Franconian* Law made between a *Frank* and a *Burgundian*. It is ſaid, Leg. Ripuar. Tit. 36. de diverſis interfectionibus; *Si quis Ripuarius advenam Francum interfecerit, ducentis ſolidis culpabilis judicetur. Si quis Ripuarius advenam Burgundionem interfecerit, centum ſexaginta ſolidos culpabilis judicetur.* As the *Burgundians* thus preſerv'd their own Conſtitution, it was the eaſier for them, when the *Carolingian* Line, of the *Franconian* Kings, began to decline, again to chuſe their own Kings.

* *The Hiſtory of the* Burgundians *is carried on by* Schopflin, in Diſſ. de Burgundia Cis & Transjurana, *to the Extinction of the* Carolingian *Line.*

IV. ANNOTATION.

Of the Confines of the BURGUNDIAN *Kingdom, taken from the Subscriptions of the Bishops, at the Council of* YENNE.

Ad XI. 31. not. 2.

HOW far the Kingdom of *Burgundy* extended in *Sigismund*'s Reign, we may, among other Testimonies, conclude from the Subscriptions of the Bishops, who assisted at the *Synod* at *Yenne*. Of this, I shall give *F. Pagi*'s Account, *ad A.* 509, *n.* 21. by which we may, at the same Time, see the *Roman* Division of the Provinces, and illustrate the modern Geography by the Ancient. *Quam late patuerit regnum Burgundiæ, colligitur ex ejusdem concilii subscriptionibus, ubi memorantur Sedes Episcopales XXVII. Scilicet, Tarantasiensis, & Octodurensis* *, in ALPIBUS GRAIIS : *Ebredunensis*, in ALPIBUS MARITIMIS, *Viennensis, Gratianopolitana, Valentina, & Genavensis, in* PROVINCIA VIENNENSI PRIMA : *Cabellionensis, Avenionensis, Vasensis, Carpentoratensis, Arausicana, Diensis, Tricastina, & Vivarensis in* PROVINCIA VIENNENSI SECUNDA : *Sistariensis, Aptensis, & Vapincensis*, in PROVINCIA NARBONENSI SECUNDA: *Lugdunensis, Matisconensis, Lingonensis, Cabilonensis*, in PROVINCIA LUGDUNENSI PRIMA . *Nivernensis*, in PROVINCIA SENONENSI, *seu* LUGDUNENSI QUARTA : *Vesontionensis, Aventicensis* †, *Vindonensis* ‖, *& Bellicensis*, in PROVINCIA MAXIMA SEQUANORUM, *sive* LUGDUNENSI QUINTA. Mount *Jurat* gave Occasion to this Distinction of *Burgundia Cisjurana*, and *Transjurana*.

* Octodurum, *or* Vicus Veragrorum, *lies in the lower District of* Valois, *on the Left of the* Rhone; *and is now call'd* Martinach, *in* French, Martigny. *The Bishop's See is remov'd to* Sitten.

† Aventicensis. Aventicum *was a famous City of* Helvetia : *But the Place where it stood is now scarce to be determin'd. The most probable Conjecture is, that the present* Wifflisburg, *in the District of* Bern, *was built of the demolish'd Walls of the City of* Aventicum. *The Bishop's See is remov'd to* Lausanne.

‖ Vindonissa; Windisch, *is now a Village on the* Rusz, *not far from its Conflux with the* Aar, *in the District of* Bern. *The Bishop's See was afterwards transfer'd to* Constance.

V. ANNO-

V. ANNOTATION.

Of the Kingdom of the THURINGIANS.

Ad XI. 47.

I HAVE made Mention of the Deſtruction of the Kingdom and Royal Family of *Thuringia* above: But I deferr'd the Proofs and Illuſtration of thoſe Matters to this Place, that I might, at the ſame Time, trace all the other Footſteps, that are to be come at, of the Antiquity of the *Thuringians*.

I.

An Account of the Thuringians, *from the* Gothick *Hiſtory.*

1. THE *Theruingi*, *Thoringi*, *Thuringi* are firſt mention'd in the *Gothick* Hiſtory: Tho' I find no Account of them ancienter, than that given by *Mammertinus*, in a Panegyrick on Emperor *Maximian*, of a War, which the *Thoringi* and *Taifali* (who were likewiſe a *Gothick* People) then waged againſt the *Gepidæ* and *Vandals*. (VI. 6. n. 3.)

2. IN the fourth Century they became more known, as a People, who properly belong'd to the *Wiſi-Goths*. The mighty *Athanaric* was call'd a King of the *Theruingi*, and the People, over whom he reign'd, were ſometimes nam'd *Gothi*, and ſometimes *Theruingi*. His Hiſtory give us, at the ſame Time, the moſt authentick Notices of the true Original of the *Thuringians*. In particular, the *Goths*, who then paſs'd the *Danube*, into the *Roman* Territories, (VII. 17, 18, 19) and afterwards took up Arms, under the Conduct of their Prince, *Fritigern*, againſt *Valens*, were call'd *Theruingi*. We find, among the *Roman* Forces, *Teruingi* and *Taifali*,

* who

* who were probably a Part of thoſe who were then admitted into the *Roman* Dominions, partly by *Gratian*, and partly by *Theodoſius*. The *Thuringian* Horſes were likewiſe in Eſteem with the *Romans*, for their Strength. (V. 30. 9.)

3. HOWEVER, many of the *Wiſi-Goths*, and, among them, the *Thuringians*, remain'd behind, who, after the ancient Kingdom of the *Wiſi-Goths* was deſtroy'd, tried their Fortunes, by themſelves. Probably they had a Share in the Attempts made by *Rhadagaiſus* and *Attila*. This at leaſt we find, that there were *Thuringians*, in *Attila*'s Army, when he invaded *Gaul*. (IX. 25.) They afterwards, in the Time of *St. Severin*, made ſeveral Inroads into *Noricum*. (IX. 30. n. 8.) And if, with this, we give Credit to what ſeveral learned Men take for granted, that, by the Name of *Turcilingi*, the *Thuringians* were likewiſe meant, they had a great Share in the Revolution in *Italy*, under *Odoacer*, whom *Jornandes* calls *Rex Turcilingorum*. (X. 33. 6. and XI. 3.) From all this, we may reaſonably conjecture, that, in the fifth Century, after the *Swabians*, *Burgundians* and *Vandals* had abandon'd the Countries, which we find they inhabited in the Times of *Clovis* and his Sons, they then took Poſſeſſion of them.

4. THE *Thoringi*, *Heruli* and *Varni* were Confederates, and were, at the ſame Time, in Alliance with the *Wiſi-Goths*, when they ſettled in *Gaul*, eſpecially with King *Euricus*, who died, *An.* 484. (XI. 12. *n.* 11.)

II.

The Thuringians *extend their Dominions in* Germania : *Of King* Baſinus : *Their Wars with the* Franks. *The Marriage of* Hermanfrid *and* Amalberga.

1. THE Kingdom of *Thuringia* border'd, towards the *Weſt*, on the *Franks*; and on the *Danube*, with the Dominions of *Theoderic*, King of the *Oſtro-Goths*: For which Reaſon, we find ſome Account of them, in *Caſſiodorus*, *Procopius*, *Gregorius*, *Turonenſis*, and *Venantius Fortunatus*. *Vitechind*, a Monk of the Monaſtery of *Corbey*, who wrote towards the Concluſion of the tenth Century, gives us other Accounts, but they are not warranted. Some are notoriouſly falſe, and therefore render the Reſt more ſuſpected.

* *In the* Notit. Dignitatum p. 1463. *(in* Theſ. Ant. Rom. T. VII.*) the* Teruingi *are mention'd* inter auxilia Palatina, *as likewiſe*, p. 1411. ſub magiſtro militum præſentali, *the* COMITES TAIFALI, *and* ſub magiſtro equitum præſentali, p. 1847. TAIFALI JUNIORES.

2. *GRE-*

2. *GREGORIUS Turonenſis* mentions, Lib. II, a certain *Baſinus* (or *Biſinus*) King of the *Thuringians*, who muſt have reign'd about the Time of *Martian*. To him, *Childeric*, when he was expell'd by the *Franks*, took Refuge. *Abiens ergo in Thoringiam, apud Regem Biſinum, uxoremque ejus Baſinam latuit.* When he, afterwards, got Poſſeſſion of his own Country again, Queen *Baſina* left her Conſort, and follow'd him, and by her he had *Clovis*. *Gregory*'s whole Relation of *Childeric* is, indeed, very ſuſpicious; however *Baſinus* is likewiſe mention'd, as King of the *Thuringians*, by *Venantius Fortunatus*, *in Vita S. Radegundis*.

3. When the *Thuringians* extended themſelves in *Germania*, it ſet them at Variance with the *Franks*. This gave a Handle to *Theoderic*, King of *Auſtraſia*, to excite his Subjects to revenge themſelves on the *Thuringians* for the Wrongs their Forefathers had ſuffer'd by them. Gregorius III. 7. *Convocatis igitur Francis, dixit ad eos: Indignamini, quæſo, tam meam injuriam, quam interitum parentum veſtrorum, ac recolite,* Thoringos Quondam Super Parentes Noſtros Violenter Advenisse, *ac multa illis intuliſſe mala.* Before his Time, *Clovis* made War on the *Thuringians*, *An.* 492. (XI. 7. *n.* 1.) *

4. The *Thuringians*, *Heruli* and *Varni* were united, in *Clovis*'s Reign, and made a Party, of which as well the *Franks*, as the *Oſtro-Goths*, in *Italy*, had Reaſon to be jealous. *Theodorick*, King of *Italy*, therefore kept up a good Intelligence with them, the better to ſecure himſelf againſt the *Franks*; as we may ſee by his Letter already cited above (XI. 21.)

5. After the Death of *Baſinus*, his three Sons, *Balderic*, *Hermanfrid*, and *Bertharius* divided the Government among them. Gregorius, Lib. III. cap. 4. *Porro tunc apud Thoringos tres fratres, regnum gentis illius retinebant: id eſt,* Badericus †, Herminefredus, *atque* Bertharius. *Denique Herminefredus Berthariumfratrem ſuum vi opprimens interfecit.* † al. Baldericus.

6. Of theſe three, *Hermanfrid* was the moſt noted. He married *Amalaberga*, the Niece of *Theoderick*, King of the *Oſtro-Goths*: And *Procopius* expreſly mentions this Marriage as a Tye of Friendſhip between the *Thuringians* and the *Oſtro-Goths*. *Poſtquam cecidit Odoacer, Thuringi Viſigothique Germanorum vim augeſcentem metuentes (nam & multitudo ingens creſcebat, & obvii quique vi illorum ſternebantur) Gotthorum ſibi*

* *The learned Monſ.* DUBOS *in his* Hiſtoire de l'Etabliſſement de la Monarchie Françoiſe dans les Gaules, T. I. p. 349. *and* T. II. p. 350. *pretends this is to be underſtood of the* Tongri. *He thinks the* Tongri, *and the* Thoringi *were originally one Nation, and of the ſame Name. But even the* Franconian *Writers diſtinguiſh them as two. The* Tongri, *who dwelt in* Germania Secunda, *even in the Times of* Pliny *and* Tacitus, *belong'd, probably, at this Time, to the Kingdom of the* Ripuarii: *Whereas the* Thoringi *extended themſelves from the* Eaſt.

& Theu-

& *Theuderichi amicitiam parare magni duxerunt. Nec ille aſpernatus ſocietatem addidit inſuper ſocietatis vinculum. Alaricho enim minori, Viſigothorum ea tempeſtate Principi, filiam ſuam virginem deſpondit Theudichuſam: Hermenofrido vero, Thuringorum principi, Amalebergam, ſororis ſuæ Amalafridæ filiam.* The Letter, which the King of the *Oſtro-Goths* wrote him, on Occaſion of this Marriage, deſerves a Place here.

Hermanfrido, Regi Thoringorum Theodericus Rex.

Deſiderantes vos noſtris aggregare parentibus, neptem caro pignori, propitia divinitate, ſociamus. Ut qui de Regia Stirpe Descenditis, *nunc etiam longius claritate* Imperialis Sanguinis * *fulgeatis. Mittimus ad vos ornatum aulicæ domus, augmenta generis, ſolatia fidelis conſilii, dulcedinem ſuaviſſimam conjugalem: quæ & dominatum jure vobiſcum impleat, & nationem veſtram meliore inſtitutione componat. Habeat* Felix Thoringia, *quod nutrivit Italia, literis doctam, moribus eruditam, decoram non ſolum genere, quantum & fœminea dignitate; ut non minus patria veſtra iſtius ſplendeat moribus, quam* Suis Triumphis. *Quapropter ſalutantes vos gratia competenti, indicamus nos, venientibus legatis veſtris, impretiabilis quidem rei, ſed more gentium, ſuſcepiſſe pretia deſtinata* †, *equos argenteo colore veſtitos, , quales decuit eſſe nuptiales. Quorum pectora vel crura ſphæris carneis decenter ornantur; coſtæ in quandam latitudinem porriguntur: alvus in brevitate conſtringitur: caput cervinam reddit effigiem, imitantes velocitatem, cujus videntur habere ſimilitudinem. Hi ſunt ſub pinguedine nimia manſueti, magna mole celerrimi, aſpectibus jucundi, uſibus gratiores, incedunt enim molliter, ſeſſores ſuos inſanis feſtinationibus non fatigant: quieſcitur potius in ipſis, quam laboretur: & compoſiti delectabili moderatione, agilitate norunt continua perdurare. Verum hunc, quamvis nobiliſſimum gregem, beluaſque morigeras, vel alia, quæ direxiſtis eximia,*

* *It is Matter of Enquiry, why* Theoderic *boaſts his Family to be of the Imperial Blood? Perhaps becauſe the Emperor* Zeno *had adopted him himſelf.* Venantius Fortunatus *uſes almoſt the ſame Expreſſion, when* Sigebert, *King of* Auſtraſia, *married* Brunehild, *the Daughter of* Athanagild, *King of the* Wiſi-Goths. (XIV. 11. *n.* 1.)

Regia Cæſareo proficit Aula jugo.

† *This refers to the Cuſtom of the* Ancient Germans, *for the Bridegroom to make Preſents, not only to the Bride herſelf, but to her Parents and neareſt Relations.* Tacitus *obſerves, even in his Time, that a Horſe well accoutred was an agreeable Preſent on ſuch an Occaſion; and it muſt have been the more ſo from a* Thuringian, *as their Horſes were in great Eſteem. And it is, moreover, known, that the* German *Kings and Princes obſerved the ſame Cuſtoms, as were in Vogue with the People; as we may ſee by the Manner of the Eſpouſals of* Clotildis *to* Clovis. *See* Fredegarius in Epit. Cap. 18.

eximia, victa cognoſcitis, quando omnia jure ſuperat, quæ decus regiæ poteſtatis exornat. Deſtinavimus & nos quidem, quæ principalis ordo poſcebat: Sed nil magis perſolvimus, quam quod vos tantæ fœminæ decori copulavimus. Adſint veſtro divina conjugio, ut ſicut nos cauſa junxit affectionis, ita & poſteros noſtros obliget gratia parentalis. Chronologiſts generally place this Marriage in the Year 500.

III.

Hermanfrid's *Wars with his Brothers. He calls in the Aſſiſtance of* Theoderic, *King of* Auſtraſia.

1. THIS very King was noted on another Account. His Thirſt for Rule coſt his Brothers their Lives, and pav'd the Way for his own, and his Kingdom's Downfal. As this Hiſtory is ſo obſcure, we cannot do better, than to give *Gregory*'s Relation firſt, and then to obſerve thoſe Paſſages of ancient Authors, which either confirm his Account, or render it ſuſpicious. *Gregory* firſt † relates, that *Hermanfrid* caus'd his own Brother, *Bertharius*, to be murder'd. But *S. Radegundis*, the Daughter of *Bertharius*, expreſſes ſo much Regard for the Memory of her Uncle, and Love for his Family, as one would hardly believe ſhe could have for the Murderer of her Father.

† See above, II. 5.

2. HE afterwards gives an Account, *Lib.* III. *cap.* 4, how *Hermanfrid* fell upon his third Brother, *Balderic*, and call'd in *Theoderic*, King of *Auſtraiſa*, to his Help. *Talibus & ſimilibus ille permotus contra fratrem inſurgit, ac per occultos nuntios Theodericum Regem ad eum perſequendum invitat, dicens: ſi hunc interficis, regionem hanc pari ſorte dividemus. Ille autem gaviſus hæc audiens, cum exercitu ad eum dirigit. Conjunctiſque ſimul fidem ſibi invicem dantes, egreſſi ſunt ad bellum. Confligenteſque cum Baderico exercitum ejus atterunt, ipſumque obtruncant gladio, & obtenta victoria Theudericus ad propria eſt reverſus. Protinus Herminefredus oblitus fidei ſuæ, quod Regi Theoderico indulgere pollicitus eſt, implere deſpexit, ortaque eſt inter eos grandis inimicitia.*

IV.

Theoderic, *afterwards, takes the Field againſt* Hermanfrid. *A Battle on the* Unſtrut.

1. *HERMANFRID*, afterwards, fell himſelf at Variance with the King of *Auſtraſia*, who complain'd, that the King of *Thuringia* had

not perform'd what he promis'd him in the laſt Treaty. The Circumſtances of the Times added the greater Hopes to his Wiſhes, becauſe, after the Death of the King of *Italy*, the *Thuringians* had no farther Aſſiſtance to expect from the *Oſtro-Goths*. *Gregory* relates the King of *Auſtraſia*'s Expedition, Lib. III. cap. 7. *Theodoricus autem Chlotarium, fratrem ſuum, & Theodebertum, filium, in ſolatium adſumens, cum exercitu abiit. Thoringi vero venientibus Francis dolos præparant. In campo enim, in quo certamen agi debebat, foſſas effodiunt, quarum ora operta denſo ceſpite, planum adſimilant campum. In has ergo foveas, cum pugnare cœpiſſent, multi Francorum equites corruerunt; & fuit eis valde impedimentum. Sed poſt cognitum hunc dolum, obſervare cœperunt. Denique cum ſe Thoringi cædi vehementer viderent, fugato præ timore Herminefredo, Rege ipſorum, terga vertunt, & ad* ONESTRUDEM FLUVIUM *uſque perveniunt. Ibique tanta cædes ex Thoringis facta eſt, ut alveus fluminis congerie cadaverum repleretur: & Franci, tanquam per pontem aliquem, ſuper ea in littus ulterius tranſirent. Patrata ergo victoria regionem illam capeſſunt, & in ſuam redigunt poteſtatem. Chlotarius vero rediens, Radegundem, filiam Bertharii Regis, ſecum captivam abduxit, &c.*

2. THE Circumſtance, that *Clotarius* march'd to the Aſſiſtance of his Brother, may, perhaps, be confirm'd by ſome Lines of *Venantius Fortunatus*, where he ſays of *Sigebert*, the Son of *Clotarius*;

— — — Hic nomen Avorum
Extendit bellante manu, CUI DE PATRE VIRTUS,
QUAM NABIS *ecce probat,* THURINGIA VICTA *fatetur*
Perficiens unum, GEMINA DE GENTE, *triumphum.*

The *Naab* falls into the *Danube*, not far from *Ratisbon*, and the Country, thro' which it flows, was then accounted a Part of the Dominions of the *Thuringians*, as we may ſee by the Geographer of *Ravenna* (IX. 30. *n.* 7.) But it remains undetermin'd, of what People the Words, *triumphus gemina de gente*, are to be underſtood; Whether the *Swabians*, or, which is moſt probable, the *Bavarians*, took the Part of the *Thuringians?* What *Gregory* ſays, at the ſame Time, of *Theodebert*, will be explain'd by what follows.

3. CHRONOLOGISTS place this Expedition of *Theoderic*'s againſt *Hermanfrid*, in the Year 527, in Conformity with *Procopius*, who writes, that the *Franks* did not venture to attack the *Thuringians*, 'till after the Death of the *Gothick* King *Theoderic*. (Conf. Pag. ad A. 527. n. 6.) *Hermanfrid*

manfrid himſelf was, ſome Time afterwards, murdered, and then *Thuringia* was firſt poſſeſs'd by the *Franks*.

4. FRANCONIAN Writers do not name the Place, where *Theoderic* vanquiſh'd *Hermanfrid*. For us, it may ſuffice, that, according to *Gregory*'s Relation, it was not far from the *Unſtrut*. *Videchind* ſays indeed, that the Battle was fought; *in loco, qui dicitur Runibergum*, and *Sagittarius*, *in Antiquit. Regni Thuringici*, p. 252, is of Opinion we muſt read *Tenneberg*. But I have already obſerved, that *Videchind*'s Relation is render'd ſuſpected by the notoriouſly fallacious Circumſtances he has intermix'd it with. Nor do I think it worth the while to detain the Reader, with what he ſays farther, that the King of *Auſtraſia* call'd in the *Saxons* to his Help, and that they took the Caſtle of *Scheidungen*; nor with what more modern Writers pretend, that the *Franks* then divided *Thuringia* with the *Saxons*: Since, according to *Fredegarius*, and other *Franconian* Writers, the *Franks* did not fully conquer *Thuringia*, 'till after the Death of *Hermanfrid*, and not immediately after the Battle on the *Unſtrut*.

V.

The Death of Hermanfrid. *The Devaſtation of the Kingdom of* Thuringia.

1. THE Circumſtances of King *Hermanfrid*'s Death, and of the Conqueſt of the *Thuringians*, which enſued, are likewiſe related differently. *Gregory*, the *Geſta Francorum*, and *Aimoinus* agree, that he was treacherouſly murder'd, by Command of *Theoderic*, at *Zülpich*. GREGORIUS, Lib. III. cap. 8. *Idem* (ſc. Theodericus) *vero regreſſus ad propria, Herminfredum ad ſe data fide ſecurum, venire præcepit, quem & honorificis ditavit muneribus. Factum eſt autem, dum quadam die per murum civitatis Tulbiacenſis confabularentur, a, neſcio quo, impulſus de altitudine muri ad terram corruit, ibique ſpiritum exhalavit. Sed quis eum inde dejecerit, ignoramus: multi tamen adſerunt, Theoderici in hoc dolum manifeſtiſſime patuiſſe.* GESTA FRANCORUM, cap. 22. *Poſt hæc iterum Theodericus, data fide Ermenfrido Regi, Tulbiaco civitate ad ſe venire fecit. Cumque ſuper murum ipſius civitatis conloquerentur, compulſus de muro urbis ipſius corruit ad terram & mortuus eſt, ſuoſque infantes Theodericus interficere rogavit.* *Aimoinus* has almoſt the ſame Words, *Lib.* 2. *cap.* 9. What is ſaid of *Hermanfrid*'s Children, will be contradicted by what follows concerning them.

2. The Treachery perpetrated, by the *Franks*, on the King of the *Thuringians*, is hinted at, in *Procopius*, (II. 28.) where the Ambaſſadors of *Beliſarius* ſay to *Vitiges*, King of the *Oſtro-Goths*, as follows: *Quæ vero illorum in Barbaros ſit fides, teſtes Thuringos & Burgundiones vobis haud neſciis advocamus, niſi ipſi documentum eſſetis recentius? libet interrogare Francos, quem Deum juraturi fidem vobis ſancient: nam quem ante hac jurarunt, quam ſint reveriti, vos ſcire oportet*, (XII. 19.)

3. On the other Hand, in *Fredegarii Epitom. cap.* 33, it is pretended, he was murder'd by *Theodebert*, *Theoderic*'s Son: *Ipſe vero* (Hermenfridus) *a Theudeberto, filio Theuderici, interfectus eſt: Regnum Thoringorum Francorum ditioni ſubactum eſt.* This very King boaſts, in a Letter to the Emperor *Juſtinian*, which we find in *Du Cheſne*, that he had conquer'd the *Thuringians*, and made away with their Kings. *Domino illuſtri & præcellentiſſimo, domino & patri Juſtiniano Imperatori, Theudebertus Rex. Theodorus vir expectabilis cum Solonem veniens pariter litteras, quas Imperii veſtri clementia deſtinavit, integra animi caritate & devotione ſuſcepimus, quia cum de nobis curam geritis ſic latius per diverſas gentes atque provincias Dei amatam amicitiam propagamus. Id vero quod dignamini eſſe ſolliciti, in quibus provinciis habitemus, aut quæ gentes noſtræ ſint, Deo adjutore, ditioni ſubjectæ, Dei noſtri miſericordia* Feliciter Subactis Thuringis, *& eorum provinciis adquiſitis,* Extinctis Ipsorum Tunc Temporis Regibus, *Norſavorum gentis nobis placata majeſtas colla ſubdidit, Deoque propitio Wiſigotthis, qui incolebant Franciæ ſeptentrionalem plagam, Pannoniam cum Saxonibus Euciis, qui ſe nobis voluntate propria tradiderunt, per Danubium & limitem Pannoniæ, uſque in Oceani litoribus, cuſtodiente Deo, dominatio noſtra porrigitur.* But this Letter is not much to the Purpoſe, ſince *Valeſius*, *T. I. p.* 433, ſhews, with not improbable Reaſons, why the Superſcription is not to be eſteem'd genuine.

4. The real Time of *Hermanfrid*'s Death is likewiſe dubious, and when *Thuringia* was fully brought under the *Franconian* Yoke, is juſt as uncertain. If we will follow the Order of Time, *Gregorius Turonenſis* lays down, cap. 9, and 10, in his Relation, it was in the ſame Year that *Amalaric*, King of the *Wiſi-Goths*, was kill'd. *Procopins* leads us to another Footſtep of it, when he ſays, that Queen *Amalaberga*, after *Hermanfrid*'s Fall, went for Refuge to her Brother *Theodehat*, King of the *Oſtro-Goths*, in *Italy*, de Bello Goth. Lib. I. cap. 13. *Poſt Theodorici obitum, Franci, nemine jam obſiſtente, Thoringos bello adorti, ipſorum Regem Hermenefridum interficiunt, ac totam gentem in ditionem ſubjugant ſuam. Hermenefridi uxor cum liberis elapſa, ad fratrem ſuum Theodatum,* Tunc Temporis Gothorum Regem *ſe recipit.* But *Theodehat* came to the Crown, *A.* 534.

5. St.

5. St. *Radegundis*, a Daughter of the *Thuringian* King, *Bertharius*, always preſerv'd a great Affection for the Memory of her native Country, and for *Hermanfrid*'s Family, as we find in *Venantius Fortunatus*'s Poems. Among theſe, we find an Elegy *de Excidio Thuringiæ*, in the Queen's Name, to *Hermanfrid*'s Son, *Amalafrid*. I ſhall add only the following Lines, which treat of the Deſolation of the King's Court, as a Specimen:

Conditio belli triſtis, ſors invida rerum.
Quam ſubito lapſu regna ſuperba cadunt!
Aula palatino quæ floruit antea cultu,
Hanc modo pro cameris mæſta favilla tegit.
Quæ ſteterant longo felicia culmina tractu,
Victa ſub ingenti clade cremata jacent.
Ardua, quæ rutilo nituere ornata metallo,
Pallidus oppreſſit fulgida tecta cinis.
Miſſa ſub hoſtili domino captiva poteſtas,
Decidit in humili gloria celſa loco.
Stans ætate pari famulorum turba nitentum
Funereo ſordet pulvere functa die.
Clara miniſtrorum ſtipata corona potentum,
Nulla ſepulchra tenens mortis honore caret:
Flammivomum vincens rutilans in curribus aurum
Strata ſolo recubat lacticolor amatis.
Heu male texerunt inhumata cadavera campum
Totaque ſic uno gens jacet in tumulo.

VI.

VI. ANNOTATION.

A Genealogical Table of the latter Kings of THURINGIA.

Ad XI. 48.

BASINUS, King of the *Thuringians*,
reign'd at the Time of the *Franconian* King, *Childeric* I.

BALDERIC

HERMANFRID
Ux. Amalaberga, Theodoric, King of the *Oſtro-Goths*, Sister's Daughter.
n. II.

BERTHARIUS

RADEGUNDIS
marr. to *Clotarius* I, King of the *Franks*, went into a Convent, at *Poitiers*, in the King's Life-time † 587. n. IV.

A Son *N*---
was kill'd by Order of *Clotarius*.
n. III. 1.

AMALAFRID
General in the Service of Emperor *Juſtinian*.
n. II. 1.

RODELINDA
marr. to *Audoin*, King of the *Longobards*.
n. II. 2.

ARTARCHIS.

I HAVE already made Mention of *Baſinus*, (*Annot. n.* II. 2.) That the three following Kings were his Sons, is plain, from *Venantii Fortunati Vit. S. Radegundis*, where we find theſe Words: *Beatiſſima igitur Radegundis, natione barbara, de regione Thuringa,* AVO REGE BASINO, *patruo Herminefrido, patre Rege Berthario.*

II. *Of*

II.

Of King Hermanfrid's *Family.*

1. His melancholy End we have ſeen in the foregoing Annotation. Queen *Amalaberga* fled, with her Children, into *Italy*, to her Brother *Theodehat*, King of the *Oſtro-Goths*. When his Succeſſor, *Vitiges*, ſubmitted to *Juſtinian*, the Emperor, and was carried to *Conſtantinople*, King *Hermanfrid*'s Children accompanied him thither. (XIII. 8. *)· His Son *Amalafrid* exerted himſelf in the Imperial Service. He commanded the *Roman* Troops, about the Year 547, againſt the *Gepidæ*, and, with his Brother-in-Law, *Audoin*, King of the *Longobards*, obtain'd a ſignal Victory. *(ibid.) Venantius Fortunatus*, in his Elegy, *de Excidio Thuringiæ*, introduces *Radegundis*, asking *Amalafrid*;

Bellica Perſidis ſeu te Byzantion optat,
Ductor Alexandræ ſeu regis urbis opes?
An Hieroſolymæ reſides vicinus ab arce,
Qua eſt genitus Chriſtus virgine matre Deus?

He left one Son, *Artarchis*, to whom *Venantius Fortunatus*, p. 344, has addreſs'd a particular Elegy, in the Name of Queen *Radegundis*.

2. *HERMANFRID* likewiſe left ſeveral Daughters, of whoſe Condition *Radegundis* enquires of *Amalafrid*, ap. VENANT. FORTUNATUM, l. c.

Deque tuis ſimilis mihi cura ſororibus hæc eſt,
Quas conſanguineo cordis amore colo.

One of them, *Juſtinian* married to *Audoin*, King of the *Longobards*. *Paulus Diaconus* calls her *Rodelinda*, Lib. I. 27. *Audoinus, de quo præmiſeramus, Longobardorum Rex, Rodelindam in matrimonio habuit, &c.* The ſame Author, likewiſe, mentions, *Lib.* I. *cap.* 21. *Ranicunda*, a *Thuringian* Princeſs, who was Queen to *Waco*, King of the *Longobards*. *Habuit autem Waco uxores tres. Hoc eſt, primam Ranicundam, filiam Regis Thuringorum, &c.* But it is uncertain, which of the Kings of the *Thuringians* was her Father.

III. *Of*

III.

Of the Family of King Bertharius,

1. GREGORIUS, III. 4. ſays of *Bertharius: Is moriens Radegundem filiam orphanam dereliquit. Reliquit autem & alios filios, de quibus in ſequentibus ſcribemus.* But, in the following ſeventh Chapter, he mentions but one Son, who was only noted for his unfortunate End. *Patrata ergo victoria regionem illam capeſſunt, in ſuam redigunt poteſtatem. Chlotacharius vero rediens, Radegundem, filiam Bertharii, Regis, ſecum captivam abduxit, ſibique eam in matrimonium ſociavit. Cujus fratrem poſtea injuſte per homines iniquos occidit. Illa quoque ad Deum converſa, mutata veſte, monaſterium ſibi infra Pictavienſem Urbem conſtruxit, quæ orationibus, jejuniis, vigiliis atque eleemoſynis prædita in tantum emicuit, ut magna in populis haberetur.*

2. QUEEN *Radegundis* bemoans his Death, to her Kinſman *Amalafrid*, in the above-mention'd *Carmen*, de Excidio Thuringiæ :

Quid fugio memorare, parens, quid differo luctus?
De nece Germani cur dolor alte taces?
Qualiter inſidiis inſons cecidiſſet iniquis
Oppoſitaque fide raptus ab Orbe fuit?

ONE might almoſt conclude, that the Suſpicion, which was conceived againſt the *Thuringian* Prince, had given the Queen herſelf much Uneaſineſs, and had occaſion'd her leaving the Court. She goes on :

Ille tuos cupiens properat dum cernere vultus,
Nec ſuus impletur, dum meus obſtat amor,
Dum dare dura mihi refugit, ſibi vulnera fixit,
Lædere qui timuit, cauſa doloris adeſt.
Percutitur juvenis tenera lanugine barbæ,
Abſens nec vidi funera dira ſoror.

And farther :

Quid feci, ut non comes irem lecta feretro,
Non licet extinctum vel meus ornet amor.
Impia, crede, Tuæ rea ſum, Germane, ſalutis
Mors cui ſola fui, nulla ſepulcra dedi.

Quæ

Quæ ſemel exceſſi patriam bis capta remanſi,
Atque iterum hoſtes, fratre jacente, tuli.

IV.

Of St. Radegundis.

1. *GREGORIUS Turonenſis* often mentions S. *Radegundis*, with Honour, in particular *de Glor. Confeſſ.* cap. 106, where he deſcribes her Funeral, of which he was an Eye-Witneſs. In her Time, *Venantius Fortunatus* came to *Poitiers*, (of which Place he was afterwards Biſhop) and we find, in his Poems, much ſaid in her Praiſe.

2. WE have two Lives of her: One wrote by the ſame *Venantius Fortunatus*, the other by *Baudonivia*, a Nun of the Convent ſhe founded. *V.* MABILLON. *Act. SS. Ord. S. Benedicti.* Sec. I. p. 319.

3. NEITHER of them contains much Matter for Hiſtory. So much we may, indeed, gather, that her Marriage with *Clotarius* was not the moſt happy. I ſhall here only mention the Paſſage, in which *Venantius*, cap. 12, takes Notice of her abſenting herſelf from Court: *Et quoniam frequenter aliqua occaſione, Divinitate proſperante, caſus cedit ad ſalutem, ut hæc religioſius viveret; frater interficitur innocenter. Directa igitur a Rege veniens ad beatum* MEDARDUM *Noviomago, ſupplicat inſtanter, ut ipſam, mutata veſte, Domino conſecraret. Sed memor dicentis Apoſtoli: ſi qua ligata ſit conjugi, non quærat diſſolvi, differebat, Reginam ne veſte tegeret Monacham. Ad hoc beatum virum perturbant proceres, & per Baſilicam graviter ab altari retrahebant, ne velaret Regi conjunctam, ne videretur Sacerdoti, ut præſumeret Principi ſubducere Reginam, non publicanam, ſed publicam. Quo ſanctiſſima cognito, intrans in ſacrarium, Monachica veſte induitur, procedit ad altare, beatiſſimum Medardum his verbis alloquitur, dicens: Si me conſecrare diſtuleris, & plus hominem, quam Deum timueris, de manu tua a Paſtore ovis anima requiratur. Quo ille, conteſtationis concuſſus tonitru, manu ſuperpoſita, conſecravit Diaconam.*

4. SHE died in the Year 587, the 13th of *Auguſt*. GREGOR. Lib. X. cap. 1.

VII. ANNOTATION.

Of the VANDALS, *in general.*

I.

German *Extraction of the* Vandals.

TACITUS mentions the *Vandals* among the moſt ancient Denominations of the *German* Nations: de M. G. c. 2. *Quidam autem licentia vetuſtatis, plures Deo ortos, pluresque gentis appellationes, Marſos, Gambrivios, Suevos,* VANDALIOS *adfirmant: eaque vera & antiqua nomina.* *Pliny* places them among the five principal Nations, under which he comprehends all the *Germans*; and reckons the *Goths*, *Varni*, and *Burgundians* to this Lineage. (X. 6. *n.* 7.) This is confirm'd by *Procopius*, who was very well acquainted with this Nation, when he ſays, (X. 6. *n.* 7.) that the *Goths*, *Vandals* and *Gepidæ* were of the ſame Kind and Stature, and had the ſame Cuſtoms and Language, and conſequently were originally one Nation, 'till their ſeveral Chiefs ſeparated them.

II.

Their firſt Habitation, between the Elb, *and the* Eaſt-Sea.

THE moſt ancient Account we find of their Habitation is, that they dwelt on the *Eaſt-Sea* and the *Elb*. *Jornandes*, who here, likewiſe, refers to *Dexippus*, ſays, they dwelt on the Sea-Coaſts, before they came to *Dacia*. (VI. 28.) But *Dio* places the Source of the *Elb in montibus Vandalicis*; † which River, we know, ariſes in *Sileſia*, near the Confines

† DIO, Lib. LV. init. de Druſo: *Omnia populanao ad Albim uſque perrexit: qui, ex* VANDALICIS MONTIBUS *profluens, in Oceanum Septentrionalem magnus admodum factus effluit.*

of

of *Bohemia*. In the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, the *Marcomanni* are placed on the *Danube*, and the *Vandals* juſt behind them.

III.

Migration of the Vandals. *Their Wars with the* Romans, Goths, *&c.*

1. THE *Vandals*, as well as the *Goths*, came from the *North* towards the *Danube*, to invade the *Roman* Provinces, as other *German* Nations attempted to do the ſame on the *Rhine*. At the Time of the *Marcoman* War, the *Aſtingi* (IX. 2.) offer'd the Emperor *M. Antoninus* their Service, and were themſelves deſirous of an Habitation in *Dacia*. *Jul. Capitolinus* expreſly mentions the *Vandals* among the Nations, whom *M. Antoninus* conquer'd: *Pannonias ergo Marcomannis, Sarmatis,* VANDALIS, *ſimul etiam Quadis extinctis, ſervitio liberavit.*

2. WHAT Concerns the Emperor *Aurelianus* had with them is ſhewn, more at large, in *Dexippi & Petri, Patricii & Magiſtri, Excerptis* (V. 49.) At the Peace, which enſued, the *Vandals* oblig'd themſelves to ſend him 2000 Cavalry, as Auxiliaries. We, indeed, actually find, in the *Notitia Imperii*, *Vandalian* Cavalry, among the *Roman* Troops †, but it is uncertain, whether they were theſe, or thoſe of the Times of *Conſtantine*, the *Great*. When *Aurelian* abandon'd *Dacia*, (V. 52) and the *Roman* Inhabitants evacuated it, the *Vandals*, as well as the *Goths*, overſpread that Country, almoſt without Oppoſition.

3. *PROBUS* waged War with the *Vandals* and *Burgundians*; *Zoſimus*: (V. 54.) And, according to the Account *Vopiſcus* gives us, he had much to do with the *Vandals*. (Ib. 55. n. 3.)

4. IN *Maximinian*'s Reign, we find, the *Thuringians* and *Taifali* attacking, and making War with the *Vandals* and *Gepidæ*. *Mammert.* II. 17. (VI. 6.)

5. THE moſt remarkable is the Overthrow they ſuffer'd in the fourth Century, about the Beginning of *Conſtantine*, the *Great*'s Reign. Their King, *Viſumar* ††, was defeated by *Geberic*, King of the *Goths*, and him-

† *In the* Notitia Imperii, *we find*, p. 1690. *Ala Vandalorum, ſub Comite limitis Ægypti.*

†† Nicolaus Mareſchalcus *pretends this* Viſumar *was the Founder of the City of* Wiſmar: *But I queſtion, whether he has found any Authority for it, farther than the bare Reſemblance of Names.*

ſelf kill'd in the Battle. (VI. 28. *n.* 11.) *Jornandes* ſays, this Battle was fought on the River *Maros*, and that the *Goths*, thereupon, made themſelves Maſters of the *Vandalian* Territories. This Circumſtance gives us ſome Light, where both Nations then inhabited: For the River *Maros* ariſes in the *Carpathian* Mountains, and flows thro' the preſent *Tranſylvania*, and one Part of *Hungary*, 'till it falls into the *Theiſs*, near *Sigeth*.

6. THE *Vandals*, who eſcap'd, took their Refuge to the Emperor *Conſtantine*, who aſſign'd them an Habitation in *Pannonia*. (*Ibid.*) From theſe *Vandals*, *Stilico* ſeems to have been deſcended †. *Jornandes* ſays they had inhabited thoſe Parts, 'till, in the Beginning of the fifth Century, they invaded *Gaul*.

7. FROM the Time of this Invaſion, the Hiſtory of the *Vandals* is built upon a more certain Foundation. They had attempted the ſame in the Time of the Emperor *Gratian*. (VII. 27. *n.* 6.) But *Godegiſelus*'s Enterprize was attended with greater Conſequences, of which I ſhall give an Account, in the next Annotation. Hiſtorians are not unanimous, what *Vandals* theſe were. *Jornandes* will have it, they were the ſame, whom *Conſtantine* allow'd a Habitation in *Pannonia*. *Procopius* brings them from the Sea-Coaſt. (*De Bell. Vand.* I. 3.) *Vandali, Mæotidis paludis accolæ, fame preſſi, ad Germanos, quos hodie Francos nominant, & fluvium Rhenum ſe receperunt.* The Learned are, however, moſtly of *Jornandes*'s Opinion.

IV.

Different Nations of the Vandals.

UNDER the general Name of *Vandals* were comprehended ſeveral particular Nations; in particular we find the *Vandali Silingi*, and likewiſe the *Aſtingi*. The latter, from which Branch the Kings of the *Vandals* were likewiſe deſcended, were reckoned the moſt warlike, as *Jornandes* obſerves, cap. 22. *Aſdingorum e ſtirpe, quæ inter eos eminet, genuſque indicat bellicoſiſſimum, Dexippo Hiſtorico referente.* The *Alani* were originally a Nation quite different from the *Vandals*, and firſt ſubmitted to the Dominion of King *Guntharic* in *Spain*.

† OROSIUS ſays of him, *Lib. VII.* 38. *Interea Comes Stilico, Vandalorum, imbellis, avaræ, perfidæ, & doloſæ gentis genere editus.* (See Vol. I. VIII. 19. n. 2.)

V. *Of*

V.

Of the Vandals, *who remain'd behind in* Germany: *Difference between the* Vandals *and* Wenden (*or* Venedi.)

1. Nor did the *Vandals* all go on this Expedition; but, as is moſt probable, chiefly the *Silingi* and *Aſtingi*; and, on the contrary, the other *Vandalian* Nations remain'd in *Germany*. *Procopius* (de Bell. Vand. I. 2.) mentions an Ambaſſy, which the latter ſent to King *Geiſeric*, to *Africa*. *Initio, cum preſſi fame Vandali e patriis ſedibus demigrarent, relicti ſunt nonnulli, quibus obſtitit blandiens inertia, ne ſequi vellent Godigiſclum. Procedente tempore, illi reſidui largam habere annonam viſi ſunt, & Giſericus cum ſuis Africam occupavit. Cujus rei nuntius lætitiam illis attulit, qui comites Godigiſclo ſe non addiderant: ad hoc enim res bene comparatas videbant, ut ſua ipſis regio ſatis præberet, quo vitam deinceps tolerarent. Sed veriti, ne olim vel illi ipſi, qui Africam obtinuerant, vel eorum nepotes, quoquo modo pulſi ex Africa, ad natale ſolum redirent (neque enim illam Romanis neglectui fore ſemper putabant) legatos miſerunt: qui ad Gizerici conſpectum admiſſi, dixere, ſe res adeo lætas gratulari popularibus ſuis: ab ipſis ſervari non poſſe amplius regionem, qua poſthabita Africam colerent, propterea rogare, ut quando patriam non curarent, iis, qui remanſerant, poſſeſſionem donarent jam inutilem ſibi, ut regionis certum adepti dominium, ſiquis eo veniret infenſus, pro illa mori non dubitarent. Æqua hæc Gizerico cæteriſque Vandalis poſtulatio viſa eſt, jamque annuebant legatis, cum ſenex quidam nobilitate & prudentia clariſſimus interceſſit: nihil in rebus humanis ſtabile eſſe affirmans, ſed quæcunque quidem adeſſent, omnia fore ſemper incerta: quæ vero nondum exiſterent, eorum nihil non poſſe fieri. His auditis aſſentiens Gizericus, legatos re infecta remiſit. Tum quidem ipſum ac ſuaſorem, tanquam impoſſibilium providos, Vandali omnes deriſerunt; ſed eorum nepotibus, ubi, quæ commemoravimus, acciderunt, rerum humanarum naturam edocti, dictum illud ſapientis fuiſſe viri, confeſſi ſunt.*

2. He relates farther, that, in the mean Time, the *Vandals*, who remain'd in *Germany*, were likewiſe totally diſpers'd. *Cæterum extincta eſt hodie memoria, ac nomen Vandalorum illorum interiit, qui in patria reſtiterunt. Scilicet cum pauci eſſent, vel a conterminis barbaris exterminatos crediderim, vel ſponte ipſis permiſtos nomen amiſiſſe. Nec tamen fuſis a Beliſario Vandalis reviſere patriam conſilium fuit. Haud enim repente in Europam ex Africa migrare, maxime cum navigia deeſſent, licebat.*

3. The

VII. *Annotation.*

3. The *Sclavi* and *Venedi* took Poſſeſſion of the Territories they abandon'd: Which has occaſion'd the *Vandals* being generally confounded with the *Venedi*; the latter of which, in the middle Times, are almoſt generally call'd *Vandali*, in *Latin*. Thus the Name of *Vandali* appears in the Titles of ſome Kings and Princes, which properly ſhould be underſtood of theſe *Venedi*. Tho' perhaps there were actually ſome *Vandals* intermix'd with theſe *Venedi*.

VI.

When the Vandals *embraced* Chriſtianity.

They ſeem to have embraced the *Chriſtian* Religion, in *Pannonia*. *Procopius* ſays, they were at firſt *Arians*: But, according to *Idatius*, *Geiſeric* firſt adhered to this Sect. (IX. 5. n. 1.)

VIII.

VIII. ANNOTATION.

A SERIES *of the Kings of the* VANDALS, *from* GODEGISELUS *to* GELIMER.

AFTER the *Vandals* broke into *Gaul* and *Spain*, and at Length into *Africa*, their Hiſtory becomes of greater Importance. I have juſt mention'd theſe Occurrences, as far as the Connexion of Hiſtory requir'd, and will now give a more circumſtantial Account, in a *Series* of the Kings of the *Vandals*.

I.

GODEGISILUS. *

° al. Godigiſclus.

1. HE invaded *Gaul* towards the End of the Year 406, or the Beginning of the following Year; about which Time the *Burgundians* and *Alani* did the ſame. This is, as it were, the Beginning of the Great Revolution, which happen'd in the fifth Century, by the breaking in of foreign Nations into the *Roman* Provinces. We are not certainly inform'd what induc'd the *Vandals* to this Expedition. Some blame *Stilico*, that he himſelf excited theſe People, with an Intent to thruſt *Honorius* from the Throne, and to put his Son, *Eucherius*, in Poſſeſſion of the Empire. * On the other Hand, *Procopius* ſays, Neceſſity drove them to this Reſolution. A Queſt after Booty was ſo favorite a Paſſion with the *Ancient Northern* Nations; that we need not go far to enquire the Motives to this War. We are likewiſe ignorant, which Way they took to *Gaul*, except what *Procopius* ſays, that they firſt fell upon the *Franks*. In what followed, they were probably govern'd by the Circumſtances of the Times. *Godegiſilus* himſelf perhaps never thought the Nation, he-

* *MARCELLINUS, (See* VIII. 19. *not.* 5. *ſeq.)* When *Stilico* fell, his Son, *Eucherius*, was juſt upon the Point of being married to *Placidia*, the Daughter of *Theodoſius*, the *Great*, as I have already obſerv'd *(Vol.* VIII. 19.*)* And his Aim in this was, to oblige *Honorius* to admit this his Brother-in-Law a Partner in the Empire. *(Vid. ib. n.* 5. *ſeq.)*

now

now led out of their own Country, would eſtabliſh a Kingdom in *Africa*. They ſuffer'd a great Overthrow from the *Franks* ** ; in which, it is ſuppoſed, King *Godegiſilus* himſelf loſt his Life. † (VIII. 15. 14.) But they recover'd themſelves, and *Reſpendial*, King of the *Alani*, came to their Aſſiſtance. The *Alani* had themſelves two Chiefs, *Goar* and *Reſpendial*. The firſt came to an Accommodation with the *Romans*, and remain'd, with his Colony, in *Gaul*; But *Reſpendial* accompanied the *Vandals* into *Spain*.

2. *GODEGISILUS* left two Sons, *Guntharic*, and *Geiſeric*, but the latter was not born in Wedlock. †† Of theſe Sons, *Procopius* ſays; l. c. 3. p. 184. *Mortuo Godigiſclo, dominatum ſuſceperunt ejus filii, Guntharis, ex juſta ipſi uxore natus, & Geiſerichus, nothus: verum ille adhuc puer & natura parum induſtrius; hic in armis optime exercitus, ac mortalium omnium ſolertiſſimus.* Other Writers mention only *Guntharic*, as the Succeſſor of *Godegiſilus*; and this ſeems more probable.

II.

GUNTHARIC. *
Died 428.

* al. Gundericus, Gontharis.

1. A NEW Inſurrection in the *Roman* Empire decoy'd the *Suevi*, *Vandals* and *Alani* to *Spain*. *Conſtantine*, who aſſum'd the Imperial Dignity, in Oppoſition to *Honorius*, was already acknowledg'd by him his Partner

** *As to the Year, Hiſtorians differ, as F. Ruynart, in Hiſt. Perſec. Vandalic. p. 403. has obſerv'd.* Id Arcadio VI. & Probo COSS. ſub anni ſcilicet 406. finem, & ſequentis initium contigiſſe tradunt, nonnulli veteres Hiſtoriarum ſcriptores, PROSPER, CASSIODORUS, &c. quam tamen cladem biennio poſt, BASSO & PHILIPPO COSS. duobus ſcilicet annis, anteaquam Roma ab Alarico, Gothorum Rege, caperetur, alii cum PAULO OROSIO & MARCELLINO Comite eveniſſe volunt. OROSIUS *and* MARCELLINUS *lived the neareſt to theſe Times, and therefore we may, with the moſt Certainty, take the Year* 408.

† That *Godegiſilus* was kill'd in *Gaul*, is the general Opinion: Tho' ſome, with *Procopius*, will have it, he came in Perſon to *Spain*.

†† Beyond all Diſpute, *Geiſeric* was no legitimate Son. *Procopius* ſtiles him *Nothus*, and *Sidonius Apollinaris*, *Famula ſatum*. Nay, one might almoſt conclude from *Sidonius*, that he was hardly allow'd to be a natural Son of *Godegiſilus*.

Incertum crepat ille patrem, cum ſerva ſit illi
Certa parens: nunc ut Regis ſit filius, effert
Matris adulterium. *X.* 19. *n.* 2.

in

in the Empire, when *Gerontius* deſerted him in *Spain*, and ſet up *Maximus* for Emperor. By this Means, a Way was open'd for thoſe Nations, who 'till then had ſwarm'd about in *Gaul*, to go into *Spain*. The *Vandals*, *Alani*, and *Suevi*, divided that Country, as it were, amongſt them. *An.* 411. (VIII. 33. & 41. 1.)

2. *HONORIUS* came to an Agreement with them, as well as he could: But when he made Peace with *Wallia*, King of the *Wiſi-Goths*, the *Romans* made it an Article, that he ſhould free *Spain* of theſe Gueſts. *Wallia* march'd himſelf againſt them; and obtain'd conſiderable Advantages over the *Vandali*, *Silingi* and *Alani*. The latter loſt their King, *Atax*, on this Occaſion; and did not venture to elect another King of their own; but united with the *Vandals*. In this War, happen'd the Battle, *in campis Tarteſſiacis*, mention'd by *Sidonius Apollinaris*. (*X.* 19. *n.* 21.)

3. As ſoon as the *Wiſi-Goths* return'd, the *Vandals* recover'd themſelves. King *Guntharic* not only drove *Hermanaric*, King of the *Suevi*, to great Streights; but, in the Year 422, defeated the *Roman* Army, which *Caſtinus*, *Magiſter Militiæ*, commanded againſt him.

4. THEY, thereupon, extended themſelves farther, plunder'd the *Balearian* Iſlands, and, about the Year 425, conquer'd *Hiſpalis* and *Carthagena*, (*IX.* 3.) and got firm Footing in the *Provincia Bætica*, whence one Part of that Country was, from them, call'd *Vandalitia*, now *Andaluſia*.

5. THE Expedition of the *Vandals* into *Africa*, of which the Plan was laid under this King, makes a new Period in their Hiſtory. *Boniface*, Lieutenant in *Africa*, was unjuſtly render'd odious to the Empreſs *Placidia*. Being, upon this Occaſion, order'd to Court; he neither car'd to truſt to the Mercy of it, nor was he able to maintain himſelf in his Province, by Force; he therefore privately invited the *Vandals* thither. (*IX.* 4. 1.) Before this Expedition was ripe, King *Guntharic* was murder'd, in *Spain*, in what Manner is not certainly known: (*IX.* 15. 1.) But his Brother and Succeſſor *Genſeric* brought the Deſign to Execution.

III.

GEISERIC, * *or* GENSERIC.

King of the Vandals, 428. *went to* Africa 429.

Died 477.

1. After *Guntharic*'s Death, *Geiſeric* got Poſſeſſion of the Kingdom alone, and afterwards caus'd his Brother's Queen and Iſſue to be put to Death. † *An.* 429, he led his *Vandals* and *Alani*, to whom ſeveral other *Germans* join'd ††, into *Africa*. (*IX.* 5.)

2. *BONIFACE* was indeed reconcil'd to the Court, but could not prevail upon the *Vandals* to return; and when it came to a Battle, he was himſelf defeated. The Emperor *Valentinian* III made Peace with them, in the Year 435, at *Hippon*, and ſuffer'd them to remain in *Africa*. (*IX.* 9.) According to *Procopius*, *Geiſeric* then agreed to pay a Tribute; and gave his Son *Hunoric* an Hoſtage; but the Emperor ſoon ſent him back again. (*Ibid.*)

3. But this Peace did not laſt long. *Geiſeric* took, *An.* 439. *Carthage*, the Capital of *Africa*, (*IX.* 16.) and plunder'd *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, and *Corſica*, in 440 and 441. (*IX.* 18.) Upon this, *Valentinian* made a new Peace with him, in 442, and gave up ſeveral entire Provinces of *Africa* to him. (*IX.* 19.) But *Genſeric* did not entirely depend on this Treaty; but ſought all Manner of Means to find the *Romans* Employment, the better to ſecure himſelf. With this View, he ſpirited up *Attila*, King of the *Huns*, to invade *Gaul*. He likewiſe adhered to the *Arian* Sect, and thereupon perſecuted thoſe of the *Orthodox* Faith.

* He is call'd *Gaiſeric*, *Gizeric*, *Geiſeric*: But is generally written *Genſeric*.

† *Vict. Vitenſ. Lib.* II. *cap.* 5. Where he ſays of *Hunoric* Imitator exiſtens Geiſerici patris, qui ſui fratris uxorem ligato pondere lapidum in Amſagam, fluvium Cirtenſem famoſum, jactando demerſit, & poſt necem matris etiam filios interfecit. Of this River, *F. Ruinart* obſerves: *nunc patria lingua dicitur SUFFEGMAR, qui Africam propriam a Mauritania ſeparat.*

†† I follow *Pagius*'s Account: *F. RUINART*, *p.* 423. according to *Chr. Proſperus*, places it in the Year 427.

4. *VALEN-*

4. *VALENTINIAN*, III, being murder'd, in the Year 455, *Maximus* forc'd himſelf into the Imperial Throne, and even oblig'd *Valentinian's* Widow, *Eudoxia*, to marry him. *Genſeric* would now no longer be tied down to the Peace with the *Romans*, and it was then ſurmis'd, that the Empreſs *Eudoxia* herſelf excited him to ſome Enterprize *: But the *Romans* paid dear for it. *Genſeric* laid hold of this Opportunity to plunder *Rome*, *(X. 6.)* and carried the Empreſs Dowager, *Eudoxia*, and her two Daughters, with him to *Africa*. The eldeſt, who by ſome is call'd *Eudoxia*, and by others *Honoria*, he married to his Son *Hunoric*; and the other, *Placidia*, was afterwards married to *Olybrius*, who by that Means, pav'd the Way for himſelf to the Throne.

5. DURING theſe Diſtractions in the Empire, *Avitus*, whom *Maximus* had made *Magiſter Militum in Galliis*, aſſum'd the Imperial Dignity in *Gaul*, with the Aſſiſtance of the *Goths*. In the mean Time, *Geiſeric* infeſted the Coaſts of *Italy*; which *Ricimer*, the famous *Patricius*, a *Swabian* by Birth, defended to the utmoſt of his Power. *Majorianus* made great Preparations againſt the *Vandals*; but *Genſeric* render'd them all abortive, and *Majorianus* was oblig'd to make the beſt Peace he could, ** which however was again broken, at his Death.

6. *GEISERIC* uſed his Endeavours, to advance *Olybrius*, who, by his Conſort, *Placidia*, was allied to the Royal *Vandalian* Houſe, to the Imperial Throne. In the mean Time, he had another Pretence; He demanded *Eudoxia's* Inheritance, which was her Due from the Emperor *Valentinian*: But *Leo*, after the Death of *Libius Severus*, advanc'd *Anthemius*, a *Greek*, to be Emperor in the *Weſt*, and made an Agreement with him, that they ſhould unite their Forces to purſue the War againſt the *Vandals*. The Paſſage, which I have cited, *(X. 17. n. 7.)* concerning this, from *Priſcus*, is confirm'd by PROCOPIUS de Bell. Vand. l. 6. *Anthemium*,

* This Part of the *Roman* and *Vandalian* Hiſtory is yet very obſcure, particularly with Regard to this Circumſtance of the Empreſs *Eudoxia*. What *Procopius* and *Marcellinus* ſay of it, I have already obſerv'd *(X. 3. not. 1 & 2.)* I will here add the Teſtimony of *Idatius*; *Chron. p.* 26. Gaiſericus *SOLLICITATUS A RELICTA VALENTINIANI*, ut malum fama diſpergit, priuſquam Avitus Auguſtus fieret, Romam ingreditur, direptiſque opibus Romanorum Carthaginem redit, relictam Valentiniani, & filias duas, & Ætii filium, Gaudentium nomine, ſecum ducens.

** The learned Author of the *Hiſtoire de l'Etabliſſement de la Monarchie Françoiſe dans les Gaules*, T. II. p. 73. doubts whether *Majorianus* made Peace with *Genſeric*; But the Paſſages of *Idatius* and *Priſcus*, which I have cited, *(X. 16. & 17.)* put it out of all Doubt.

Senatorem, divitiis & ſplendore generis inclitum, ut arma adverſus Vandalos conjunctè moveret, Leo præmiſerat in Occidentem, cujus etiam Imperatorem ipſum creaverat, præterito Olybrio, cui Gizericus, utpote Placidiæ, Valentiniani filiæ marito, & propter affinitatem amico, imperium petiverat maximopere; qua is, repulſa irritatus, ditionem omnem Imperatoris vaſtavit. *Leo* equipp'd a mighty Fleet, *An.* 468, againſt *Africa*; but, as that avail'd him but little, he made Peace about the Year 470. (*X.* 20.)

7. *GEISERIC* died, *An.* 477, the 15*th* of *January*, (*X.* 35.) after having conquer'd all the *Romans* had in *Africa*, and, as it were, outlived the Empire in the *Weſt*. To his great Capacity, it is likewiſe owing, that the Name of the *Vandals*, which before his Time was very little known at Sea, † became formidable, throughout the whole *Mediterranean*. He ordain'd, that the eldeſt of the Male-Heirs of his Family ſhould always ſucceed to the Throne; which gave Occaſion to great Diſtractions in the Royal Houſe.

IV.

HUNORIC. *

From 447-487.

1. A SON of *Geiſeric*. He firſt married a Daughter of the King of the *Wiſi-Goths*, but ſent her back to her Father. †† His ſecond Conſort, *Eudoxia*, Daughter of the Emperor *Valentinian* III, forſook him, in the Year 472, and repair'd to *Jeruſalem*, where ſhe ended her Life. (*XI.* 50.)

2. IN 480, he renew'd the Peace with the Emperor *Zeno*, *Malch.* (*X.* 36.) and, at his, and the Empreſs Dowager, *Placidia*'s, Interceſſion, allow'd the Church of *Carthage*, to elect their own Biſhop. (*X.* 36.)

* In *PROSPERI Chronico* it is ſaid, of the *Vandals*, when they went over into *Africa*: Exinde gentibus, *QUÆ NAVIBUS UTI NESCIEBANT*, dum a concertantibus in auxilium vocantur, mare pervium factum eſt.

†† *JORNAND. de reb. Ger. cap.* 36. Gizericus metuens ne Theodoricus, Viſigothorum Rex, filiæ ulciſceretur injuriam, quæ Hunericho Gizerici filio juncta, prius quidem tanto conjugio lætabatur: Sed poſtea, ut erat ille & in ſua pignora truculentus, ob ſuſpicionem tantummodo veneni ab ea parati, eam putatis naribus ſpolians decore naturali, patri ſuo ad Gallias remiſerat.

3. UNDER

3. UNDER him, the Martial Diſcipline begun to decay, among the *Vandals*. The *Moors*, who dwelt on Mount *Auraſius* * ten Days Journy from *Carthage*, revolted from him. (*XI.* 50.)

4. VICTOR *Vitenſis* has given us a Hiſtory of his Perſecution of the *Orthodox Chriſtians*: From thence I will only ſubjoin here his Ordinance for a Conference between the *Catholick* and *Arian* Biſhops; becauſe it, at the ſame Time, ſerves to illuſtrate ſome political Circumſtances of the Kingdom of the *Vandals*.

REX HUNERIX VANDALORUM ET ALANORUM,

Univerſis Epiſcopis Omouſianis.

Non ſemel, ſed ſæpius conſtat, eſſe prohibitum, ut in SORTIBUS VANDALORUM *ſacerdotes veſtri conventus minime celebrarent, ne ſua ſeductione animas ſubverterent Chriſtianas. Quam rem ſpernentes plurimi, nunc reperti ſunt contra indictum Miſſas in* SORTIBUS VANDALORUM *egiſſe; aſſerentes, ſe integram regulam Chriſtianæ veræ fidei tenere. Et quia in provinciis a Deo nobis conceſſis ſcandalum eſſe nolumus, ideo Dei providentia, cum conſenſu Sanctorum Epiſcoporum noſtrorum hoc nos ſtatuiſſe cognoſcite, ut ad diem Kalendarum Februariarum proxime futurarum, omiſſa omni excuſatione formidinis, omnes Carthaginem veniatis, ut de ratione fidei cum noſtris venerabilibus Epiſcopis poſſitis inire conflictum: & fidem Omouſianorum, quam defenditis, de divinis ſcripturis proprie approbetis, quo poſſit agnoſci, ſi integram fidem teneatis. Hujus autem edicti tenorem univerſis Epiſcopis † tuis per univerſam Africam conſtitutis direximus. Data ſub die decimo tertio Kalendas Junias,* ANNO SEPTIMO REGNI HUNERICI.

† *al. Coëpiſcopis.*

4. I HAVE ſeen two Copper-Medals of this King, of which no Mention is made elſewhere.

* This Mountain is now call'd *Auras*, or *Oreſs*. *V. MORGANS's Hiſtory of Algiers, p.* 103.

V. GUN.

V.

GUNTAMUND.

King, *A.* 484. Died 496.

1. After *Hunoric*'s Death, the Succeſſion did not fall to his Son, *Hilderic*; but, in Purſuance of *Geiſeric*'s Ordinance, to *Guntamund*, a Son of *Genzo*, who was the Eldeſt of the Royal Houſe. *(XI. 50.)*

2. He ſhew'd a more favourable Diſpoſition to the *Orthodox Chriſtians*, and ſuffer'd *Eugenius*, Biſhop of *Carthage*, and the other Biſhops, who were baniſh'd by his Predeceſſor, to return. Ruinart. *in Hiſt. Perſec. Vandal. c.* 10. *p.* 546, Noris. *in Hiſt. Pelag. p.* 321.

3. Antonius Augustinus, *Dial. ſopra le Medaglie VI. p.* 118. mentions a Coin of his *(XI. 50.)* but as he has not given us a Draught of it, I ſhall, at leaſt, ſubjoin his Deſcription here. *Reſta alcun' alta medaglia di Cartagine?* A. *Non vi reſta altra, ſe non d' un Re (credo che ſi chiami Cuntamundo) che fu il terzo delli Re Vandali, che regnorono in Cartagine, prima che Beliſario, Capitano di Giuſtiniano cacciaſſe l' ultimo loro Re. Da una parte vi e la ſua teſta con queſte lettere* Dn. Rex Cuntamund. *E dall' altra parte, vi e una corona di lauro, & dentro due lettere D. N. comme che diceſſe,* Laurea Domini Nostri.

4. He died in 496. d. 24. Sept. Noris. Lib. cap. 2. Ruin. l. c. c. 11.

TRASAMUND.

King, 496. Died 523.

1. A brother of the former. I have already given his Hiſtory *(XI. 50.)* I ſhall here only illuſtrate ſome Circumſtances. *Pithœus, in Epigramm. Veter p.* 62. has given us an Epigram, which was carv'd in Honour of this King, over one of his Baths. It is very confus'd: But the firſt Letters of each Line form his Name.

Tranquillo

T *ranquillo Nymphæ decurrite fluminis ort* U
H *ic proba flagranti ſuccedit vimine fleb* O
R *upibus excelſis, ubi nunc faſtigia ſurgun* T
A *equanturque polo tectis præcelſa lavacr* A
S *edibus hic magnis exardent marmora ſigni* S
A *rdua ſublimes prævincunt culmina therma* E
M *uneraque eximius tanti dat luminis aucto* R
U *ni continuæ prænoſcens præmia fama* E
N *on hic flamma nocebo tandem diſcite carme* N
D *iſcite vel quanta vivat ſub gurgite lymph* A
V ANDALICUM *hic renovat clarum de ſemine nome* N
S *ub cujus titulo meritis ſtat gratia facti* S.

2. *VICTOR Tununenſis*, in Chron. ANASTASIO AUG. COS. (497) ſays, indeed, *Guntbamundo, Vandalorum Rege, Carthagine mortuo, Thraſamundus regnat annos* XXVII. *menſes* IV. *Et hic Ariana inſania plenus Catholicos inſectatur, Catholicorum eccleſias claudit, & in Sardiniam exilio ex omni Africa* CXX. *Epiſcopos mittit.* But it is allow'd, that GUNTAMUND died in the Year 496. See NORIS. *in Hiſt. Pelag.* II. 22.

3. *PROCOPIUS* give us this Character of him, *de Bell. Vandal. Lib.* I. *Frater Thraſamundus ſucceſſor ei*, (Guntamundo) *fuit forma, ingenio, animique magnitudine excellens: Chriſtianos vero ad patrium ſibi dogma transferre cupiens, non vi in corpora inceſſit, ut priores, ſed honores magiſtratuſque oſtentans, pecuniæ quoque largus, inobſequentes qui eſſent, noſſe diſſimulans: quin &, ſi quos conſilio, aut fortuna gravibus criminibus obnoxios teneret, his ſectam mutantibus impunitatem dabat.* He concludes his Relation with theſe Words: *Quamobrem Regum omnium Vandalorum præſtantiſſimus audiit ac potentiſſimus Thraſamundus, Anaſtaſio quoque Auguſto carus in paucis fuit.* NICEPHORUS, Lib. XVII. cap. 2. calls him *vir forma eximia, & animo magno.* He was, at the ſame Time, a Lover of Study †, as we may even ſee by the Reproach made him by *Theoderic*, King of the *Wiſi-Goths*: VARIAR. Lib. VI. ep. 43. *Ubi eſt, quod tanta lectione ſaginatus, alios ſolebas docere de moribus?* What Hopes even the *Orthodox Chriſtians*, in *Africa*, form'd of him, we may ſee by the Words, with which *Fulgentius* concludes his Treatiſe, *de Myſ-*

† We find, in the Letters of *Ennodius*, Biſhop of *Pavia*, *Lib.* II. *ep.* 20. a Letter to this King. His Propenſion for the Sciences made, probably, ſuch Correſpondences agreable to him.

terio

terio Mediatoris Chriſti, which he dedicated to this King, *p.* 422. *Oramus autem Deum, ut aures clementiæ Tuæ verbo veritatis placidas reddat, & pio cordi Tuo lumen ſapientiæ ſpiritualis infundat, ut filium Dei, Deum Dominum noſtrum Jeſum Chriſtum ſic honorifices, ſicut honorificas Patrem. Meretur enim hoc a Te, ut, eum,* QUI TE FECIT PATRE TUO MELIOREM, *Patri ſuo ſecundum divinam naturam fatearis æqualem.* But they were diſappointed in their Hopes. *Emanuel a Scheelſtraate* gives us a more circumſtantial Account of the Perſecution he raiſed, *A.* 504, and, *p.* 293, he names the Biſhops, who were then oblig'd to forſake their Churches.

4. HE kept Peace with the *Oſtro-Goths*, in *Italy*, and married *Amalafrida*, the Siſter of King *Theodoric.* (*XI.* 6. *n.* 4.) Of this Marriage, *Procopius* ſays; Lib. I. cap. 8. p. 197. *Conjuge, nec marem unquam, nec fœminam enixa, viduatus, ut regnum optime ſtabiliret, miſſa ad Theodoricum Gothorum Regem, legatione, ſibi uxorem poſcit, ſororem ejus, Amalafridam, a recenti viri funere viduam. Sororem ille miſit cum comitatu Gothorum mille nobilium, qui ſtipatorum munus obirent: hos ſecuta ſunt miniſteria e viris bellicoſis collecta ad quina circiter millia. Unum item e Siciliæ promontoriis (Lilybæum vocant) ſorori Theodoricus donavit.*

5. HIS Death is obſerved by VICTOR TUNUNENSIS, in the Year 523, MAXIMO Cos. *Thraſamundus, Vandalorum Rex, Carthagine moritur, cujus uxor Amalafrida fugiens ad barbaros, congreſſione facta, Capſæ juxta Eremum capitur, & in cuſtodia privata moritur.* This Computation is confirm'd by PAGIUS, *ad A.* 522. *n.* 2. and NORIS, *l. c. c.* 2.

6. As to the Fate of his Widow *Amalafrid*, *Procopius* tells us †, that ſhe was made a Priſoner even in her Brother's Life-Time; but that he would not venture to take her Part. From *Caſſiod. Var. Lib. IX. ep. I.* we find, ſhe was not murder'd 'till *Athalaric*'s Time. There we find a Letter from this King to *Hilderic*, King of the *Vandals*, in which he accuſes him of the Queen's Murder, and threatens to revenge her Death.

† *Below* Num. 7. 2.

HILDERICO, Regi Vandalorum,
ATHANARICUS Rex.

Duriſſima nimis ſorte conſtringimur, ut, quos ante dulces parentes diximus, nunc eis cauſas amariſſimas imputemus, quas nemo poteſt relinquere, qui pietatis noſcitur monumenta cogitare. Quis enim neſciat, divæ recordationis Amalafridam, generis noſtri decus egregium, violentum apud vos reperiſſe lucis occaſum? & quam habuiſtis pridem dominam, paſſi non eſtis vivere

vivere nec privatam. Hæc ſi contra fas parentelæ gravis eſſe videbatur, remitti ad nos debuit honorabilis, quam magnis ſupplicationibus expetiiſtis. Parricidii genus eſt, ut, quam vobis fecerat affinem conjunctio Regis, nefandis artibus in ejus vos interitum miſceretis. Quid tantum mali a ſuo conjuge relicta promeruit? Si ſucceſſio æbebatur alteri, numquid fœmina in eo ambitu potuit inveniri? Mater quinimo haberi debuit, quæ vobis regna profudit. Nam & hoc nobilitati veſtræ fuiſſet adjectum, ſi inter HAS DIVORUM † *ſtirpem retinuiſſetis Amali ſanguinis purpuream dignitatem. Hoc Gothi noſtri ad ſuum potius opprobrium intelligunt fuiſſe tentatum. Nam qui Dominæ alienæ gentis intulit necem, omnino ejus parentum viſus eſt deſpexiſſe virtutem: quando nemo, quod reſcandum credit, putat eſſe tentandum. Et morali ideo ratione commoniti,* PER ILLUM & ILLUM, *legatos noſtros, verbis prius a vobis expetimus æquitatem, exſpectantes, qualis excuſatio tantis caſibus afferatur. Nam & ſi quodlibet negotium in tali perſona fuiſſet enatum, nobis debuit intimari, (ut & noſtro judicio periret, quæ ſe peſſimis actibus miſcuiſſet) reſtat, ut naturalis ejus fingatur occaſus. Impoſſibilia non dicimus: nova non quærimus:* ILLUM *atque* ILLUM *tradite, per quos facta res debeat elucere. Sic in eis totius cauſæ abſoluta probatio, ſine bello, ſine cæde, aut nos efficiat placatos, aut vos reddat obnoxios. Quodſi creditis eſſe temnendum, nec vos ad rationibilia reſponſa componitis, conditione initæ pacis abſolvimus, qui læſi fœderis vinculo non tenemur. Vindicet nunc ſuperna Majeſtas ſcelus qualibet ante commiſſum, quæ ad ſe clamare fatetur fraterni ſanguinis cædem impiam.*

† leg. Haſdingorum.

VII.

HILDERIC

A. 523. to 530.

1. SEE his Hiſtory *(XI. 51. & ſeq.)* Probably this is the ſame King *Hilderic*, mention'd in the following Epigram, in *Pithœus*'s Collection, *p. 55.*

HILDERICI *Regis fulget mirabile factum,*
Arte, opere, ingenio, divitiis, pretio.
Hinc radios ſol ipſe capit, quos huic dare poſſit,
Altera marmoribus creditur eſſe dies.
Hic ſine nube ſolum, nix juncta & ſparſa putatur,
Dum ſteteris, credas mergere poſſe pedes.

2. *PROCOPIUS Lib. I. cap.* 9. gives the following Account of this King: *In regnum ſucceſſit Ildericus, Honorici filius, ac Gizerici nepos, vir ſubtilis, affabilis, totus ad manſuetudinem natus, qui nullo unquam modo Chriſtianos vexavit: at idem valde imbellis, res militares ne auribus quidem admittebat. Quamobrem fratris ipſius filius Hoamer, vir bello præclarus, Vandalorum expeditionibus præerat, ſic, ut eorum Achilles nominaretur. Regnante Ilderico Mauri Bizaceni, qui parebant Antallæ, prælio fudere Vandalos, hiſque ſocietatem & amicitiam renunciarunt Theodoricus & Gotthi, ideo facti hoſtes, quod Amalafrida in cuſtodiis aſſervaretur, cæſique ad internecionem Gotthi fuiſſent, impacto illis crimine conjurationis in Vandalos & Ildericum. Minime tamen ultum ivit Theodoricus, ſuas opes intelligens non ſufficere ingenti claſſi, qua bellum in Africam portaret. Erat Hildericus arctiſſimæ amicitiæ vinculo junctus Juſtiniano, nondum quidem adepto imperium, id tamen ad arbitrium moderanti: quoniam Juſtinus Imperator, ejus avunculus, ſenio confectus erat, ac reip. tractandæ haud peritus omnino. Mutuis etiam pecuniæ donis Juſtinianus & Ildericus liberaliſſime certabant.*

3. HIS favourable Diſpoſition to the *Orthodox Chriſtians*, is already extoll'd in the above Paſſage. *Nicephorus* even ſays, he was no *Arian. L.* 17. *c.* 11. *Hoc autem* (Thraſamundo) *defuncto Hildericus, Honorici, ex Genſerico prognati, filius regnavit: vir mitis, & non, ut hic Thraſamundus, Arianus, & Chriſtianorum virorum perſecutor.* But this is improbable, ſince other Authors, and particularly the Author of the Life of *S. Fulgentius*, are ſilent on this Head; and the Council held under him at *Carthage*, *A.* 425, ſhews no Sign of it.

VIII.

GILIMER.*

King, *A.* 530. is conquer'd, and carried in Triumph to *Conſtantiuople.*

1. I HAVE given a particular Account of him (*XI.* 51. 54. *& ſeq.*) *Procopius* ſays of him, *Lib. I. c.* 9. *Quidem erat e Gizerici ſtirpe Gelimer, Gelaridis filius, Genzonis nepos, pronepos Gizerici, jam grandis natu, uno præcedente ætate Ilderico; ideoque ad regnum ut exiſtimabatur, propediem perventurus. Is quidem ætatis ſuæ bellicoſiſſimus habebatur; at idem*

* Al. Gelimer, *or* Gelifimer. GREGORY *calls him* Childimer.

vafro

vafro imprimis ac maligno vir ingenio, movere nova, & in alienas opes involare callebat. Cum autem nimium differri ſibi regnum videret, ſe intra legem ac præſcriptum tenere non poterat: verum ſibi munia Regis arrogans, honorem ante diem uſurpabat, & Ilderico facili indulgentique utens, impotentiæ animi efferebatur. Tandem, Vandalorum fortiſſimis quibuſque in ſuas partes pertractis, ſuaſit, ut regnum Vandalicum ſibi traderent, dejecto a gubernaculis Ilderico, tum ob ignaviam & illatam a Mauris cladem, tum quod Justino Aug. *Vandalorum opes eo proderet animo, ne ipſe, ex alio gentis regiæ ramo editus, regnum obtineret, eo ſpectare calumnians miſſam Byzantium legationem.*

2. The Triumph of *Beliſarius*, as deſcrib'd (*XI.* 51.) is grounded on *Procopius*'s Relation, *L. II. c.* 9. *Poſtquam Byzantium Beliſarius cum Gelimere Vandaliſque advenit, honoribus affectus eſt, qui quondam Romanis Ducibus, maximas, clariſſimaſque victorias conſecutis decernebantur, cum nemo jam ab annis DC. adeptus eos fuiſſet, præter Titum, Trajanum ac ceteros Imperatores, qui ducto in barbaram aliquam nationem exercitu, victores redierant. Etenim ſpolia & captivos ſpectandos exhibens, pompam, ſ. ut Romani appellabant, triumphum, per urbem mediam duxit, non veteri tamen more. Siquidem a ſuis ædibus in Circum uſque pedibus proceſſit, ibique a carceribus uſque ad ſolium Imperatoris. Porro hos triumphus captivos habuit: Gelimerem ipſum, cum veſte purpurea circumdata humeris; propinquos ipſius omnes e Vandalis, proceriſſimos quoſque & oris dignitate præſtantes. Circum ingreſſus Gelimer, ubi Auguſtum ſublimi in ſolio ſedentem, ſtantemque hinc inde populum vidit, & animum ad ſe referens, quo infortunii deveniſſet, attendit, nec lacrymas nec gemitus edidit: ac ſemper in ore habuit vocem illam ex Hebræorum monumentis: Vanitas vanitatum & omnia vanitas. Ut ventum eſt ad Cæſareum ſolium, exuta purpura, prono vultu procumbere, & Juſtinianum Auguſtum adorare compulſus eſt: quem honorem Beliſarius quoque perſolvit, cum Gelimere ſupplex. Imperator autem Juſtinianus, ac Theodora Auguſta, Ilderici filias & omnem Valentiniani Auguſti proſapiam multa pecunia donavit: Gelimeri fundos in Galatia aſſignarunt non contemnendos: ubi ipſi cum propinquitate habitare licuit. At Patritiorum ordini ideo non fuit adſcriptus, quia ab Arianiſmo decedere noluit.*

3. Immediately afterwards he relates, how *Beliſarius*, the next Year, at his Entry upon the Conſular Dignity, diſtributed the Booty, taken from the *Vandals*, among the People: *Haud multo poſt Beliſarius alterum & veteri quidem more triumphum egit. Nam illum Conſulem captivi portarunt: idemque e Curuli ipſas belli Vandalici manubias populo ſparſit.*

Siquidem, Beliſario COS. vaſa argentea, zonas aureas, aliarumque rerum pretioſarum, quas habuerunt Vandali, magnam copiam populus rapuit.

A Genealogical Table of the Kings of the VANDALS, *who rul'd in* AFRICA.

I. GODEGISILUS
invaded *Gaul*

II. GUNDERIC
led the Nation into *Spain*, died in 428. His Widow and Iſſue were murder'd by *Geiſeric*.

III. GEISERIC, a Baſtard, went over to *Africa*, in 429.

IV. HUNORIC. died 484.
Conſort 1.) *N.* Daughter of *Theoderick*, King of the *Oſtro-Goths*.
2.) *Eudoxia*, Daughter of the Emperor *Valentinian* III.

Genſo. *Theoderic.*

V. GUNTHAMUND: died 496.

VI. THRASAMUND, *Gelaris.*
Conſort 1.) *N. N.*
2.) *Amalafrida*, Siſter of the King of the *Oſtro-Goths* in *Italy*.

VII. HILDERIC: *N. Hilderic*'s Brother.
His Daughters were carried to *Conſtantinople*,

Hoamer *Evagees.*

VIII. GILIMER. *Tzazo:* *Ammatas* *
The laſt King of the *Vandals* in *Africa*.

* PROCOPIUS de Bell. Vandal. l. 18. *ſays*. Gibamundum, Gelimeris fratris filium. *But who his Father was we cannot ſay.*

IX. AN-

IX. ANNOTATION.

Of the GOTHS, *in general.*

I.

History of the Goths *to the Time of their Diſperſion.*

AS the Name of the *Goths*, particularly in the fifth and ſixth Centuries, became ſo famous, that it almoſt eclips'd that of the *Romans*, a more particular Account has, for this Reaſon, been greatly deſir'd: But their Hiſtory is, in itſelf, obſcure, and has been render'd more ſo by the many, often very bold, Conjectures of the Learned. In the Courſe of this Hiſtory, I have obſerv'd many Things of the Extraction of theſe People, their Habitations, Kings, Expeditions, and other Tranſactions. I do not, indeed, pretend to give a perfect connected Hiſtory of the *Goths*. I ſhall, however, endeavour to ſet ſome Matters, on which the Connection muſt be grounded, in a true Light. I paſs by the moſt ancient Period of their Extraction, in which the Hiſtory of this Nation, as well as that of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, is full of Fables *, and ſhall keep merely to the authentick Teſtimonies of thoſe Writers, who liv'd in the Times they write of. The Hiſtory of the *Goths* does not run in one continued Stream; but, like a River, makes ſundry Excurſions, here and there, and then at Length, divides itſelf into many Branches. I ſhall firſt treat of the *Goths*, as to what concerns the whole Nation; and then of the *Wiſi-* and *Oſtro-Goths* in particular, and illuſtrate ſome peculiar Circumſtances of their Hiſtory.

* *JORNANDES himſelf takes Notice of the Fables of the* Goths.

II.

Of the Name of the Goths. *The different Nations comprehended under that Name.*

1. We find, in the very Beginning of our Enquiry, a great Difficulty arising even from the different Names of the *Goths*. They are properly call'd *Gothi, Gothones, Guthones, Gythones*, &c; but they are also nam'd *Scythæ* *, and *Getæ* †, and likewise, according to *Procopius*, *Melanchlani* and *Sauromatæ*. We must, therefore, first distinguish the Nation of the *Goths* properly so call'd, and those who were conquer'd by them, or voluntarily submitted to their Dominion, and from thence were comprehended under the same Name. *Pliny* reckons the genuine *Goths* to be of the same Extraction with the *Vandals*; which *Procopius*, who was very well acquainted with these Nations, also confirms. *(See the Passages in the seventh Annotation, n. 1.)*

2. These *Goths* having, in Time, extended their Power, and many other *German* and *Sarmatian* Nations being partly conquer'd by them, and having in Part voluntarily submitted to them, the *Greek* and *Roman* Writers extended the Name of *Goths* to them also. So we find the *Greuthungi, Thoringi, Taifali* **, *Peucini* ††, *Bastarnæ, Carpi, Scirri,*

* *Because they took Possession of the Countries which the* Scythians, *properly so call'd, had inhabited. Of these* Scythians, *properly so call'd, see* Baier in Diss. de Origine & priscis sedibus Scytharum, *and* de situ Scythiæ, quális fuit sub ætatem Herodoti.

† Getæ *and* Gothi *are in themselves different. The* Getæ *had their Habitation anciently in* Thrace, *and along the* Pontus Euxinus. *The* Goths *came from the* North, *towards the* Danube. *In succeeding Times, they were frequently confounded, one with the other.*

** *The* Taifali *are frequently mention'd in the first Volume. A Colony of them settled at* Poitou, *in* Gaul, *who are mention'd by* Gregorius Turonensis, Lib. 4. cap. 18. Ipse quoque regressus ad castrum suum, mota super se Taifalorum seditione, quos sæpe gravaverat, lancea sauciatus, crudeliter vitam finiit. *It is a Question, whether these* Taifali *accompanied the* Wisi-Goths *to* Gaul, *or whether they are those who lay in Garrison at* Poitiers *in the Time of the* Romans?

†† *Jornandes says of the* Peucini (V. 23. 4.) *that they dwelt in* insula Peuce, quam ostia Danubii conficiunt. Tacitus *says of them in general,* Germ. 46. Peucinorum, Venedorumque, & Fennorum nationes Germanis an Sarmatis adscribam dubito? quanquam Peucini, quos quidam Bastarnas vocant, sermone, cultu, sede, ac domiciliis, ut Germani agunt.

Hirri,

Hirri ‖, *&c.* So likewiſe not only the *Vandals*, *Gepidæ*, and *Burgundians* are ſometimes comprehended under the general Name of *Goths*, but likewiſe even the *Alani*, who were inconteſtably of a quite different Extraction. Hence likewiſe we meet with the Name of many *Gothick* Kings, who never rul'd over the *Goths*; but over other Nations, who were under their Supremacy; or ſingle Parties of them, who have made Excurſions to ſeek their Fortunes, have been taken Notice of under that Denomination, and it is therefore the more difficult, to give a Series of the Kings of the *Goths*, that may be depended on.

III.

The Hiſtory of the Goths, *'till the* Oſtro- *and* Wiſi-Goths *ſeparated.*

1. I SHALL only endeavour here to verify the principal Occurrences, according to the Light we have from ancient Writers. Even the Teſtimonies of *Jornandes* receive a greater Weight, when ſupported by other Hiſtorians. *Tacitus* gives the firſt Footſtep, in the Perſon of *Catualda*, a *Gothick* Prince, who drove *Marabodnus*, King of the *Marcomanni*, out of his Dominions. *(IV. 19.)*

2. THE *Goths* had probably a great Share in the War, which *Domitian* wag'd againſt *Decebalus*, King of *Dacia*. *(V. 6.)* *Jornandes* even writes, that their King, *Dorpaneus*, came as far as the *Danube*. *(Ibid.)* When *Trajan* made *Dacia* a Province, many *Sarmatian* Nations were entangl'd in War, and probably the *Goths* with them. *(V. 9. 6.)* *Ptolomy* places the *Goths* in *Sarmatia*, near to the *Viſtula* *.

3. IN *M. Antonins's Marcomann* War, we find the Names of ſome Nations, who were afterwards mention'd among the *Goths*: And probably they are the very ſame who gave *Commodus* Trouble to keep them out of *Dacia*. *(Ib. 24. 1.)* They afterwards often attempted to break in on that Side; and *Alexander Severus* gave them Mony to keep in Peace. *(Ibid. 32. 1.)*

‖ *There is frequent Mention made of the* Scirri *and* Hirri, *in the firſt Volume. In* BAIERI Diſſ. de muro Caucaſeo, p. 459, *one* Hacanus, rex Turcarum & HYRRORUM *is mention'd.*

* *Geograph. III.* 5. Penes Viſtulam quidem fluvium, ſub Venetis Gythones ſunt.

4. IN

4. In *Philip's* Reign, the *Goths* fell into *Moesia*. (*V.* 33.) *Jornandes* calls their King *Ostrogotha*, and says, in his Praise, that he afterwards overcame *Fastida*, King of the *Gepidæ*. (*Ibid. n.* 4.)

5. Under *Decius*, *Philip's* Successor, happen'd a new Irruption. (*V.* 34.) They forc'd their Way over Mount *Hæmus*, in *Thrace*; defeated *Decius*, who commanded in Person; took thereupon *Philippopolis*, and push'd on as far as *Macedonia*. In another Battle † with them, the Emperor himself and his Son, were kill'd. (*V.* 34.) *Jornandes* ascribes all this to King *Cniva*, the Successor of *Ostrogotha*. (*Ibid. n.* 3.) *Gallus*, the Successor of *Decius*, made Peace with the *Goths*, by Virtue of which they were allow'd to retire over the *Danube*, with all the Booty and Prisoners they had made, and he promis'd the Payment of a certain Sum annually, on Condition they should not farther infest the *Roman* Provinces. (*V.* 35.)

† *A.* 251.

Excursions of the Goths, *on the* Pontus Euxinus, *&c.*

6. After this Time, the *Goths* began to make Excursions on the *Pontus Euxinus*, and try their Fortune at Sea; on this Occasion they landed, here and there, on the Coasts of *Asia*, *Greece*, and *Thrace*, and overwhelm'd all these Countries with the same Terror. The same happen'd in the Reign of *Valerian*; (*V.* 37.) and again under *Gallienus*. (*V.* 43.)

7. Soon after, the *Goths*, *Gepidæ*, *Heruli*, and *Peucini*, assembled on the *Niester*; got together a Fleet, and enter'd the *Pontus Euxinus*. (*V.* 44.) A Party of them landed on the Coast of *Macedonia*, and ravag'd the Country as far as *Moesia*. These were the same whom Emperor *Claudius* defeated (*V.* 45.) in the Neighbourhod of *Naissus*, on Account of which Victory, he was surnam'd *Gothicus*. According to *Jornandes*, these were not the whole Nation of the *Goths*, only a Swarm of young People, under some audacious Leaders. We cannot have a livelier Idea of this Adventure of the ancient *Goths*, than by comparing it to the Enterprises of the *Normans* (*North-Men*) of After-times, in the *Eastern* and *Western* Seas.

The Goths *get a firm Footing in* Dacia.

8. WHEN *Aurelian* totally abandon'd *Dacia*, which was already very much laid waſte, and the *Roman* Inhabitants evacuated it, *(V. 52.)* this made, as it were, a new Period in the *Gothick* Hiſtory; for the *Sarmatian* and *Gothick* Nations then extended themſelves unmoleſted, as far as the *Danube* *: And as that River now made the Confines of the *Roman* Empire, this gave Occaſion to more frequent Wars between them and theſe their turbulent Neighbours. Among *Probus*'s Coins, there is one with the Reverſe; *Victoria Gothica*, and the Surname of *Gothicus*, given to *Diocletian*, ſhews he had likewiſe to do with theſe his Neighbours.

Tranſactions of the Goths *in the fourth Century, in the Reign of* Conſtantine *the* Great, *and his Sons.*

9. As the Hiſtory of the Empire, under *Conſtantine* the *Great*, takes, as it were, a new Form; ſo, by Degrees, it likewiſe gives a greater Light to the *Gothick* Hiſtory. In the Year 523, he expell'd the *Goths* who had invaded *Moeſia* and *Thrace*, out of thoſe Countries; but, at the ſame Time, enter'd into a League with them, by Virtue of which many *Goths* enter'd into the Service of the *Romans*. *(Ib. not.* 2.)

10. IN the Year 528, he paſs'd the *Danube*, and built a Bridge over that River, the Memory of which we find on many Coins. (VI. 28.)

11. IN the Year 532, he, and his eldeſt Son, *Conſtantine*, took the Field, to aſſiſt the *Sarmatians* againſt the *Goths*. (VI. 28.) *Araric*, King of the *Goths*, gave him his Son as an Hoſtage; probably for a Security of the League he then made with the *Romans*. *(Ibid. not.* 5.)

12. *ARARIC*, according to *Jornandes*, was ſucceded by *Geberic*, likewiſe in the Reign of *Conſtantine*. The ſame Author, who likewiſe refers to *Dixippus*, relates, of him, that he defeated the *Vandals*, on the River *Maros*, (VI. 28. 11.) and took their Country from them.

13. *CONSTANTINE* the *Great*, boaſts, indeed, that by Means of his Arms and Treaties, he again made *Dacia* a *Roman* Province. (VI.

* *See, of this the Words of* Eutropius, (V. 9. 6.)

8. 9.) Notwithſtanding which as well the *Goths* as the *Sarmatians*, and particularly the *Sarmatæ limigantes* remain'd there; and the boaſted Supremacy, over this new Province, was not of long Duration, as is evident by the Campaigns *Conſtantius* made againſt the *Sarmatians*. (VI. 55. 56.)

14. MOREOVER, after the laſt Treaty made with *Conſtantine*, there was, for a conſiderable Time, Peace between the *Roman* Empire and the *Goths*. At that Time, *Hermanaric* reign'd over the *Oſtro-Goths*; to whoſe Honour, *Jornandes* ſays, that he conquer'd the *Heruli*, *Æſtii*, *Venedi* and *Roxolani*. (VI. 43.)

15. ON the other Hand, *Athanaric*, King of the *Wiſi-Goths*, was at War with the Emperour *Valens*, *A.* 367. A Peace was concluded between the Emperor and this King, on the Middle of the *Danube*, which was, as it were, the Confines of both their Dominions. (VII. 3.)

IV.

Separation of the Oſtro- *and* Wiſi-Goths.

IN the Reigns of theſe two Kings, it was that the *Oſtro-* and *Wiſi-Goths* ſeparated *, in ſuch Manner, that each Nation had their own King: So that, at the ſame Time, *Hermanaric* rul'd over the *Oſtro-Goths*, and *Athanaric* over the *Wiſi-Goths*, with equal Power. *Jornandes* ſays of *Hermanaric*, *cap.* 24. *Quam adverſam ejus valetudinem captans Balamir, Rex Hunnorum, in Oſtrogothas movit procinctum, a quorum ſocietate jam Viſegothæ diſceſſere, quam dudum inter ſe juncti habebant.* In this Senſe, *Iſidorus* ſays, *in Chr. Goth. er.* 407. of *Athanarico*: *Anno V. imperii Valentis, primus Gothorum gentis adminiſtrationem ſuſcepit Athanaricus.*

V.

The Confines of the Gothick *Dominions, in the Times of* Hermanaric *and* Athanaric.

THIS very Period ſhews us the Power of the *Goths*, when at the higheſt Pitch; and, at the ſame Time, the Decline of it. We find ſome Footſteps, that the *Wiſi-Goths* had then their Habitation, towards the

* Oſtrogothorum jam meminit POLLIO in Claud. 6. (V. 44. n. 4.)

Weſt,

Weſt, in *Dacia* and *Sarmatia*, in thoſe Countries which are now known partly by the Names of *Upper Hungary*, *Tranſylvania*, and *Walachia*, and partly belonging to the adjacent *Poles*. Of the *Oſtro-Goths*, we may conclude, from the ſame Acounts, that they extended themſelves from the Source of the *Boriiſthenes* to the *Don*. With all this, we muſt reckon ſo many other *German* and *Sarmatian* Nations, which were ſubdued by the *Goths*; *viz.* the *Thoringi*, *Taifali*, *Gepidæ*, *Burgundians*, *Varni*, *Heruli*, *Æſtii*, *Peucini*, *Roxolani*, *Scirri*, *Hirri*, and others, whoſe Names are ſcarce to be truly found: On this the Conjecture is grounded, that the total Power of the *Goths*, when at the higheſt, extended towards the *North*, to the *Eaſt-Sea*; towards the *Weſt*, to the *Viſtula*, and beyond it; towards the *Eaſt*, to the *Don*; and towards the *South*, to the *Danube*, and the *Pontus Euxinus*. (XI. 22. and XIII. 7.) In the mean Time, thoſe Nations, who acknowledg'd the Sovereignty of the *Goths*, had not, therefore, given up their Liberty intirely. The *Gothick* Kings were ſatisfied, if the Nations they conquer'd acknowleg'd their Sovereignty, and ſerv'd them in their Wars; which the greateſt Heroes of Antiquity thought the nobleſt Fruits of their Victories, eſpecially as the Poverty of the Times could not allow of any conſiderable Tribute. The Monarchy of *Attila*, and the many different Nations of which it was compos'd, who all recover'd their Liberty after his Death, may ſerve us as an Example, how it muſt have been, in the ſame Caſe, with the *Goths*,

VI.

Diſperſion of the Goths, *in the Reign of* Valens.

But the Hiſtory of the *Goths* hardly begins to appear in a clear Light, before it falls in Pieces again, as it were, of itſelf. The *Hunns* make War upon the *Oſtro-Goths*; and *Athanarick*, King of the *Wiſi-Goths*, is expell'd by an Inſurrection in his own Dominions. After theſe Diſtractions, the *Gothick* Hiſtory takes a quite different Form. Some of the *Goths* remain'd in their old Territories, others croſs'd the *Danube*, into thoſe of the *Romans*, and there ſeparated likewiſe. Hence aroſe four different Sorts of *Goths*. 1. The *Wiſi-Goths*, who went, under the Command of *Alaric*, to *Italy*, and founded a particular Kingdom in *Gaul* and *Spain*; 2. The *Goths* who continued their Habitation, and preſerved their Loyalty to the *Roman* Empire; among whom, we meet with *Theoderic*, the Son of *Triarius*, *Sarus*, and many other Perſons of Note, who fought againſt their own Country-men, in the Service of the *Romans*; 3. The *Oſtro-Goths*, who, at Length, repair'd to *Italy*, under *Theoderick*; And 4. the

Goths who conſtantly remain'd in their Country; ſuch were the *Gothi Tetraxitæ*, who kept their ancient Habitation on the *Don*, and the *Mœotick* Lake. (XIII. 7.) The other Nations, who were Subjects to the *Gothick* Monarchy, recover'd their Liberty, as we have already obſerv'd, in their proper Places, of the *Gepidæ*, *Thuringians*, and others.

VII.

The Propagation of the Chriſtian *Faith, among the* Goths.

ad VII. 39. 40.

1. AMONG other Circumſtances, which belong to the Hiſtory of the *Goths*, in general, and will diſplay themſelves hereafter more, in the Hiſtories of the *Oſtro-Goths* and *Wiſi-Goths*, the Propagation of the *Chriſtian* Religion deſerves principally our Notice. *(See Vol.* I. VII. 39 *and* 40.*)* Among the Biſhops of other Cities, who exerted themſelves, on this Occaſion, *Aſcholius*, Biſhop of *Theſſalonica*, is particularly extoll'd by *Baſilius Magnus*, Archbiſhop of *Cæſarea*, in *Capadocia*, *ep.* 338 & 339.

2. So likewiſe a *Greek* Prieſt, nam'd *Audius*, made himſelf noted, on this Occaſion. I ſhall give his Hiſtory from EPIPHANIUS *adv. Hæreſes*, *Lib.* III. *cap.* 14. *Cæterum idem ille ſenex Audius in Scythiam ab Imperatore relegatus eſt, quod populos paſſim ab Eccleſiæ obſequio retraheret, cum eo nomine ab Epiſcopis eſſet ad Imperatorem delatus. Cumque in ea regione verſaretur (quot autem annis ibidem vixerit, certo aſſeverare non poſſumus) in interiora Gothicæ penetrans, barbaros multos Chriſtianæ religionis rudimentis inſtituit. Ex quo monaſteria in Gothia nonnulla propagata ſunt: in quibus religioſa vivendi ratio, & virginitas, arctiſſimaque diſciplina floruit. Eſt enim hominum iſte cœtus vitæ ratione & inſtituto cum primis admirabili. Atque in illorum monaſteriis nihil non præclarum & eximium eſt: ſi præfractam illam contumaciam excipias, qua & in Paſchate celebrando a communi conſuetudine diſcedunt, & illud de Dei imagine ſimplici quadam ratione interpretandum putant.* And, *cap.* 15. *Poſt illius vero mortem ad eundem illum cœtum adhæſere complures Epiſcopi: ſed imprimis Uranius in Meſopotamia. Quin etiam ex ipſa Gotthia ſibi aliquot adjunxit & Epiſcopos conſtituit. Præter quos etiam Silvanus, & alii quidam extiterunt, e quibus nonnulli mortui ſunt, & inter alios Uranius, qui ſe in illa turba præ aliis efferebat. Verum poſt Uranii ac Silvani, in Gotthia Epiſcopi, mortem, pleriſque ab ea factione abſtractis, ad paucos conventus*

conventus illorum redactus est, atque in Chalcide, quæ ad Antiochiam sita est, & ad Euphratem resedit. Nam e Gothia plerique pulsi sunt, una cum aliis communionis nostræ Christianis: cum ab Rege quodam gentile ingens esset, ac vehemens concitata persecutio, quam Romanorum præsertim odio commoverat, quod Romanos Imperatores Christianos esse videret: Unde Christianum omne nomen illinc exterminare voluit. Verum radix sapientiæ, aut fidei satus non deficit. Et quanquam pulsi fugatique Christiani omnes videantur, nonnulli tamen adhuc supersunt.

Arianism *takes Root among the* Goths. *Why they are called* Ariani Hexacionitæ?

3. *ULPHILAS, in vit. S. Nicetæ*, is call'd the Succeſſor of *Theophilus*. Under him *Arianism* crept in among the *Wisi-Goths*, eſpecially at the Time when *Fritigern* and *Athanaric* were entangled in a War together. The firſt favour'd that Sect, to oblige the Emperor *Valens*, who had ſent him Succours, and he adher'd himſelf to their Community. (VII. 39. *n.* 5. 6.) *Jornandes* ſays, *cap.* 25, that, by this Means, *Arianism* ſpread likewiſe to the *Oſtro-Goths* and the *Gepidæ*: *De cætero tam Oſtrogothis, quam Gepidis, parentibus ſuis, per affectionis gratiam evangelizantes, hujus perfidiæ culturam edocentes, omnem ubique linguæ hujus nationem ad culturam hujus ſectæ invitavere.* As the *Arians* themſelves were not united in Opinion; ſo the *Goths*, at firſt, adher'd to them whoſe Doctrine deviated the leaſt from *Catholicism*. *Theodoretus* ſays of them: *Nunquam tamen filium creaturam dici ſuſtinuerunt.* (VII. 40. 3.)

4. They afterwards adher'd to thoſe who were call'd *Hexacionitæ*. *Theophanes* writes: *Imperator Juſtinianus abſtulit omnes hæreticorum Eccleſias, eaſque Orthodoxis conceſſit, exceptis iis, quæ Arianorum Hexacionitarum eſſent.* (Conf. XIII. 36. n. 3.) In the *Chronicon Alexandrinum, ad An. XI. Zenonis*, *Theoderick*, King of the *Oſtro-Goths*, in *Italy*, is call'd *Hexacionita*. Of the Signification of this Word, *Alemannus, in notis ad Procopii Anecdota, p.* 130. ſays: *Hi nempe nobiliſſimi Arianorum erant, in quorum Collegium adſcribi Gothorum Reges Italici conſueverant.* But it is beſt defin'd by the Tenets themſelves of that Sect. Thoſe who taught that the Father created the Son ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων, were, for that Reaſon, call'd *Exucontii* or *Exuconitæ*. For the Reſt, the *Goths* and *Burgundians*, tho' they were *Arians*, held with the *Catholicks*, againſt the *Photinians*. In a Fragment of *Avitus*, *Lib. contra Arianos*, (*Oper. p.* 173) is is ſaid: *Sceleſtiſſimam eorum* (Photinianorum) *in hoc blaſphemiam, perinde etiam veſtræ, ut noſtræ legis ſententia deteſtatur.*

Martyres

Martyres Gothi. S. Sabas, Nicetas, &c.

5. MANY ſuffer'd, among the *Goths*, for the Sake of the *Catholick* Religion; eſpecially under *Athanaric*, King of the *Wiſi-Goths*. Many fled into the Imperial Dominions. Several Paſſages of *St. Ambroſe*, *St. Auſtin*, and other Fathers, are quoted above, in which Mention is made of the *Gothick* Martyrs. Among theſe, *S. Sabas*, whom *Athanaric* cauſed, for the Sake of his Religion, to be drowned, about the Year 372, is particularly famous. His Acts are recorded by *Ruinart*, *in Actis Martyr. ſinceris*, *p.* 674. and, *in Act. S. S. Antv. ad d.* 12. *Apr.* Of *Nicetas*, *Suidas* makes Mention, *in voc. Athanaricus: Athanaricus, qui S. Nicetam excruciavit, & magnum Chriſti martyrem effecit*, *Nicephorus* mentions him more particularly, *Lib.* XI. *cap.* 48. In his Acts, in *Surius*, *ad. d.* 15. *Sept.* is very little Matter for Hiſtory, except, that it is ſaid: He ſuffer'd *ſub Athanarico, eo tempore, quo Gratianus imperavit Romanis.* In the *Greek Menæi ad. d.* 26. *Mart.* we find the following Account of ſome other *Gothick* Martyrs: *Martyres in Gothia martyrio affecti. Ex quibus ſunt duo Presbyteri: Bathuſis & Vercas, cum duobus filiis & filiabus.* And farther. *Hi fuerunt ſub Junguricho, Rege Gothorum, & Gratiano, Imperatore Romanorum, ſed propter confeſſionem Chriſti ſub Junguricho per ignem martyrii coronam acceperunt.* Perhaps, inſteed of *Junguricho*, ſhould be read *Athanaricho* †.

6. *ATHANARIC* perſecuted the *Chriſtians* in general, and therefore, there were as well *Catholick* as *Arian* Martyrs; and *Socrates* ſays expreſly, (VII. 29. *not.* 5.) *Barbaros nonnullos ex Secta Ariana tum martyres factos.*

VIII.

Of the Gothick *Tongue, Writing, Habit, Manners,* &c.

1. IN the firſt Volume, I have here and there made ſome Mention of their Language, Habit, and Manner of Life. *Procopius* proves that the *Goths*, *Vandals*, and *Gepidæ*, had one and the ſame Language. (X. 6. *n.* 7.) And therefore we have the leſs Reaſon to wonder, that *Priſcus* reckons it among thoſe which were moſt ſpoken at *Attila*'s Court (IX. 23. 8.) As the Learned agree it was the ſame which is contain'd in the *Cod. Argent.* our Enquiry need only be, what Dialect that approaches the

† *Conf. tamen Act. SS. Antverp. ad d.* 26. *Mart.*

neareſt

neareſt to. *In Mabillonii Analect. T. II. p.* 358. *(ed. Pariſ. de A.* 1722. *f.)* is an *Excerptum Smaradi, Abbatis S. Michaelis, in Dioeceſi Virdunenſi,* who liv'd in the Time of *Charlemaign, Commentario in Donatum,* and in it a Paſſage concerning the *Gothick* Tongue, which I ſhall ſubjoin: *In Francorum Gothorumque genere, hæc patronymica ſpecies frequentatur multoties. A parte enim gentili, & a Theodiſca veniunt lingua, de quibus in exemplo Gothorum pauca primum ponimus nomina, quorum hæc ſunt exempla:* ALTMIR, GLITMIR, RIGMIR, RAINMIR, WATMIR, WIGMUNT, RIGMUNT, RATMUNT, WILMUNT, *& ſimilia. Quorum hæc eſt in Latinum interpretatio.* ALTMIR, *namque vetulus mihi interpretatur;* GLITMIR, *debitus mihi;* RIGMIR, *potens mihi;* RAINMIR, *nitidus mihi;* WATMIR, *veſtimentum mihi;* WIGMUNT, *volens bucca;* RIGMUNT, *potens bucca,* RATMUNT, *conſilium oris.* Et infra: *Francorum patronymica, ſecundum Theodiſcam linguam hæc ſunt nomina:* HELPERICH, ALTRICH, ARTRICH, AINARTH, RICHART, STEINHHART, RAINHART, ARCHARAT, FULRATH, TANCHRAT, FASTRATH, GOTRAHT, RAGHMAN. GOTHMAN, ARTHMAN, RICHMAN, WITMAN, SUARZMAN, LIUBMAN. *Quorum hæc ſunt interpretationes:* HELPERICH, *adjutorium potens;* ALTRICH, *ſenex potens;* ARTRICH, *durus potens;* AINARTH, *unus durus;* RICHART, *potens conſilium;* STEINHART, *lapis durus;* RAINHART, *nitidum conſilium;* ARCHARAT, *durum conſilium;* FULRATH, *plenum conſilium;* TANCRATH, *grande conſilium;* FASTRATH, *firmum conſilium;* GOTRAT, *bonum conſilium;* RATHMAN, *conſiliarius homo;* GOTHMAN, *bonus homo;* ARTHMAN, *durus homo;* RICHMAN, *potens homo;* WITMAN, *candidus homo;* SUARZMAN, *niger homo;* LIUBMAN, *amatus homo.* It were to be wiſh'd, that a certain *Gloſſarium Gothicum,* of which *Philippus Jacobus Mauſſacus* makes Mention, had ever been printed. His Words are, *in Diſſ. de Harpocrat. p.* 355. *Vidi Anſileubi cujuſdam, Gothorum Epiſcopi, gloſſarium, erutum ex veteri Codice Bibliothecæ Moyſacienſis, quo multa Gotharum, aliorumque populorum barbara vocabula explicantur.* Of the *Gothick* Letters, I ſhall, on another Occaſion, give a farther Account below.

2. OF their Habit, I have already made ſome Mention, (VIII. 1. *not.* 4.) which is, in ſome Meaſure, illuſtrated by the Figures on the *Columna Theodoſii.* (VIII. 30.) It is obſerved, as ſomething particular, that they ſuffer'd their Hair to grow, as did moſt of the *German* Nations *. We find, concerning this, a Paſſage in *Jornandes, cap.* II, where he

* *JUVENAL obſerves this as ſomething peculiar to the* Germans, XIII. 164.

Cærula quis ſtupuit Germani lumina? flavam
Cæſariem, & madido torquentem cornua cirro?

writes

writes of the *Gothick*, Philoſopher, *Diceneus*: *Elegit ex eis tunc nobiliſſimos prudentiores Viros, quos, Theologiam inſtruens, numina quædam & ſacella venerari ſuaſit, fecitque Sacerdotes, nomen illis pileatorum contradens, ut reor, quia opertis capitibus tiaris, quas pileos alio nomine nuncupamus, litabant; reliquam vero gentem* CAPILLATOS *dicere juſſit, quod nomen Gothi pro magno ſuſcipientes, adhuc hodie ſuis cantionibus reminiſcuntur. In Caſſiodori Var.* the Superſcription to the 49th *ep.* of the 4th Book is: *Univerſis Provincialibus, &* CAPILLATIS, *defenſoribus, & curialibus in Suavia conſiſtentibus.* They wore their Hair in a peculiar Manner. *Syneſius* calls (VIII. 1.) the *Goths*, *flavos illos & Eboico more comatos.* But the Inhabitants of the Iſland of *Euboca*, were, in particular, known to the Poets, by letting their Hair grow backwards. *Homer* ſays of them, *Iliad II.* 74.

Criniti retro atque agiles comitantur Abantes.

And STATIUS, *Theb. VII.* 369. - - *in terga comantes*
Non ego Abantiadas.

Sidonius Apollinaris, (X. 13.) in his Deſcription of the *Wiſi-Gothick* King, *Theoderic* II, deſcribes his Hair in the following Manner: *Capitis apex rotundus, in quo paululum a planitie frontis in verticem cæſaries refuga criſpatur.* And farther: *Aurium legulæ*, SICUT MOS GENTIS EST, *crinium ſuperjacentium flagellis operiuntur.* What he calls *flagella crinium*, are the *grani Gothorum*, mention'd by *Iſidorus. (Ibid. n.* 2.) Theſe are, likewiſe, the *Majores crines*, which *Honorius* forbids, *l.* 4. *Cod. Theodoſ. de habitu, quo uti oportet intra urbem.*

3. THE *Oſtro-Goths*, in *Italy*, likewiſe kept their Faſhion; as we may conclude from an Epigram of *Ennodius. De Joviniano, qui cum haberet* BARBAM GOTHICAM, *lacerna veſtitus proceſſit.*

Barbaricam faciem Romanos ſumere cultus
Miror, & in modico diſtinctas corpore gentes.

ALITER.

Romuleam tegetem nox oris nubila fuſcat,
Oppreſſit veſtes tenebroſo tegmine vultus.

ALITER.

ALITER.

Nobilibus tollis genium, male compte, lacernis,
Diſcordes miſcens inimico fœdere proles.

The *Romans*, on the contrary, ſhaved their Beards. So *Procopius* ſays of *Juſtinian*, *Hiſt. Arc. p.* 109. *mento raſus, ritu Romanorum.*

4. *CLAUDIAN* reproaches *Rufinus*, among other Things, with the *Veſtis Getarum. (VIII.* 1. 4.) Of the *Gothick* Clothing, the Pelts are the moſt known. *Syneſius* calls them *Rhenones*; *Prudentius*, *Maſtrugæ. (VIII.* 11. *n.* 8.) The Emperor *Honorius* forbid them at the ſame Time, *l. c.* together with the *Bracci* and *Tzangi*. The *Calcei Gothici* are mentioned *in Mauricii Strategico*, *p.* 303. and are deſcrib'd in the following Manner: *Calcei debent eſſe Gothici, ſoleis ſubſtratis, abſque naribus ſimpliciter conſuti, cum anſulis duabus, non pluribus. Neceſſe vero eſt, ut paucis parviſque claviculis firmentur, ut poſſint præſtare diuturniorem uſum. Non enim uſurpantur crepidæ, vel ocreæ, quia ad itinera non ſunt idoneæ, & ad geſtandum ponderoſæ.*

5. As for their Accoutrements of War, the Paſſage of *Ammianus Marcellinus*, where he deſcribes the *Arcus Scythicus*, may give us ſome Light. (*) I ſhall here add from *Arrianus*'s *Tact.* a Deſcription of the Field Enſigns, which they made uſe of inſtead of Colours. *Scythica autem ſigna ſunt dracones convenienti longitudine pendentes ex contis. Fiunt autem ex pannis inter ſe conſutis diverſicoloribus, capite reliquoque corpore omni ad caudam uſque ſimili ſerpentibus, in ſpeciem maxime conformidabilem, quantum poteſt, inſtructo. Utuntur autem his ſophiſmatibus; quando quieti ſtant equi, nihil amplius, quam pannos videas diverſicolores ad inferiora dependentes: quando vero currunt, inflati turgeſcunt in tantum, ut ipſas quoque feras ſpecie referant; ſed & ſibilum edunt per frequentem agitationem; cumque ventus violentior eos inſpirat. Atque iſthæc quidem ſigna non modo ſunt jucunda, vel terribilia, ſed & ad decurrentium differentiam faciunt, ne ordines in ſe mutuo incurrant. Cæterum, qui ea geſtant, ſpectatiſſimi ex cæteris, evolutionum & converſationum in alios circulos, vel alias aliaſque in directum decurſiones inſtituunt. Arrianus* calls theſe *Enſigns*, *Scythica Signa*; but he comprehends the *Goths* under the Name of *Scyths*.

* *Lib.* XXII. *cap.* 8. Cum arcus omnium gentium flexis curventur haſtilibus, Scythici ſoli vel Parthici circumductis utrinque introrſus pandis & patulis cornibus, effigiem lunæ decreſcentis oſtendunt, medietatem recta & rotunda regula dividente. *With which* Gronovius's *Remarks are worth our reading.*

X. ANNOTATION.

Of the WISI-GOTHS *in particular.*

Of ATHANARIC, FRITIGERN, RADAGAISUS.

I.

AFTER the *Wiſi-Goths* were ſeparated from the *Oſtro-Goths*, their Kingdom ſoon fell into a new Confuſion. *Athanaric* himſelf was expell'd by ſome other *Gothick* Princes, and fled for Refuge to the Emperor *Theodoſius*. His Adherents were admitted into the *Roman* Provinces; the Reſt ſought their Fortune another Way. To illuſtrate theſe Things in ſome Meaſure, I ſhall relate whatever is to be found worthy of Credit, concerning *Athanaric*, *Fritigern*, and *Radagaiſus*. *Alaric* begins a new Period, for which I have reſerved the following Annotation.

II.

ATHANARIC. *

1. HIS Hiſtory is related in the firſt Volume, *(VII.* 3. 17 & 29.) he is call'd King of the *Goths*, of the *Wiſi-Goths*, or, in particular, of the *Theruingi*. His Father, *Rhoteſtus*, muſt have been, if not a King, a renown'd Prince, among the *Goths*. *Themiſtius* ſays; That *Conſtantine* the *Great* erected a Statue to his Honour at *Conſtantinople*. *(V.* 29. *not.* 5.) *Cujus* (ſc. Athanarici) *ad placandum parentem maximus ille Conſtantinus ſtatuam olim erexerat, quæ poſt curiam adhuc collocata cernitur.* † *Athanaric* himſelf makes Mention of his Father, in *Amm. Marcellinus*. (*VII.* 3. *not.* 7.)

* *This Name is likewiſe written ſeveral Ways. In the Acts of St.* Sabas *he is call'd* Atharidus, Rhoteſti Reguli filius ap. RUINART. p. 676.

† *The ſame Honour the Emperor* Zeno *ſhew'd the* Oſtro-Gothick *Prince* Theodoric. JORNANDES *ſays*, Equeſtrem ſtatuam ad famam tanti Viri, ante Regiam Palatii collocavit.

2. IN

2. In *Roman* Hiſtory, this King is firſt known by his War with the Emperor *Valens*, which ended, *A.* 369. *(VII.* 3.*)*

3. *SOCRATES* and *Sozemenus* mention *(VII.* 39.*)* a War *Fritigern*, a *Thuringian* Prince, wag'd with him. This Prince was a Favourer of the *Chriſtians*, eſpecially of the *Arians*; and *Athanaric* perſecuted them the more rigorouſly. *(See VII.* 39. *and the foregoing Annotation.)*

C 4. We find in his Hiſtory ſome, tho' but faint, Traces, of the then onfines of the *Wiſi-Gothick* Kingdom. We read, for Inſtance, (VII. 16.) that he paſs'd the *Nieſter*, and drew a Line between the *Prut* and the *Danube*. *(Ibid.)* And likewiſe, that it was into the River *Miſſow* (in the preſent *Wallachia*) that he caus'd St. *Sabas* to be caſt, on Account of his Religion. *

5. At the grand Irruption of the *Hunns*, *Athanaric* was too proud to give the *Romans* good Words, and retir'd farther into the Mountains †. (VII. 17. 5.)

6 But he was afterwards diſlodg'd by the three *Gothick* Princes, *Fritigern*, *Saphrax*, and *Alatheus*, (VII. 29. 1.) and hereupon fled for Refuge to *Conſtantinople*, where the Emperor, *Theodoſius* the *Great*, gave him a favourable Reception. He died, ſoon afterwards, *(Ibid.)* and one might almoſt conclude, from a Paſſage of St. *Ambroſe*'s (VII. 29. *n.* 6.) that he embrac'd the *Chriſtian* Religion before his Death, eſpecially as *Marcellinus* ſays of his Interment: *Noſtro modo ſepultus eſt.*

7. *ANNO* 382. *Theodoſius* made Peace with the *Wiſi-Goths*, who were *Athanaric*'s Adherents, *(Ibid. n.* 3.*)* and allow'd them an Habitation in the *Roman* Territories, *jure hoſpitii*, by which they were oblig'd to ſerve the Emperor in his Wars; whence they were likewiſe call'd *Fœderati*. But this, for a Prince, whoſe Will was their Law, was much too weak, as *Alaric*'s Enterprize will ſoon convince us. Some *Gothick* People, eſpecially the very ſame who adher'd to *Fritigern*, remain'd in their ancient Habitations.

* Act. S. Sabæ, cap. 5. *Traxerunt Sabam ad fluvium, qui vocatur* Musæus, *ut ibi eum ſuffocarent.* P. Papebrocius *has obſerved, that this River* Muſæus *is the very ſame which is now call'd* Miſſow.

† Am. Marcel. *ſays*, p. 481. *Ad Caucalandenſem locum, altitudine ſilvarum inacceſſum, & montium, cum ſuis omnibus declinavit, Sarmatis inde extruſis.*

III.

FRITIGERN.

1. *FRITIGERN*, indeed, ſeems not ſo properly to claim a Place in the Series of the *Gothick* Kings. *Jornandes* ſays of him, cap. 26. *Cœpere autem primates eorum, & duces, qui Regum vice illis præerant, id eſt, Fridigernus, Alatheus & Safrach, exercitus inopiam condolere*, &c. and *cap.* 27. he calls him, *Regulus Gothorum*. According to the Relation of *Amm. Marcellinus*, he is properly to be look'd upon as a *Thuringian* Prince. (VII. 19. *n.* 1.)

2. THAT he firſt wag'd War with *Athanaric*, and receiv'd Succours from *Valens*, on which Occaſion he adher'd to the Community of the *Arians*, I have already obſerved. (VII. 39. 5. & 6.)

3. HE retir'd, with his Nation, upon the Approach of the *Huns*, into the *Roman* Territories, and commanded the *Goths*, in the Battle in which *Valens* loſt his Life. (VII. 30.)

4. WHEN the *Goths*, after this Victory, overſpread the Dominions of the *Roman* Empire, far and near, *Fritigern* fell into *Theſſalia*, (VII. 27. *n.* 5.) but came to an Accommodation with *Gratian* and *Theodoſius*, by Virtue of which he retir'd again over the *Danube*. (VII. 30.)

5. THERE he turn'd his Arms againſt *Athanaric* himſelf, as has been obſerv'd above. (VII. 29. *n.* 2.)

6. AFTER this, we find nothing farther recorded of him. If I may be allow'd, in this confuſed State of Things, to offer a Conjecture, it is not improbable, that *Fritigern* was a Prince of the *Thuringians*, who was conquer'd by *Athanaric*; but, after ſome Time, diſlodged the Conqueror himſelf, and thereby freed his Nation from a Dependency on the *Goths*.

IV.

RADAGAISUS.

1. SEE his Hiſtory, (VIII. 14.) *Oroſius*, *Auſtin*, *Caſſiodore*, *Proſper*, and *Iſidorus*, call him *Rex Gothorum*, tho' it is not known whether

ther he himſelf were a native *Goth*, or to which Nation of the *Goths* he properly belong'd. *Iſidorus* ſays of him, *Chr. Goth. ad An. Honor. & Arcad. X. Rex Gothorum, Rhadagaiſus, genere Scytha, cultui idololatriæ deditus.*

2. IT is no Wonder that Hiſtorians, who mention his Irruption into *Italy*, vary ſo greatly in their Accounts, ſince they liv'd at ſo great a Diſtance. Some were of Opinion, that he and *Alaric* ruled, at the ſame Time, over the *Wiſi-Goths*. So ſays *Iſidorus ad An. Honorii & Arcadii XV. Extincto Radagaiſo, Alaricus, conſors Regni, nomine quidem Chriſtianus, ſed profeſſione hæreticus, dolens tantam multitudinem Gothorum a Romanis extinctam, in vindictam ſanguinis horum adverſus Romam prælium agit.* But this cannot well be; at leaſt there was no Intercourſe between them. *Alaric* belong'd to the *Gothi-Fœderati*, who had a Habitation allotted them in the *Roman* Provinces, and was in a good Underſtanding with *Stilico*, when *Radagaiſus* invaded *Italy*. *See the Words of* Zoſimus, (VIII. 16. *n.* 3.)

3. SO far it is probable enough, that *Radagaiſus* had of different Nations, who were reckon'd to be under the *Gothick* Sovereignty, out of *Germania* and *Sarmatia*, in his Service *. When it is ſaid, in *Proſper's Chron.* (*Ibid. n.* 10.) that his Force was divided into three Armies, led by their own Princes, one might conjecture, that the *Vandals*, *Alani*, and *Burgundians*, who, in the Year 407, ſoon after the Overthrow of *Radagaiſus*, forc'd their Way into *Gaul*, made a Part of them, and, after his Death, were for making their Fortune ſeparately.

4. AMONG *Radagaiſus's* Enterprizes in *Italy*, the Siege of *Florence* is particularly remarkable. (*Ibid. n.* 6.) We have a fine Elegy on that Subject by *Petrus Angelius Bargæus*; † of which I ſhall add a Part here, as it were, to refreſh the Reader, in theſe obſcure Times. It cannot be

* ZOSIMUS *ſays*, Radagaiſus *prepar'd for his Expedition to* Italy: Tranſ Iſtrianis, & Tranſ-Rhenanis, Celticis, Germaniciſque nationibus collectis, hominum quadringentis millibus. (VIII. 14. *n.* 3.) *Among theſe are probably to be underſtood the* Theruingi, Heruli, Burgundians, *and other Nations, who before were under the Dominion of the* Goths.

† PETRUS ANGELIUS, *ſurnam'd* Bargæus, *from the Place of his Birth, ſtudied the* Humaniora *at* Piſa. *He afterwards lived, ſome Time, at* Rome, *in the Houſe of Cardinal* Ferdinand Medices, *and died at* Piſa, *in* 1596. LIL. GREGOR. GYRALDUS de Poetis recentior. Dial. II. & THUANUS Lib. 117. Hiſt. *ſpeak of him with great Honour. His* Elegia de Radagaſi & Getarum cæde ad urbem Florentiam, *together with the firſt Book* de Aucupio, *was printed at* Florence, 1566. 4.

diſagreable

disagreable to see how an ingenious Pen may supply the Want of authentick Accounts by Poetry.

5. EXCERPTUM ex PET. ANGELII BARGÆI elegia de Radagasi & Getarum cæde ad urbem Florentiam, ad COSMUM MEDICEM, Florent. & Senensium Ducem.

Ulturus Cimbros tunc cum Radagasus avosque
Duxerat e Scythia millia multa virum,
Jamque adeo fœdis Italas affecerat urbes
Cladibus, atque ipsi mœnia multa solo
Æquarat, Divumque everterat aurea templa
Inque dies cædes accumulare novas
Ibat: nec pueris senibusque trementibus ævo,
Nec nuribus parcens, virginibusque piis,
Quam tu tum faciem rerum, Dux magne, fuisse,
Italiam gemitus quosve dedisse putas?
Italiam, reginam hominum sedemque Deorum,
Assuetamque orbis totius esse caput?
Ille velut cœlo demissum fulmen ab alto,
Quod cinctum nimbis turbinibusque ruit,
Et veteres imis radicibus eruit ornos,
Involuitque atris ignibus omne nemus:
Qua qua ibat fusurus opes viresque Quiritum,
Consuerat ferro late aperire viam.
Omnia lugebant subita prostrata ruina:
Inque animis hominum nil nisi terror erat.
Ipsaque, quæ summis in montibus oppida sese
Munierant armis præsidioque loci,
Adventanti hosti subito reclusa patebant,
Ne luerent parvæ supplicium inde moræ.
Tu, sola, haud amplis etiam tum mœnibus aucta,
Amnis & haud medio dissociata vado,
Barbariem portis excludere es ausa furentem,
Primaque TEUTONICAS *spernere Flora minas.*
Illa vias aditusque omnes insederat; illa
Implerat, quantum vallis utrinque patet.
Nec collis, despectat agros unde alta virentes
Fæsula, non multo milite tectus erat.
Omnia complerant acies juga montium, & omnia
Ære renidebant, esset ubi orta dies.

Timpanaque

Timpanaque, horribileſque tubæ, ſtrepituſque frementum
Excibant fortes ad fera bella duces.
Inter quos primos geſtans Radagaſus honores,
Cimbrorum ex alto ſanguine natus, ait:
Ergone tot menſes urbem oppugnabimus unam?
Nec dabitur manibus diripienda meis?
Et cui non auſa eſt lectas opponere vires
Intranti Italiam Roma ſuperba ſuas,
Se longas feciſſe moras Florentia dicet?
Et nobis tantum dedecus iſta feret?
Ite igitur ſocii, certatim invadite muros,
Voſque illuc per vim deſiluiſſe juvet.
Vivida non amat ex æquo concurrere virtus,
Nec tales animos VISTULA & ISTER *alunt.*
Sic dicens pariter ſe ſuſcitat acer in armis,
Cunctamque ad muros cogit adire manum.
Illa volat: circumque omnes cinxere corona,
Seque alius alium calce terente premunt.
Miſſilia extemplo jaciuntur tela faceſque,
Et glans in morem grandinis acta ruit.
Saxa pluunt, lapideſque graves, queis icta fatiſcunt
Mœnia: queis domuum tecta trabeſque labant.
Completur jaculis cœlum, levibuſque ſagittis,
Et multo ſcalas milite turba gravat.
Quarum aliæ ſubſtant ſtabiles, & ſumma capeſſunt.
Fractæ aliæ rurſus dejiciuntur humi.
Dumque adeo coëunt una virtuſque pudorque,
Et ſævas properant quiſque ſubire vices,
Hi, ſe ut defendant, illi, potiantur ut urbe,
Ingentes foſſas corpora cæſa replent.
Atque ipſi in muris vix jam conſiſtere cives,
Vix jam præſidio turribus eſſe queunt.
Accurrunt matreſque ſimul teneræque puellæ,
Atque ope pugnantes, qua pote quæque, juvant.
Hæc liquidas feſtina pices, hæc tela faceſque,
Hæc multo calidas igne miniſtrat aquas.
Eſt & quæ vino vires revocatque fovetque,
Et tempeſtivos ſuggerit uſque cibos.
Ipſe tamen ſemper magis ac magis integer hoſtis
Ingruit, & jamjam mœnia victor habet, &c.

XI. AN-

XI. ANNOTATION.

Of the Kingdom of the WISI-GOTHS, *in* GAUL *and* SPAIN.

A Series *of their Kings from* Alaric *to* Amalaric.

AS long as the *Goths* ſwarm'd about in *Sarmatia*, and were only known by the Overthrows they ſuffered from the *Romans*, and the *Romans* from them, we were obliged to put up with the Imperfections of their Hiſtory: But after the *Wiſi-Goths* in *Gaul* and *Spain*, and the *Oſtro-Goths* in *Italy*, had founded ſeparate Kingdoms, a Knowledge of them, as it became more neceſſary, ſo alſo it was fix'd on a ſurer *Baſis*. I ſhall now lay before the Reader the Hiſtory of the new Kingdom of the *Wiſi-Goths*, in a *Series* of their Kings.

I.

ALARIC

died 410.

1. I HAVE already given his Hiſtory. (VIII. 4. & *ſeq.*) As *Claudian* ſays of him, that he was born *in Barbara Peuce*, (VIII. 4.) we might reckon him of the Nation of the *Peucini*; unleſs the Poet be ſuppoſed to uſe that Name for the Country of the *Goths* in general. He was of the Family of the *Baltæ*, and amongſt thoſe who croſs'd the *Danube*; for he commanded in Perſon, in the Battle againſt *Theodoſius*, on the *Heber*. (VIII. 4. *n.* 1.) After the Concluſion of the Peace, *Theodoſius* gave him a ſpecial Command over the *Goths*, and he did, *A.* 394, good Service in the Expedition againſt *Eugenius*. (VIII. 4. *n.* 6.)

2. AFTER

2. After the Death of *Theodoſius* *, in the Year 395, he invaded *Illyricum Orientale. (Ib.)* *Rufinus*, who had then the Adminiſtration in his Hands, at the Court of *Arcadius*, appeas'd him, *A.* 396, by conferring upon him the *Præfectura Illyrici Orientalis.* (VIII. 5.)

3. He fell into *Italy*, *A.* 400, but, at Length, came to an Agreement with *Stilico*, (VIII. 10-12.) which gives us a great Light to all the Tranſactions which enſue.

4. When the Court deviated from this Agreement, *Alaric*, from thence, took an Opportunity to viſit *Italy* a ſecond Time. This is properly the Beginning of the War, by which the *Wiſi-Goths* obtained a new Kingdom. He oblig'd the Senat of *Rome*, to ſet up *Attalus*, *Præfectus Urbis*, for Emperor, in Oppoſition to *Honorius*; with a View of obtaining from him thoſe Advantages, which were not to be had of *Honorius*. The moſt remarkable Circumſtance of this War, was the taking and plundering of *Rome*, which the *Goths* ſcaled, the 24th of *Auguſt*, *A.* 410. (VIII. 27.)

5. He then went to *Sicily*, with a Deſign of paſſing from thence to *Africa*, there to fix a conſtant Habitation; but he died by the Way, in the Neighbourhood of *Reggio*. (VIII. 29.)

II.

ATAULPH.

King, 410; went to *Gaul* 412; kill'd at *Barcelona* 415.

1. After *Alaric*'s Death, the *Goths* choſe *Ataulph* for their King. He was a Brother of *Alaric*'s Queen, and had, in his Life-time, next to him, the greateſt Share in the Government.

* *The Riſe of* Alaric *is not yet ſufficiently illuſtrated.* Iſidorus *is not well inform'd when he writes* in Chron. Gothor. Anno imperii Theodoſii quarto, Gothi, patrocinium Romani fœderis recuſantes, Alaricum Regem ſibi conſtituunt, indignum judicantes Romanæ eſſe ſubditos poteſtati, eoſque ſequi, quorum pridem leges imperiumque reſpuerant, & de ſe ſocietatem prælio triumphantes averterant. *According to which he muſt have reigned* 28 *Years; and he ſays, expreſly, he died* anno viceſimo octavo regni; *but the whole Courſe of his Hiſtory ſhews us, that, as long as* Theodoſius *lived,* Alaric *remained quiet.* Jornandes *ſays, in expreſs Words, that the* Goths *did not advance him to the Throne, 'till after the Death of* Theodoſius. (VIII. 10. n. 2.)

2. *ATAULPH* did not purſue the deſigned Expedition to *Africa*; but, in the Year 412, went to *Gaul*. From this Year, the Arrival of the *Goths* in *Gaul*, is dated. Some likewiſe reckon this Year, the Beginning of the Kingdom they eſtabliſhed in *Gaul*: But that muſt be placed in 419.

3. *JOVINUS* had then juſt aſſum'd the Imperial Dignity in *Gaul*. By *Ataulph*'s Behaviour, it is plain, he eſpouſed the Party of *Honorius*, againſt *Jovinus*. Amicable Propoſals were at firſt made; but not brought to a Concluſion, (VIII. 35.) The *Goths* made themſelves Maſters of the Cities of *Narbonne*, *Toulouſe* *, and ſome others.

4. HE had carried the Princeſs *Placidia*, the Daughter of *Theodoſius*, with him out of *Italy*, and he married her at *Narbonne*, in *January* 414 †. (VIII. 36. *n.* 2.) If we conſider the Family, and the extraordinary Genius of this Princeſs, we may eaſily conceive the great Views that were propoſed from this Marriage.

5. BUT *Conſtantius*, who then commanded *Honorius*'s Army in *Gaul*, maintain'd the War againſt him. He even made a Peace with the *Burgundians*, in the Year 414, to have his Hands at Liberty, againſt the *Goths*. He defeated them at *Narbonne*, and drove them to ſuch Streights, that *Ataulph* reſolved to retire to *Spain*. They therefore evacuated *Narbonne*, and plunder'd *Bourdeaux*, with ſome other Cities they could not keep, (VIII. 37.)

6. MANY of the *Goths* were not ſatisfied with this Reſolution ‡. *Ataulph* himſelf was but juſt got into *Spain*, when he was murder'd, at

* *Some learned Men have pretended to queſtion whether* Ataulph *ever took* Toulouſe. *See* La FAILLE Annal. de la ville de Toulouſe, p. 24. *But the Truth of it is put out of all Doubt,* (VIII. 35. n. 10.) *in* RUTILIUS's Itinerarium.

† *Concerning the Marriage of* Ataulph *with* Placidia, *ſome Men of Learning pretend to give an Account of a certain Monument, which has been the Occaſion of much Enquiry. It is pretended, that a Piece of Marble with an Inſcription, and various Emblems has been found in the Neighbourhood of St.* Gilles. *The Reader has ſeen the Inſcription,* (Vol. I. VIII. 36.) *But this ſo much extol'd Monument, upon narrower Enquiry, ſeems very ſuſpicious.* See the following Annotation.)

‡ *So it is related* (VIII. 37.) *Some learned Men are of Opinion, the Treaty of Accommodation was concluded with* Ataulph *himſelf:* Vid. Hiſtoir. Critique de la Monarch. Franc. T. I. p. 283. *But* Oroſius *ſays he was murder'd:* Cum paci petendæ atque offerendæ ſtudioſiſſime inſiſteret. (VIII. 39. 2.) *With which agree the Accounts we find in the* Chronicon Alexandrinum, Olympiodorus, Idatius, Paulinus, &c.

Barce-

Barcelona. Before he expired, he adviſed his Brother to make Peace with the *Romans*, and to deliver up Queen *Placidia*.

III.

SIEGERIC *.

* *Al. Singeric. l. Segeric.*

King, *A.* 415; was murder'd in a few Days.

AFTER his Death, the Faction which oppoſed him prevail'd, and made *Siegeric*, a Brother of the *Gothick* General, *Sarus*, who had been a profeſs'd Enemy of *Ataulph*'s, King. He revenged himſelf on the Iſſue of the latter; but was himſelf murder'd a few Days afterwards. (VIII. 39.)

IV.

WALLIA.

King, 415; died, 419.

1. *WALLIA* was made King in his Room *. He at firſt made Preparations for continuing the War againſt the *Romans* †, and equipp'd a Fleet againſt *Africa* ||, which however was diſpers'd in a Storm. (VIII. 39.) This Circumſtance may perhaps, in ſome Meaſure, have contributed towards his concluding, *A.* 416, the Treaty, which *Ataulph* had begun, with *Conſtantius*, the *Patricius*. (VIII. 40.) It met with the leſs Difficulty, as the *Goths* could now reſtore the Queen Dowager *Placidia* to her Brother *Honorius*. She afterwards married this *Conſtantius*; obtain'd herſelf the Title of *Auguſta*, and liv'd ſo long 'till ſhe had a great Share of the Tranſactions of the Empire in her own Hand.

2. *WALLIA*, hereupon, actually repaired to *Spain*, to war againſt the *Suevi*, *Alani*, and *Vandals*. (VIII. 41.)

* *Whether this be the ſame Brother, of whom Mention is made above,* II. 6, *is uncertain.*

† PROSP. *in Chron.* Gothi cum ſe iterum, Ataulpho peremto, moviſſent, Conſtantii repelluntur occurſu.

|| Africa *had remained in an unſettled State, from the Time* Heraclian *aſſum'd the Imperial Dignity there.*

3. He return'd about the Year 419, and took actual Poſſeſſion of the Province call'd *Acquitania Secunda*, together with ſome other Cities between the *Garonne* and the Sea, and choſe *Toulouſe* for the Capital of this new Kingdom **, which it likewiſe long remain'd. (VIII. 42).

4. *ACQUITANIA SECUNDA* contain'd the following Cities: *Bourdeaux*, *Agen*, *Perigueux*, *Angouleſmes*, *Saintes*, and *Poitiers*; to which adding *Toulouſe*, from theſe ſeven Cities or Diſtricts, aroſe the Name of *Septimania*, firſt made Uſe of by *Sidonius Apollinaris*, *Lib. III. ep.* 1. to *Avitus*: *Quippe ſi veſtra crebro illud præſentia inviſat, vel Gothis credite, qui ſæpe numero etiam Septimaniam ſuam faſtidiunt, vel refundunt, modo invidioſi hujus anguli etiam deſolata proprietate potiantur.* We find afterwards, in *Gregorius Turonenſis*, and other *Franconian* Authors, that the Name *Septimania* was applied to that Country, which remain'd in the Hands of the *Goths*, after the Battle of *Voglè*.

5. From the Time of the Concluſion of this Peace, *viz.* 419, is generally reckon'd the Beginning of the Kingdom, which the *Wiſi-Goths* founded in *Gaul*, and ſoon afterwards extended in *Spain* *.

V.

THEODERIC I.

King, 419; kill'd in Battle 451.

1. *WALLIA* died in that ſame Year, 419, and *Theoderic* was elected King in his Room †. The Diſtractions which aroſe in the *Roman* Empire, after the Death of *Honorius*, before *Valentinian* III got Poſſeſſion of the Throne, excited the Courage of the *Goths* to extend their Dominions. In 425, *Theoderic* beſieg'd the City of *Arles*, which was the Seat of the *Prætor Galliarum*, and on Account of its Situation, was of

** Mr. La Faille in Annal. de la Ville de Toulouſ. p. 26. *ſuppoſes this City was therefore called* Roma Garonnæ. *We find this Title in the* Officium Gothicum, *which* Mabillon de Liturg. Gallicar. *publiſh'd in the* Miſſa S. Saturnini, *where*, p. 220, *are theſe Words:* Siquidem ipſe Pontifex tuus ab Orientis partibus in urbem Toloſatium deſtinatus, Roma Garonnæ, in vicem Petri tui, tam cathedram quam martyrium conſummavit.

* *This Computation is confirmed in the* Not. ſur l'Hiſtoire de Languedoc, p. 653.

† Pet. de Marca, *in the* Hiſtoire de Bearn, Lib. II. cap. 14. n. 1. *pretends this* Theoderic *was the Son of* Wallia; *but without any Grounds.*

great

great Importance as well to the *Romans* as the *Goths*. *Ætius*, indeed, relieved *Arles*, and beat the *Goths*; but ſoon renew'd the Peace; purſuant to which, *Theoderic* took the Field, *A.* 427, in the Service of the *Romans*, againſt the *Vandals* in *Spain*. (IX. 12.) The Imperialiſts always built their Hopes on deſtroying one *German* Nation, by Means of another.

2. In the Year 436, a new War begun. The *Roman* General, *Litorius*, beſieged *Toulouſe*, in 439, but he was beaten, and himſelf taken Priſoner. At Length *Avitus*, *Præfectus Prætorii Galliarum*, found Means to renew a Peace, which ſeems to have been pretty favourable for the *Goths*. (IX. 14.)

3. In 450, *Attila* ſpread a Terror all over *Gaul*. *Geiſeric*, King of the *Vandals*, who was jealous of the good Intelligence between the *Romans* and the *Goths*, had ſpirited him up to this Expedition (IX. 24, 25.) The *Romans* and *Goths* joined their Forces to withſtand him. *Theoderic* took his two eldeſt Sons, *Thoriſmund* and *Theoderic*, to the Field with him. He himſelf was kill'd in the Battle, and *Jornandes*, in the Deſcription of his pompous Funeral, (IX. 28, 4.) particularly mentions the Heroick *Epicædia* ſung on that Occaſion.

VI.

THORISMUND.

King, *A.* 451; murder'd 453.

1. Upon the Death of *Theoderic*, his eldeſt Son, *Thoriſmund*, was proclaim'd in the Field of Battle near *Chalons*.

2. He ſoon after fell out with the *Romans*, and made a Shew of beſieging *Arles*; but *Tonantius Ferreolus*, *Præfectus Prætorii Galliarum*, who was in that City, found Means to bring him to a more peaceable Reſolution. Sidon. Apoll. *Lib.* VII. *ep.* 12. *ibique Sirmond.*

3. His ſhort Reign is only remarkable for having vanquiſh'd and diſpers'd the Colony of *Alani*, who had eſtabliſh'd themſelves in *Gaul* *.

* *See* IX. 32. *where I have followed* Jornandes. *His Relation is indeed to be ſuſpected in the Circumſtance of* Attila's *invading* Gaul, *a ſecond Time*; Gregory, *however*, Lib. 2 .c. 7. *mentions, in the mean Time, the Overthrow of the* Alani: Thoriſmundus, de quo ſupra memini, Alanos bello edomuit, ipſe deinceps, poſt multas lites & bella, a fratribus oppreſſus ac jugulatus interiit.

4. He

4. He was murder'd in the Year 453, by the Contrivance of his two Brothers, *Theoderic* and *Frideric*, who were diſſatisfied at his Reſolution of breaking with the *Romans*.

VII.

THEODERIC II.

King, 453; murder'd 466.

1. His Brother, *Theoderic* II, ſucceeded him on the Throne. In his Education, his Father had endeavour'd to combine the unpoliſh'd Diſcipline of the *Goths* with the *Roman* Sciences: But the Manner by which he came to the Crown, gave Evidence of too great a Propenſity to the former; And if we conſider the beautiful Character, *Sidonius Apollinaris* has given us of this Prince, (IX. 13.) it is to be lamented, that he pav'd his Way to the Throne by a Fratricide.

2. He was, at firſt, very much devoted to the *Romans*: His Brother, *Frideric*, bore the ſame Affection to them, and ſerved the Empire againſt the Inhabitants of the *Provincia Tarraconenſis*, who had rebelled. Idat. Chron. *Per Fridericum, Thoedorici Regis fratrem, Bacaudæ Tarraconenſes cæduntur, ex auctoritate Romana.*

3 When, after the Death of *Valentinian* III, *Maximus* made himſelf Maſter of the Empire, he made *Avitus*, *Magiſter Militum*, in *Gaul*; who having long kept up a good Intelligence with *Theoderic*, now renew'd the Peace with him. (X. 2.) *Maximus* having been murder'd, about the ſame Time, *Theoderic* excited *Avitus*, who happen'd to be ſtill at *Toulouſe*, to aſſume the Imperial Dignity. (X. 4.) This *Avitus* did at *Arles*, and now acceeded himſelf to the Treaty, which he had, not long before, concluded in the Name of *Maximus*.

4. Immediately after *Valentinian*'s Death, not only the *Suevi*, in *Spain*, infring'd the Treaty they had made with the ancient Inhabitants of *Gallicia*, who had preſerv'd the Name of *Romans*; but their King, *Rechiarius*, who had married a Siſter of *Theoderic*'s, likewiſe invaded the Province of *Terragona* and *Carthagena*. (X. 4. *n.* 7.) The King of the *Wiſi-Goths*, endeavour'd, at firſt, to accommodate Matters, hoping his Alliance with *Avitus*, and his Affinity with *Rechiarius*, would

would eſtabliſh an equal Confidence in them both towards him. (*Ibid. n.* 8.)

5. But *Rechiarius* not ſhewing any Regard to theſe his Endeavours, *Theoderic* took the Field againſt him, in the Year 456, and the two Kings of the *Burgundians*, *Gundeucus* and *Chilperic*, accompanied him with their Troops. He defeated him, near the River *Orbego*, twelve *Roman* Miles from the City of *Aſtorga* †, and vanquiſh'd almoſt the whole Nation: He took *Braga* the 28th of *October*, in the Year 456, and the next Year return'd to *Gaul*. (X. 12.) This gave the firſt Opportunity to the *Wiſi-Goths* to extend their Dominion in *Spain*.

6. After the Death of the Emperor *Majorianus*, new Diviſions aroſe in the *Roman* Empire. *Severus*, whom *Ricimer* had advanced to the Imperial Dignity, was not every-where acknowledg'd in that Quality. *Egidius*, Count of *Soiſſons*, whom *Majorianus* had created *Magiſter Militiæ*, in particular, oppoſed him. *Theoderic* declar'd for *Severus*, and, on this Occaſion, beſieg'd *Arles*: And *Agrippinus*, Lieutenant of the *Provincia Narbonenſis*, who bore a perſonal Enmity to *Egidius*, deliver'd *Narbonne* into his Hands, in the Year 462. This City, which, during the Space of 600 Years, had been, as it were, the *Roman* Barrier in *Gaul*, was afterwards of Service to the *Goths*, to extend their Power, as well towards the *Rhone*, as in *Spain* itſelf. *Sidonius Apollinaris*, who ſoon after took a Journy into *Spain*, has left us a Deſcription of it, (*Carm.* 23.) by which we may ſee, that the City was then in a good Condition, and was deliver'd up to the *Goths*, as being Friends and Allies to the *Romans*. *Theoderic* himſelf, as ſuch, is call'd

Romanæ columen, ſaluſque gentis.

According to all Appearances, *Frideric*, the King's Brother, commanded in *Narbonne*: And we find ſome Footſteps, in a Letter of Pope *Hilarius*, that he concern'd himſelf in the Quarrel, which aroſe on Account of the Election of *Hermas* to that Biſhoprick *.

† *In the Country about* Paramo. Hiſt. de Langued. p. 199.

* *Vid. ep. Hilarii Papæ ad Leontium, T. IV. Concil.* (Labb.) *p.* 1041. Siquidem quod ex rumore cognovimus, & quantum diligenter a Diacono, Johanne, qui a magnifico viro, filio noſtro, Friderico, literis ſuis nobis inſinuatus eſt, requiſivimus, quod iniquiſſima uſurpatione, quidam Hermes epiſcopatum civitatis Narbonenſis, execrabili temeritate, præſumſerit.

7. On

7. On the other Hand, *Egidius* had *Childeric*, King of the *Franks*, on his Side. *Frideric*, the King of the *Wiſi-Goths* Brother, march'd with an Army, towards the *Loire*, againſt *Egidius*: The latter, being aſſiſted by the *Franks*, encounter'd him near *Orleans*, between the two Rivers, *Loire* and *Loiret*, and obtain'd a Victory, in which *Frideric* was kill'd on the Spot. (X. 25.) We have ſufficient Teſtimonies of this Battle, and of the Overthrow of *Frideric*, in *Idatius* and *Marius*. *Idatius*, *Chron. ad Ann.* 463. ſays: *Adverſus Egidium, Comitem utriuſque militiæ, virum, ut fama commendat, Deo bonis operibus complacentem, in Armoricana provincia Fredericus, frater Theodorici Regis, inſurgens, cum his, cum quibus fuerat, ſuperatus, occiditur.* Marius Aventic. Chron. ad A. 463. Baſilo & Bibiano Coss. *pugna facta eſt inter Egidium, & Gothos, inter Ligere, & Ligericino, juxta Aurelianis, ibique interfectus eſt Fredericus*, Rex Gothorum. That the *Franks* thus took the Part of *Egidius*, againſt the *Wiſi-Goths*, we may conclude from a Paſſage in Gregor. Turon. Lib. II. cap. 18. *Igitur Childericus Aurelianis pugnas egit: Adovacrius vero cum Saxonibus Andegavos venit. Mortuus eſt autem Egidius, & reliquit filium, Syagrium nomine. Quo defuncto, Adovacrius de Andegavo & aliis locis obſides accepit. Britanni de Biturica a Gotthis expulſi ſunt, multis apud Dodenſem vicum peremtis. Paulus vero Comes, cum Romanis ac Francis, Gothis bella intulit, & prædas egit. Veniente vero Adovacrio Andegavis, Childericus Rex ſequenti die advenit, interemtoque Paulo Comite, civitatem obtinuit.* Theſe Circumſtances are placed in their true Light, in the *Hiſtoire Critique de la Monarchie Françoiſe, T. II. p.* 107. *ſeq.* and in the *Hiſt. de Languedoc. p.* 210.

8. About this Time, *viz.* in the Year 463, *Remiſmund* re-united the Kingdom of the *Suevi*, (X. 24.) and applied to *Theoderic*, for a *Gothick* Queen. Idat. ad An. III. Severi. *Legatos Remiſmundus mittit ad Theodoricum, qui ſimiliter ſuos ad Remiſmundum remittit, cum armorum adjectione, vel munerum; directa & conjuge, quam haberet.*

9. In the Year 466 *, he was murder'd by his Brother, *Euricus*, Idat. Chron. p. 28. *Per Theudericum Galla legatus mittitur ad Remiſmundum, Regem Suevorum, qui reverſus ad Gallias cum a fratre ſuo Eurico reperit interfectum.* Mar. Avent. Chron. p. 211. *Eo anno interfectus eſt Theodoricus, Rex Gothorum, a fratre ſuo, Eutharico, Tholoſa.* Some think, that Queen *Ranachildis*, of whom *Sidonius Apollinaris* (Lib.

* *In Compliance with* Marius Aventicenſis, *I have* (X. 25. not. 3.) *placed* Theoderic's *Death in the Year* 467. Pagius *follows the ſame Computation: But the* Hiſtoire de Languedoc. T. I. p. 211. *ſhews, that he was murder'd, in the Year* 466, *before the Month of* Auguſt.

IV. ep. 8.) makes Mention, was his Conſort: But ſhe may be ſaid, with more Probability, to have been the Wife of *Euricus*.

VIII.

EURICUS

King, 466; died, 484.

1. *EURICUS* ſucceeded his Brother. I have already given his Hiſtory. (IX. 26, & *ſeq.*) When the Emperor *Leo*, after the Death of *Severus*, nominated *Anthemius*, Lord of the *Weſt*, *Euricus* declar'd againſt him. *Geiſeric*, King of the *Vandals*, in *Africa*, incited him to it, and likewiſe inſtigated the *Oſtro-Goths*, in *Thrace*, to do the ſame, that he might cut out Work, on all Sides, for the Emperor, who had agreed with *Anthemius* to attack the *Vandals*.

2. THUS he broke with the *Romans*, about the Year 470, and conquer'd all that had belong'd to them in *Spain* (X. 25.); in which the *Oſtro-Gothick* Prince, *Widemir*, ſeems to have been Aſſiſtant to him. (X. 30.)

3. IN *Gaul*, he took *Arles* and *Marſeilles*, and probably deſign'd to extend his Dominions to the *Loire* and the *Rhone*. He likewiſe beſieg'd *Auvergne*, the Capital of the Diſtrict of that Name, which lay very convenient for the Accompliſhment of his Deſign; but he met with a ſtout Reſiſtance from *Ecdicius Avitus*.

4. IN the mean Time, *Julius Nepos* became Emperor; and, in the Year 474, or the Beginning of the following Year, he concluded a Peace with *Euricus*, by Means of *Epiphanius*, Biſhop of *Pavia*. By Virtue of this Treaty, he kept *Auvergne*, but was oblig'd to deliver up *Arles* and *Marſeilles* to the Emperor. (X. 26.) After this the *Goths* had, beyond all Diſpute, an independent Dominion in their Part of *Gaul*, as well over the *Roman* Inhabitants, as over thoſe of their own Nation *.

5. SOON after this, the Empire began to approach towards its utter Decline. *Oreſtes* expell'd *Nepos*, and placed his Son, *Romulus*, on the *Imperial* Throne. (X. 32.) But he was dethron'd by *Odoacer* (X. 33.); and *Nepos* retir'd into *Dalmatia*, having yet Adherents in *Gaul*.

* *See the Words of* Jornandes, *in the following Note.*

6. *EURICUS* took *Arles* and *Marſeilles* †. *Odoacer* came to an Agreement with him, and left him in the Poſſeſſion of *Provence* *; (XI. 2.) ſo that *Gaul* now fell into the Circumſtances we find it in at the Beginning of *Clovis*'s Reign.

7. UNDER theſe Circumſtances, it is no Wonder, if *Euricus* became ſo formidable in *Gaul*; and that not only the *Franks* and *Saxons*, but alſo the *Thuringians*, *Heruli*, *Warni*, and other *German* Nations, had ſo frequent Occupations at his Court. (X. 27. *and* XI. 12.)

8. HE died at *Arles*, (XI. 12.) in the Year 484; which Computation is confirm'd, in the new *Hiſtoire de Languedoc*, *not.* 59. *p.* 661. tho' *Pagius* places his Death in the Year following, *ad A.* 485. *n.* 24.

9. *SIDONIUS APOLLINARIS*, Lib. IV. ep. 8. mentions Queen *Ragnahild*, who, in all Probability, was *Euricus*'s Queen. His good Friend, *Evodius*, caus'd a large ſilver Baſon to be made for the Queen, and begg'd ſome Verſes of *Apollinaris*, in Order to have them engraven upon it. *Ilicet ut ad epiſtolæ veſtræ tenorem jam revertamur, poſt verba, quæ primum ſalve ferebant, popoſciſtis, ut epigramma tranſmitterem duodecim verſibus terminatum, quod poſſet aptari conchæ capaci, quæ per anſarum latus utrumque in extremum gyri, a rota fundi, ſenis cavatur ſtriaturis. Quarum puto deſtinas vel ventribus pandis ſingulos verſus, vel curvis, meliore conſilio, ſi id magis deceat, capitibus inſcribere: iſtoque cultu expolitam reginæ Ragnahildi diſponis offerre. Votis nimirum tuis pariter atque actibus patrocinium invictum præparaturus, famulor injunctis quomodocunque, non ut volebam: ſed tuæ culpæ primus ignoſce, qui ſpacii plus præſtitiſti argentario, quam poëtæ, cum procul dubio non te lateret intra officinam literatorum carminis ſi quid incus metrica produxerit, non minus forti & aſprata lima poliri. Sed iſta vel ſimilia quorſum? Ecce jam canta.*

† JORNANDES, *cap.* 47. Euricus, Rex Veſegotharum, Romani regni vacillationem cernens, Arelatum & Maſſaliam PROPRIÆ SUBDIDIT DITIONI. *And farther:* Totas Hiſpanias, Galliaſque ſibi jam JURE PROPRIO tenens, ſimul quoque & Burgundiones ſubegit.

* *About the Year* 481, *after* Julius Nepos *had been kill'd the foregoing Year.* Conf. TILLEM. art. 8. ſur Fauſte de Riez.

THE

THE *Epigram* itſelf is as follows:

Piſtrigero quæ concha vehit Tritone Cithæren,
Hac ſibi collata, cedere non dubitet.
Poſcimus inclina pauliſper culmen herile:
Et munus parvum, magna patrona, cape,
Euvodiumque libens non aſpernare clientem,
Quem faciens magnum tu quoque major eris.
Sic TIBI, *cui Rex eſt genitor, ſocer, atque maritus,*
GNATUS REX QUOQUE SIT CUM PATRE, *poſtque patrem.*
Felices lymphæ, clauſæ quæ luce metalli,
Ora tamen Dominæ lucidiora fovent.
Nam cum dignatur Regina hic tingere vultus,
Candor in argentum mittitur è facie.

Her Wiſh, to ſee her Son King, may be applied to *Alaric: Conf. Hiſtoire de Languedoc, T. I. p.* 230, and *not.* 59.

IX.

ALARIC II.

King, 484; is kill'd, 507.

1. SEE his Hiſtory (XI. 12. *ſeq.*) He enter'd upon the Government, at *Toulouſe*, after his Father's Death. When, ſome Years afterwards, the *Oſtro-Goths* repair'd to *Italy*, he ſent them Succours againſt *Odoacer:* (XI. 4. *n.* 8.) His Marriage, with the Daughter of their King, *Theoderic*, ſeems to be a farther Confirmation of this good Underſtanding.

2. HE allowed more Liberty to the *Catholicks* than his Father had done, as we may ſee by the Acts of the Council, held, *A.* 506, at *Agde*, in *Lower Languedoc*, (XI. 12.) The Congregations had the Liberty of chuſing their own Biſhops, and ſeveral Monaſteries were founded among them.

3. HE gave a new Form to the Laws by which the *Roman* Inhabitants of his Country were wont to be govern'd; and, in the Year 506, he caus'd an Abſtract of the *Codex Theodoſianus* to be made, which is known by the Name of *Codex Alaricianus*. As for the *Goths* themſelves, they kept their own Laws, which *Euricus* had already caus'd to be reduc'd into ſome Order.

4. As much Honour as he gained by this, as little did it tend to his Reputation, that he cauſed the Standard of Money to be lowered: So that the *Gothick* Gold Guilders are forbidden by the *Burgundian* Laws. *Avitus*, *ep.* 78, refers to this Debaſement of Coin, in the following Words: *Nec quidem talis electri, quale nuper, ut egomet hauſi, in ſancto ac ſinceriſſimo impollutæ manus nitore ſordebat, cui corruptam potius quam confectam, auri nondum fornace decocti crediderim ineſſe mixturam: vel illam certe, quam nuperrime Rex Getarum, ſecuturæ præſagam ruinæ, monetis publicis adulterium firmantem mandaverat.*

5. About the Year 498, or 499, a Difference aroſe between the *Franks* and the *Goths*, which had like to have broken out into an open War. *Theoderic*, King of the *Oſtro-Goths* in *Italy*, took great Pains to reconcile *Clovis* and *Alaric*; to which the Letters mentioned (XI. 12.) and likewiſe the Interview between *Clovis* and *Alaric*, taken Notice of by *Gregorius Turonenſis*, (II. 35) may, with the moſt Probability, be referr'd. *Vid. Notes ſur l' Hiſtoire de Languedoc*, *p.* 661.

6. It came, however, to a War, in the Year 507. *Alaric* was defeated near *Vouglé* †, on the River *Vienne*, and loſt his Life in the Battle *. (X. 13.) The famous Monk, *Roricus*, invented many Circſtances of this Battle; and a learned Hiſtorian, with Reaſon, wonders, how *F. Daniel* came to be led away by them ††.

† *al. Voüillé.*

7. I have already given an Account of the *Codex Alaricianus*. (XI. 12) There is a Difference of Opinion, among the Learned, what Hand *Annianus* had in it? I will, however, ſubjoin the Annotation of *P. Jacobus Sirmondus*, entitled: " Codicis Theodoſiani Breviatorem, vel Interpretem, Annianum " non fuiſſe, ſed editorem tantummodo: *which is to be found in his Works*, " Tom. IV, p. 293. Alarici Regis Codicem, hoc eſt, Codicis Theodoſiani bre- " viarium, Anniani opera compoſitum, & interpretationibus explanatum " fuiſſe primi omnium, ni fallor, Joannes Tilius, & Jacobus Cujacius, " affirmarunt alter in præfatione ad lectorem, cum poſteriores libros octo " in lucem proferret, alter in epiſtola ad Ranconetum, quam ſuis ad " Julium Paulum notis præfixit. Ac mirum quidem videri non debet, " tantorum virorum exemplo in errore minductos eſſe quam plurimos: hoc " mirari jure liceat, cum Alarici commonitorium, ad Timotheum Comi-

* *Conf.* Ven. Fortunat. *de vita Hilarii.*

†† *Vid. Hiſt. de Languedoc, T. I. n.* 62.

" tem,

" tem, uterque illorum haberet in manibus, alter id ipſum etiam in lucem " daret, neutrum quam falſo id de Anniano ſentiret, ex Alarici verbis, " quod facillimum erat, deprehendiſſe. Liquida enim & perſpicua com- " monitorii, ſive auctorittias illius, eſt ſententia, Codicis hujus, in quo leges " Romanas, de Theodoſiano & aliis libris excerptas, contineri docet in- " ſcriptio, nec collectorem Annianum fuiſſe, nec interpretem, ſed editorem " duntaxat. Præfatus namque in ea epiſtola Rex, per quos ſelectæ leges " fuerint, & enucleatæ, quorumque adſenſu totus liber comprobatus, tum " de mittendis ad judices exemplaribus agens, præcipit, ut Anniani manu " ſubnotata deſtinentur. Itaque Anniani hoc in negotio partes aliæ non " fuerunt, quam ut libros juxta authenticum, qui in regis palatio ſervaba- " tur, deſcriptos ederet, fidei que& auctoritas cauſa ſubnotaret. Subnotabat " autem iis fere verbis, quæ in Cujacii editione leguntur. Sed alieno ibi " loco, poſt Alarici Commonitorium, in operis fronte, poſita ſunt, cum ad " ejus calcem poni ſolerent, quemadmodum in antiquis exemplaribus obſer- " vavimus, tum in noſtro primum, tum deinde in altero regiæ Bibliothecæ, " num. MXCVII. in quibus poſt ſelecta de Theodoſiano & Novellis, & poſt " Caii & Pauli, Gregoriani & Hermogeniani, Papinianique excerpta, hoce ſt, " in totius librium bilico, Anniani demum ſequitur, ſubſcriptio hujuſmodi : " ANNIANUS V. S. *ex præceptione domini noſtri glorioſiſſimi Regis, Alarici,* " *ordinante viro magnifico & illuſtri, Gojarico Comite, hunc Codicem legum* " *juris, ſecundum authenticum ſubſcriptum, vel in theſauris editum, ſubſcripſi* " *& edidi, ſub die III Nonas Februarii, anno XXII. regnante domino noſtro* " *Alarico.* Hæc igitur Anniani adnotatio, ut apparet, libri ipſius ſubſcrip- " tio fuit, non auctoritatis Alarici, ad quam nihil attinebat, quæque in anti- " quis Codicibus vel ſubſcriptione caret, vel aliam breviorem habet his " verbis: *Data ſub die IV Nonas Frebruar. anno XXII. regnante Alarico* " *Rege, Toloſæ.* Quod vero præter hanc altera etiam Anniani ſubſcriptio " adjecta eſt in editione CUJACII, error eſt, non certa quapiam auctoritate " nixus ſed quod ipſi animadvertimus, ex minus accurata Codicis, quo uſus " eſt, inſpectione natus. Quare merito caſtigandus."

X.

GESALIC *.

* *Giſelichus, Giſelicus.*

King, *A.* 507; died 511.

1. SEE his Hiſtory, (XI. 12, 15, 16.) which is very much illuſtrated in the *Notes ſur l'Hiſtoire de Languedoc, not.* 63. and it likewiſe deſerves it, becauſe the Hiſtory of the *Gothick* War occurs in it.

2. *ALA-*

3. *ALARIC* left two Sons, this *Geſalic*, who was the eldeſt, tho illegitimate; and *Amalaric*, whom he had by the Daughter of *Theoderic*, King of the *Oſtro-Goths*. After the Battle of the *Vouglé*, the *Goths* ſettled at *Narbonne*, and choſe *Geſalic* their King.

3. THE Beginning of his Reign, was fatal. *Gundobald* took *Narbonne* *, and *Geſalic* eſcap'd to *Barcelona*.

4. *THEODERIC*, King of *Italy*, took, indeed, the Part of the *Wiſi-Goths*, againſt the *Franks* and *Burgundians*; but he likewiſe himſelf declared againſt *Geſalic* *. *Iba*, the *Oſtro-Gothick* General, drove him to ſuch Streights, that he fled for Refuge to *Africa*, to *Thraſamund*, King of the *Vandals*.

508.

5. THE King of the *Vandals* furniſh'd him with Mony; upon which he reſided ſome Time in *Acquitain*, and then again tried his Fortune in *Spain*; but he was defeated by the General, *Iba*, and withal taken Priſoner. He died in his Captivity, as it is generally thought, the very ſame Year.

XI.

THEODERIC.

King of the *Oſtro-Goths*, govern'd likewiſe the *Wiſi-Goths*, from 511, to 526.

1. AS *Amalaric* was yet too young to hold the Reins of Government, *Theoderic* took them into his own Hands, under the Pretence indeed of Guardianſhip; tho' in his own Name: As we find the Years of his Reign annex'd to the Councils which were held, during that Reign, in the *Wiſi-Gothick* Provinces: For which Reaſon, he is likewiſe placed in the *Series* of the Kings of the *Wiſi-Goths*.

2. *THEODERIC* again inſtituted a *Præfectus Prætorii* in *Gaul*, and endeavour'd to make his Government as agreable to the Pro-

* *One would imagine, that* Theoderic, *at firſt, acknowledg'd* Geſalic *King, and ſent him Succours againſt the* Franks. *In his Letter to* Thraſamund, *in which he complains of his giving Reception to* Geſalic, *he ſays of him:* qui noſtris inimicis, dum a nobis foveretur, adjunctus eſt. *Perhaps* Geſalic *held a private Intelligence with* Clovis.

vinces

vinces as he could. The *Oſtro-* and *Wiſi-Goths* intermarried, and became, as it were, one Nation.

3. He gave the Command in *Spain*, to his Favourite, one *Theudis*, who afterwards made himſelf Maſter of the Kingdom.

4. *F. DANIEL* indeed ſays, *Theoderic* made Peace with *Clovis*, *A.* 509. But, according to *Procopius* and *Jornandes*, it rather ſeems that the War laſted 'till the Death of *Theoderic*. *Jornandes* ſays expreſly, *cap.* 58. *Et nunquam Gothus Francis ceſſit, dum viveret Theodericus.* The ſame we ſee in *Greg. Turonenſis*, (III. 21.) but what Towns or Countries either of them defended, is not eaſily determined.

XII.

AMALARIC.

King, 526; murder'd 531.

1. See his Hiſtory, (XI. 45.) After the Death of *Thoeoderic*, his two Grandſons agreed that *Amalaric* ſhould rule over the *Wiſi-Goths*, and *Athanaric* over the *Oſtro-Goths* in *Italy*. In this Partition the *Oſtro-Goths* kept *Provence:* And as, in the Time of *Theoderic*, the *Goths* of both Nations intermarried, without Diſtinction, it was particularly ſtipulated, that it ſhould be free for every one, either to take his Wife and Children with him, or to remain with them, in the Place of their Habitation *.

2. He married *Clotildis*, the Daughter of *Clovis*, with a View of eſtabliſhing a better Neighbourhood with the Kings of the *Franks:* But this Marriage prov'd unhappy, which *Procopius* and *Gregorius Turonenſis* attribute to the Difference of their Religions; and blame him, that he

* Procopius, Lib. I. de Bell. Gothic. *gives us the following Acocunt of this Treaty:* Galliam cum, Gothis & conſobrino ſuo ita diviſit, ut Gothis ceſſerit, quicquid eſt cis Rhodanum fluvium, partes vero trans illum poſitæ in Gothorum ditione manſerint. Convenit etiam inter ipſos, ut vectigal, quod conſtituerat Theodericus, non penderetur amplius Gothis. Quicquid opum ex urbe Carcaſſone idem abſtulerat, bona fide Amalarico reſtituit. Quoniam vero hæ duæ gentes connubiis affinitates junxerant, unicuique viro, qui uxorem e gente altera accepiſſet, permiſſa eſt optio, utrum mallet uxorem ſequi, an ad gentem, ex qua ipſe eſſet, illam traducere. Uxores multi abduxerunt arbitratu ſuo: multi ſecuti ſunt.

did

did not behave well to his Conſort *. Her Brother, *Childebert*, King of *Paris*, took Occaſion, from hence, to wage War with him. *Amalaric* himſelf, was murder'd; but Accounts do not agree whether at *Narbonne* or *Barcelona* †. *Theudis*, whom I mention'd above, made himſelf hereupon Maſter of the Kingdom, and begins a new Succeſſion of the Kings of the *Wiſi-Goths*.

3. In this Uncertainty of Hiſtory, the beſt I can do, will be to ſubjoin the Paſſages of ancient Hiſtorians, as I find them. Procopius, *L. I. de Bell. Gothico*, ſays of *Amalaric*: *Uxorem ſiquidem cum integræ erga Deum fidei ſuſcepiſſet, & alias ipſe Arianæ hæreſeos eſſet, haud quaquam ſinebat legitimis hanc & veris ritibus uti, nec pro patria ac optima ſua conſuetudine Deum ſibi propitiando ut coleret. Unde cum integerrima fœmina in viri mores concedere nollet, & contemtui haberi apud hunc cœpta, atque adeo, ut ferendus de cætero non videretur, Theodeberto fratri, uti ſe habuiſſent omnia, nuntiavit. Qua de cauſa Germanicæ gentes, Viſigothique inimicitias inter ſe contraxere, acrique ac diutino bello inter hos decertatum. Sed victis demum Amalaricus, cum magna ſuorum jactura occubuit. Theodebertus vero, ſuis cum rebus omnibus ſorore ademta, Galliæ partem, quantamcunque ſortiti Viſigothi fuerant, recepit. Qui itaque Viſigothorum ex gente bello devicta reliqui ex ea clade fuere, ex Galliis cum uxoribus, liberiſque, ſedibus jam ſuis egreſſi, ad Theudem, in Hiſpaniis tyrannidem jam palam exercentem, ſe contulere.* This Relation contains a double Miſtake: For *Theodebert* is named inſtead of *Childebert*; and it is pretended, that the Part of *Gaul*, which the *Wiſi-Goths* poſſeſſed, then fell into the Hands of the *Franks*: Tho' the *Goths* conſtantly kept that Part thereof which is now call'd *Languedoc*. *Jornandes* mentions *Amalaric*, but in a few Words; *cap.* 58. *Nam & Thiodem ſuum armigerum poſt mortem Alarici generi, tutorem in Hiſpaniæ regno Amalarici nepotis conſtituit. Qui Amalaricus, in adoleſcentia, Francorum fraudibus irretitus, regnum cum vita amiſit.*

* *That* Amalaric, *however allow'd the* Orthodox Chriſtians *a free Exerciſe of their Religion, we ſee by the* Acta Concilii Toletani II. Tom. IV. Concil. (Labb.) p. 1734. *where, at the Concluſion, it is ſaid:* Gratias agimus omnipotenti Deo, deinde domino noſtro glorioſo, Amalarico, Regi, divinam clementiam poſtulantes, nt innumeris annis regni ejus, ea, quæ ad cultum fidei pertinebunt, peragendi nobis licentiam præſtet.

† *What an unquiet State muſt not the* Goths *have liv'd in, ſince, as we ſee, moſt of their Kings came to a violent End! This agrees partly with what* Seneca *ſays*, de Ira, l. 2. Aſpice tot memoriæ proditos duces, mali exempla feti. Alium ira in cubili ſuo confodit; alium inter ſacra menſæ percuſſit; alium inter leges, celebriſque ſpectaculum fori lancinavit; alium filii parricidio dare ſanguinem juſſit, alium ſervili manu regale aperire jugulum.

4. Gr

4. GREGORIUS TURONENSIS, *L. III. c.* 10. relates this Matter as if it never came to a Battle; but that, however, *Amalaric* was murder'd at *Narbonne: Quod certissime Childebertus cognoscens, ab Arverno rediit, & in* HISPANIAM *propter sororem suam, Chrotildem,* DIRIGIT. *Hæc vero multas insidias ab Amalarico viro suo propter fidem Catholicam patiebatur. Nam plerumque, procedente illa ad Sanctam Ecclesiam, stercora, & diversos fœtores super eam projici imperavit. Ad extremum autem tanta cum crudelitate dicitur cæcidisse, ut infectum de proprio sanguine sudarium fratri transmitteret. Unde ille maxime commotus,* HISPANIAS *appetiit. Amalaricus vero hæc audiens, naves ad fugiendum parat. Porro imminente Childiberto, cum Amalaricus navem deberet ascendere, ei in mentem venit, multitudinem se pretiosornm lapidum in suo thesauro reliquisse, cumque ad eosdem petendos in civitatem regrederetur, ab exercitu a portu exclusus est. Videns autem, non posse evadere, ad ecclesiam Christianorum confugere cœpit. Sed priusquam limina sancta contingeret, unus, emissa manu lancea eum mortali ictu sauciavit, ibique decedens reddidit spiritum. Tunc Childebertus cum magnis thesauris sororem assumptam secum abducere cupiebat. Quæ, nescio, quo casu, in via mortua est, & postea Parisius allata, juxta patrem suum Chlodoveum sepulta est.* As to what GREGORIUS says: *Childebertum in Hispaniam iter direxisse*; and, *Hispanias appetiisse*, I have already shewn from *F. le Cointe*, that the Country which the *Wisi-Goths* possess'd in *Gaul*, was sometimes comprehended under the Name of *Hispania.*

5. ISIDORUS in Chr. Goth. ad An. XIII. Justiniani: *Defuncto Theuderico, Amalaricus nepos ejus quinque annis regnavit. Qui cum Hildeberto, Francorum Rege, Narbonæ prælio superatus fuisset, Barcinonam fugiens venit, omniumque contra se odio excitato, apud Narbonam in foro ab exercitu jugulatus interiit.*

6. *F. Le COINTE* declares for the Relation of *Gregory*, *ad A.* 531, *n.* 8, 9. and affirms, that *Amalaric* was kill'd at *Narbonne*, with which *Pagius* agrees. Other learned Men, particularly *F. Daniel*, and the Compiler of the new History of *Languedoc*, hold rather, with *Isidorus*, that he was murder'd at *Barcelona*; especially as *Fredegarius*, and the *Appendix Chron. Victoris Tununensis*, are of that Side of the Question. *F. Pagius*'s Computation, when he shews, *ad An.* 546, *n.* 10. *& seq.* that he was yet living, in *December*, 531, is however generally received.

XIII.

A SERIES *of the Kings of the* WISI-GOTHS, *from* ALARIC *to* AMALARIC.

I. ALARIC
goes to *Italy*, plunders *Rome*, 410. † the same Year.
Consort, *N. N.* the Sister of *Ataulph*.

II. ATAULPH
King, 410; goes to *Gaul*, 412; murder'd 415.
Conf. 1.) *N. N.*
2.) Daughter of Emperor *Theoderic*, the *Great*.

Theodosius
† before his Father.

III. SEGERIC
King in 415; killed in a few Days.

IV. WALLIA
King, 415. † 419.

N - - a Daughter, married to a *Suevian* Prince.

Ricimer
Patritius † 472.
(X. 21.)

N - - a Daughter, married to *Gundeucus*, King of *Burgundy*.
II. Annot. *n.* 111.

V. THEODERIC I.
King, 419; kill'd in Battle 451.
Of him the eight following Children are known.

VI. THORISMUND
King, 415; murder'd 453.

VII. THEODERIC II.
King, 453; murder'd 466.

Frideric
kill'd in Battle, 463.

VIII. EURICUS
King, 466. † 484.
Consort, *Ragnachildis*.

Rotemer.

Himmerit.

Two Daughters: One married to *Hunoric*, King of the *Vandals*; the other to *Rechiarius*, King of the *Suevi*.

IX. ALARIC II.
kill'd 507.
Conf. 1.) *N* - - *Conc.*
2.) *Theodichusa*, Daughter of *Theoderic*, King of the *Ostro-Goths*.

XI. THEODERIC
King of the *Ostro-Goths*, who likewise rul'd over the *Wisi Goths*, from 511 to 526.

1.

X. GESALIC
King, 507, 'till 511.

2.

XII. AMALARIC
King, 526; murder'd 531.
Conf. *Clotildis*, Daughter of King *Clovis*.

XII. ANNOTATION.

Of the Inſcription, *pretended to be erected, in Honour to* ATAULPH *and* PLACIDIA.

SOME learned Men, particularly *Bouche*, in his *Hiſtoire de Provence*, and *F. Gariel*, *in ſerie Præſulum Magalonenſium*, extol an extraordinary Monument of the Marriage of *Ataulph* and *Placidia*: *viz.* a Piece of Marble, with an Inſcription, and divers Emblems, pretended to have been found in the Neighbourhood of St. *Gilles*. See the Inſcription, *Vol. I. VIII.* 36, as we find it in *Spon*. I ſhall add a farther Deſcription of it, in the Words of *F. Gariel. l. cit. p.* 7.

Non permittam, ut immitas,
Arderent iſto viſcera noſtra igne,

Ad militis pedes laureatum leonem eumque ferocientem demulcent Gratiæ; ille poſito faſtu perpulchrum id videtur innuere:

Amor ſervat urbem,
Gratia non omnibus grata,
Tamen amore digna.

Ad lævam urbs altera ſylvæ finitima viſitur, ſuperinducta literaria teſſera:

Niſi trajeciſſet amor pectora,
Roma non eſſet Roma,
Heraclea non eſſet Flaviorum Regia,
Orbis non urbis nos caperet ſpatium,

The Author himſelf gives us his Opinion, in the following Manner: *Hæc, omnia a Romanorum ritu in ſignandis lapidibus, figendiſque poſteritati monumentis, minime abhorrentia, his potiſſimum inſcripta temporibus crediderim, quibus Sebaſtiano et Jovino de medio ſublatis, magnifico apparatu, Ataulphum inter & Placidiam, nuptialis Narbonæ peracta celebritas eſt.* But it is almoſt out of Doubt, that the whole is an Invention. The learned Compilers of the New Hiſtory of *Languedoc* have ſo evidently proved it, *Not.* 46. *p.* 643, that the whole is worthy a Place here.

Sur une Inſcription en l'honneur d'Ataulphe & de Placidie.

I. L'Inſcription, dont il s'agit eſt conçûë en ces termes:

Ataulpho Flavio
Potentiſſimo regi, regum rectiſſimo,
Victori victorum invictiſſimo, Vandalicæ
Barbarici depulſori, & Cæſareæ Placidiæ
Animæ ſuæ: dominis ſuis clementiſſimis
Anatilii, Narbonenſes, Arecomici
Optimis principibus in palatio
Poſuerunt ob electam Heracleam in regiæ
Majeſtatis ſedem.

Pluſieurs habiles modernes *(a)*, qui ont eu occaſion de parler de cette inſcription, n'ont pas fait difficulté de l'admettre comme vraie, & nous ne connoiſſons, que Mr. de TILLEMONT *(b)*, qui ait paru douter de ſon authenticité. Quelque deference que nous aions pour le ſuffrage de tous ces ſçavans antiquaires, nous ne croions pas devoir l'adopter: nous avons même des raiſons aſſez fortes pour croire ce monument ſuppoſé: les voici.

II. *BOUCHE (c)*, qui eſt le premier, qui l'a donné dans ſon hiſtoire de Provence, dit, qu'il fut trouvé au terroir de la ville de St. Gilles,

(a) SPON. Miſc. p. 159. DUCANGE *Chron. Paſch.* in hiſt. Byſ. p. 572. MENESTRIER hiſt. de Lyon. HARD. not. in c. 4. l. 3. Plin.
(b) TILL. art. 52. ſur Honoré.
(c) BOUCH. Prov. c. 1. p. 158.

près

près du Rhône, ſous le regne de Charles V. roi de France. SPON. *(a)* dit au contraire, que le marbre ſur lequel l'inſcription eſt gravée, fut deterré à St. Gilles même, & il croit après POLDO d'ALBENAS *(b)*, qui n'avoit aucune connoiſſance de cette inſcription, que la ville de Saint Gilles eſt l'ancienne Heraclée. Le P. HARDOUIN *(c)* dans ſes notes ſur Pline, ſans nous donner d'autre garant que BOUCHE même, qui dit tout le contraire, aſſûre, que cette inſcription fut trouvée à S. Rhemi, petite ville de Provence, & ajoute que cette derniere ville eſt la veritable Heraclée de Pline.

III. Cette diverſité de ſentimens ſur l'endroit, où ce monument a été decouvert, donne d'abord lieu de preſumer qu'il eſt ſuppoſé. On peut ajouter, qu'on ignore le lieu, où il eſt conſervé, & que perſonne n'a dit encore l'avoir vu. Mais en examinant de près tous les termes de l'inſcription, il eſt aiſé de ſe convaincre, qu'elle a été faite à plaiſir dans les derniers ſiecles. Nous allons donner là-deſſus nos reflexions, après avoir obſervé, qu'elle ne peut avoir été dreſſée en l'honneur d'Ataulphe & de Placidie ſon épouſe, que depuis leur mariage, qui fut celebré à Narbonne, au mois de Janvier, de l'an 414 *(d)*, juſqu'à la fin de la même année *(e)*, ou au plus tard au commencement de la ſuivante, que les Viſigots quitterent entierement les Gaules pour ſe retirer *(f)* en Eſpagne; qu'Ataulphe ne rentra plus dans les Gaules, & qu'il mourut au dela des Pyrenées, au mois d'Aout de l'An 415 *(g)*. Cela poſé entrons dans le detail des termes de l'inſcription.

IV. *Ataulpho Flavio potentiſſimo regi, regum rectiſſimo, victori victorum invictiſſimo.* Selon le ſtyle des inſcriptions, dont le bon gout n'étoit pas encore entierement perdu au commencement du V. ſiecle, il auroit fallu dire *Flavio Ataulpho*, & non pas *Ataulpho Flavio*. D'ailleurs tous les anciens, qui ont parlé de ce Roi, ne lui ont jamais donné d'autre nom ou prénom, que celui d'Ataulphe; & quoique nous voions dans le Code Viſigothique le prénom *de Flavius* donné aux Rois des Viſigots, à la téte de quelques unes de leurs loix, nous n'en trouvons cependant aucun avant Reccarede, c'eſt-à-dire avant la fin du VI. ſiecle, qui ſe ſoit ſervi de ce prénom, & il eſt certain, qu'on n'en ſçauroit donner aucune preuve avant ce tems-là.

(a) SPON. ibid.
(b) POLD. p. 220.
(c) HARD. ibid.
(d) OLYMP. ap. PHOT. p. 185.
(e) OROS. l. 7. c. 43.
(f) PROSP. Chron.
(g) CHRON. PASCH. p. 710.

V. Il paroit en effêt, que Theodoric roi des Oſtrogots, ou d'Italie fut le premier des princes barbares, qui ſe para (*a*) du titre de *Flavius*, affecté juſqu' alors aux ſeuls Empereurs. Ce prince ſe l'attribua ſans doute, parce que, quoi qu'il n'eut pas le titre d'Empereur, il en tenoit cependant la place en occident, & qu'il pretendoit avoir ſuccedé à leur autorité. Avant lui, & juſqu'à l'entiere decadence de l'Empire, bien loin, qu'aucun des rois barbares ſe ſoit egalé aux Empereurs par des titres ſi magnifiques, on voit au contraire, qu'ils ſe comportoient, comme s'ils leur euſſent été ſoumis, & qu'ils ſe regardoient comme vaſſaux de l'Empire. Reccarede, qui eſt le premier des rois des Viſigots, qui emploia ce prénom à la tête de ſes loix, le prit, au ſentiment d'un habile (*b*) critique, pour ne pas ceder & paroitre inferieur aux Rois Lombards d'Italie, qui l'avoient uſurpé ſur les Empereurs de Conſtantinople, aux quels il avoit toujours été conſacrè.

VI. On pourroit objecter, que le terroir de Saint Gilles, aux environs du Rhône, étoit appellé anciennement *Vallis Flaviana*,, & qu'il a pris ce nom, ſelon quelques auteurs, des premiers rois Viſigots, maitres du pays, à cauſe qu'ils ſe ſervoient du prénom de *Flavius*. Mais outre qu'il eſt conſtant, qu'Ataulphe ne regna jamais dans ce canton, & qu'on n'en ſçauroit donner aucune preuve, tous les memoires, où il eſt fait mention de *la Vallée Flavienne*, pour ſignifier le territoire de S. Gilles, ne remontent pas au-deſſus de la ſeconde race de nos Rois. D'ailleurs on n'a aucune preuve, que ce pays ait tiré ce nom de quelqu'un des rois Viſigots ; & quand cela ſeroit, on devroit la rapporter plûtôt à Theodoric (*c*), roi d'Italie, qui regna en effêt ſur le Languedoc, & la Provence, ou à quelqu'un des ſucceſſeurs de Reccarede, puiſque ce ſont, les ſeuls, comme on l'a deja dit, qui ſe ſoient donnéz le prénom de Flavius.

VII. Pour le titre *de tres puiſſant roi des rois, de très juſte, & très-invincible, de vainqueur des vainqueurs*, que l'inſcription donne à Ataulphe, outre que ces termes ne ſont point du ſtyle des anciennes inſcriptions, il falloit, dit Mr. de Tillemont (*d*), que les peuples, qui dreſſerent celles, dont il s'agit, *portaſſent alors la baſſeſſe & la flatterie à une etrange extremité ; eux qui deux ans auparavant n'euſſent traité Ataulphe que de barbare & de tyran.* En effet, quelle apparence que ces peuples, chez

(*a*) Concil. to. 4. p. 13. 9. 133, 1401.
(*b*) Val. rer. Franc. l. 14. p. 351. v. Mariana l. 10. c. 7
(*c*) V. not. 66.
(*d*) Till. art. 52. ſur Honoré

qui

qui ce Roi barbare n'avoit été qu'en paſſant, pour les piller & ravager leurs campagnes, lui euſſent par des termes ſi pompeux temoignée une reconnoiſſance ſi peu meritée, & qu'ils euſſent celebré ſont entrée dans les Gaules par un éloge ſi peu ſincere, et ſi peu convenable ? On peut ajouter, que ce furent ou les peuples de la pretenduë Heraclée, ou ceux de Narbonne, comme Bouche l'a avancé, qui firent ériger ce monument à Ataulphe. Ce ne peuvent être les premiers, puiſque ce Prince, lors qu'il s'éloigna du Rhône pour aller prendre Narbonne, n'avoit pas encore épouſé Placidie, qu'on n'a aucune preuve, qu'il ſoit retourné de ce côté-là après ſon mariage, & qu'il paroit au contraire, que les peuples du pays demeurerent toujours ſoûmis à l'autorité de Conſtance, general de l'Empereur Honoré, ennemi juré d'Ataulphe, & des Viſigots, qu'il contraignit enfin de paſſer au delà des Pyrenées. Ceux de Narbonne, ne peuvent non plus avoir fait eriger ce pretendu monument ; car, outre qu'ils l'auroient plûtôt fait elever dans leur ville, il n'eſt pas vraiſemblable, quils euſſent oſé inſulter Conſtance, en le faiſant dreſſer ſur les bords du Rhône, & ſous les yeux de ce general, qui étoit alors à Arles.

VIII. *VANDALICÆ barbarici depulſori.* Cette inſcription comme nous l'avons dit, ne peut convenir à Ataulphe que depuis ſon mariage avec Placidie, juſqu' à ſa ſortie des Gaules. Or il eſt certain *(a)* qu'il n'y avoit plus de Vandales dans ces provinces, lorſque les Viſigots y entrerent, & que les premiers avoient deja paſſé en Eſpagne depuis le mois de Septembre *(b)* de l'an. 409. deux ans auparavant ; ce qui ſeul prouve la fauſſeté de l'inſcription. Que ſi par les Vandales qu'on pretend qu'Ataulphe chaſſa des Gaules, on veut entendre cette partie des Alains, qui s'étoient melez avec ces barbares, & qui étoient demeurez dans les Gaules, on voit, que bien loin d'étre *(c)* chaſſez par les Viſigots, ils aiderent au contraire les Romains à les chaſſer au delà des Pyrenées, par la conduite, qu'ils tinrent durant le ſiege de Baſas, que les mêmes Viſigots avoient entrepris.

IX. *ET Cæſareæ Placidiæ animæ ſuæ dominis ſuis clementiſſimis.* Ces termes prouvent à la verité, que l'inſcription eſt poſterieure aux nôces d'Ataulphe & de Placidie ; mais on oſe aſsûrer qu'ils ſont extraordinaires & contre le ſtyle des inſcriptions. Quel exemple a-t-on en effet dans les anciens monumens du terme de *Cæſareæ* donné à une femme, ſoit qu'elle fut fille ou ſoeur d'un Empereur, & de celui d'*animæ ſuæ* à une épouſe, ou à une maitreſſe ?

(*a*) V. Vales. rer. Franc. l. 3. p. 111.
(*b*) Prosp. Chron.
(*c*) Paulin. Euchar.

X. *ANA-*

X. *ANATILII Narbonenſes Arecomici.* 1. Si l'inſcription a été trouvée à S. Gilles, comme l'aſsûrent Bouche & Spon, & non pas à Saint Rhemi en Provence, comme le pretend le P. Hardouin, il s'enſuit, que le pays des Anatiliens s' étendoit à la droite & en deçà du Rhône. Or ſelon Pline & Ptolomée ces Peuples habitoient à la gauche de ce fleuve, & du côté de Provence; ce qui a ſans doute determiné le P. Hardouin à mettre du même côté l'ancienne Heraclée, parce qu'il a trouvé dans cette inſcription qu'elle étoit la capitale des Anatiliens. *Ultra*, dit Pline *(a)*, parlant de la partie orientale de la Narbonnoiſe, ſituée en delà & à la gauche du Rhône *(b)*, *Foſſæ ex Rhodano C. Marii opere & nomine inſignes. Stagnum Maſtremala, oppidum maritima Avaticorum, ſuperque campi lapidei (c) Herculis præliorum memoria, &c. regio Anatiliorum & intus Deſuviatium Cavarumque, &c.* Ptolomée *(d)* parlant de la même partie Orientale de la Narbonnoiſe, dit: *Poſt Rhodanum mari iterum adjacente Anatiliorum civitas, Maritima colonia, &c. (e)* Ainſi cette inſcription eſt contraire à l'autorité de ces deux auteurs, & quoiqu'on conjecture avec aſſez de vraiſemblance, que les Anatiliens s'étendoient entre les Bouches du Rhône, on n'a cependant aucune preuve, qu'ils fuſſent établis en deça de ce fleuve.

2. Ces mots *Anatilii Narbonenſes Arecomici* prouvent, ou que les Arecomiques joignoient leur nom à celui de *Narbonenſes*, ou que ceux de Narbonne étoient du nombre des Arecomiques, ou enfin que les Anatiliens étoient Narbonnois & Arecomiques. Le premier eſt ſans exemple; les Arecomiques étoient veritablement du nombre des Volces, qui étoient diviſez en Tectoſages & en Arecomiques, & qui partageoient entr'eux preſque tout le Languedoc: mais jamais aucun auteur n'a donné aux Arecomiques, qui habitoient les environs de Niſmes, le nom de *Narbonenſes Arecomici*, mais bien celui de *Volcæ Arecomici*, *Volcæ* étant le nom general *Arecomici* le particulier. Que ſi par ces termes on entend les peuples de Narbonne, la fauſſeté de l'inſcription eſt encore plus ſenſible, puiſque cette ville n'étoit pas dans le pays des Arecomiques. Afin nous avons vû que les Anatiliens n'étoient ni Narbonnois, ni Arecomiques, puiſqu'ils êtoient ſituéz à la gauche du Rhône, & que les Arecomiques, du moins depuis Ceſar, ne s'étendoient qu'à la droite de ce fleuve.

(a) Plin. ibid.
(b) C'eſt le village de Fos auprès des Martigues.
(c) La Crau.
(d) Ptol. l. 2. c. 5.
(d) Les Martigues.

Ce

3. Ce n'étoit point l'uſage au commencement du V. ſiecle d'emploier dans les inſcriptions les noms des anciens peuples particuliers des Gaules, tels que ceux des Arecomiques & des Anatiliens, & on n'en a aucun exemple. On ſe ſervoit à la verité de ces ſortes de noms dans le ſiecle de Ceſar & d'Auguſte ; mais la denomination des anciens peuples avoit changé ſous l'empire d' Honoré, parce que les villes capitales avoient deja pris les noms du pays où elles étoient ſituées. La multiplication des provinces Romaines avoit d'ailleurs confondu alors les anciens noms des peuples particuliers dans ceux de ces nouvelles provinces.

XI. *OPTIMIS principibus in palatio poſuerunt ob electam à ſe Heracleam in regiæ majeſtatis ſedem.* Nous ne diſons rien ſur ces termes, *regiæ majeſtatis :* on en laiſſe le jugement aux connoiſſeurs de l'antiquité, pour nous arrêter à ce qui eſt dit du palais & de la ville d' Heraclée, ce qui montre evidemment la ſuppoſition de ce monument, puiſque ſous l'empire d'Honoré cette ville ne ſubſiſtoit plus depuis pluſieurs ſiecles.

Il eſt vrai, que Pline (*a*) fait mention d'une ville de ce nom à l'embouchûre du Rhône ; mais de ſon tems elle étoit deja détruite. *Sunt autores*, dit-il, *& Heracleam oppidum in oſtiis Rhodani fuiſſe.* Qu'on ne diſe pas qu'elle peut avoir été rebâtie, ſous le même nom, après le ſiecle de Pline, & avoir exiſté ſous l'empire d'Honoré ; car 1. outre qu'on n'en a aucune preuve, on peut demander, d'où vient, que ſi cette ville, qui devoit être celebre, a ſubſiſté depuis le tems de Pline juſqu'à l'empire d'Honoré, aucun ancien auteur, ou geographe, n'en a fait mention ?

2. Quand elle auroit été rebâtie, c'eût été ſans doute par quelqu'un des empereurs qui regnerent dans les Gaules ; mais quelle apparence qu'ils euſſent conſervé ſon ancien nom, tandis qu'ils l'ôtoient aux autres pour leur impoſer le leur, comme nous le voions de Conſtantinople, de Grenoble, &c. & ſans ſortir de la province, de la ville d'Elne, que Mr. de Marca (*b*) a prouvé être l'ancienne Illiberis rebâtie par Conſtantin, à la quelle il donna le nom de l'imperatrice Helene ſa mere.

3. Si Heraclée ſubſiſtoit du tems d'Ataulphe, cette ville aura-t-elle été enſevelie d'abord après la mort de ce prince dans un eternel oubli ; en ſorte que les hiſtoriens & les monumens qui parlent ſi ſouvent des autres villes de la province, beaucoup moins conſiderables, n'aient ſeule-

(*a*) Plin. ibid.
(*b*) Marc. Hiſp. p. 24.

ment pas daigné nommer celle, où les rois Viſigots avoient d'abord établi leur ſiege ? Par quelle revolution aura-t-elle diſparu tout à coup ? Ne meritoit elle pas d'étre miſe parmi les citez des Gaules, dans quelque notice, & ſur tout dans celle d'Honoré qu'on rapporte au même tems ? N'auroit-elle pas dû avoir un ſiege epiſcopal, ainſi que pluſieurs autres petites villes du voiſinage beaucoup moins conſiderables ?

XII. On dira peut-étre pour appuyer cette pretenduë inſcription, que Godefroi de Viterbe, & Othon de Friſſingue aſsûrent, que la ville de S. Gilles s'apelloit encore de leur tems le palais des Goths, *palatium Gothorum*, & que ſuivant les anciens titres (*a*) on nommoit *Selva Gotheſca* la forêt de S. Gilles. Ces autoritez prouvent tout au plus, q ue quelqu'un des rois Viſigots, qui regnerent dans les Gaules, fit conſtruire un palais à S. Gilles, ou aux environs, ce que nous ne diſputons pas ; mais ce dût étre poſterieurement à la mort de l'empereur Majorien, puiſque c'eſt ſeulement depuis ce tems-là, que ces peuples étendirent leur domination juſqu'au Rhône. Il paroit d'ailleurs par la ſuite de l'hiſtoire qu' Ataulphe fit un ſejour fort court dans les Gaules, & que toutes ſes conquêtes y furent paſſageres. Quand on accorderoit qu'il ſejourna quelque peu-de tems ſur les bords du Rhône aprés la priſe de Valence ſur les tyrans, comme quelques uns le pretendent (*b*), & comme il eſt aſſez vraiſemblable, cela ne prouveroit rien en faveur de l'inſcription ; & ni le palais des rois Gots, ni le ſejour qu'Ataulphe pût faire aux environs de S. Gilles ne marquent nullement que cette ville ſoit l'ancienne Heraclée, ni que ce prince y ait établi le ſiege de ſon empire. Othon de Friſſingue ne le dit pas non plus que Godefroi de Viterbe.

On voit d'ailleurs le peu de fonds qu'on peut faire ſur leur autorité, puiſqu'ils ſuppoſent fauſſement l'un & l'autre qu'Ataulphe avoit deja épouſé Placidie, lorſqu'il entra dans les Gaules, & que le dernier met la ville de Narbonne auprès du Rhône. *Ataulphus* ------ (*c*) *in Gallia prope civitatem Narbonenſem, ubi hodie villa S. Ægidii dicitur, in loco, qui uſque hodie palatium Gothorum vocatur, conſedit, ſupra Rhodanum fluvium ; a quo loco per Conſtantinum comitem poſtea pulſus in finibus Hiſpaniæ cum Gothis reſedit.* Suivant cet auteur *le palais des Gots*, & la ville de

(*a*) Catel. mem. p. 453.
(*b*) V. le Coint. ad ann. 531. n. 15.
(*c*) Gotfrid. Viterb. panth. to. 3. Piſtor. p. 402.

Saint

Saint Gilles, étoient differens. Le P. le Cointe (*a*) pretend en effet que e premier devoit être ſitué à la gauche du Rhône du côté de Provence. Ainſi ce palais ne peut être la même choſe que la ville de S. Gilles où l'on a trouvé la pretenduë inſcription ; mais qu'on a plûtôt fabriquée de nos jours ſur ce paſſage de Godefroi de Viterbe.

XIII. SUIVANT cette inſcription Ataulphe choiſit la ville d'Heraclée pour la capitale de ſes états, & le ſiege de ſon Empire, ce qui dût arriver, comme on a voulu le faire entendre, après ſon mariage avec Placidie. Or dans le tems de ce mariage, qui fut celebré au mois de Janvier, de l'an, 414, Conſtance, general de l'Empereur Honoré, étoit maitre (*b*) de la ville d'Arles, & par conſequent des environs de la ville de S. Gilles, & depuis ce tems-là il ne ceſſa de harceler les Viſigots juſqu'à ce qu'il les eut obligez enfin de ſortir des Gaules. D'ailleurs pendant cet intervalle, qui ne fut au plus que d'un an, ces peuples furent toujours éloignez du Rhône, puis qu'ils prirent alors les villes de Toulouſe & de Bourdeaux ; qu'ils firent le ſiege de Baſas, (*c*) d'où Ataulphe prit avec eux la route des Pyrenées, & qu'enfin Conſtance, maitre de toute la Narbonnoiſe, aſſiegeoit dans le même tems (*d*) la ville de Narbonne, qu'il obligea enfin de ſe rendre. Quelle apparence qu'Ataulphe ait été alors établir le ſiege de ſon Empire à S. Gilles, & qu'il y ait vecu tranquillement au milieu des applaudiſſemens des peuples du pays qu'il avoit ruinés, & cela à là face du general Conſtance, dont le ſiege étoit à Arles dans le voiſinage. Ce dernier y aſſembla en effet toutes ſes forces, dans le deſſein de chaſſer les barbares des Gaules, comme le temoigne Oroſe auteur contemporain, lequel écrivoit preſque ſur les lieux en 417, trois ans après la ſortie des Viſigots des Gaules.

XIV. IL eſt vrai que S. Proſper (*e*) dans ſa chronique ne parle de la ſortie des Gots des Gaules, & de leur entrée en Eſpagne, que ſous l'an. 415. & qu'ainſi leur ſejour peut avoir été plus conſiderable : mais quand il auroit été de dix-huit mois, cela ne ſçauroit detruire ce qu'on a deja établi touchant le peu de tems qui s'écoula entre les nôces d'Ataulphe & ſa ſortie des Gaules. D'ailleurs S. Proſper ne parle dans ſa chronique de l'époque du paſſage des Viſigots en Eſpagne, qu'à l'occaſion de la priſe d'Attale : *Attalus a Gothis ad Hiſpanias migrantibus neglectus capitur.*

(*a*) LE COINT. ibid.
(*b*) OROS. l. 7. c. 47.
(*c*) PAULIN. euchariſt. V. Till. art. 52. ſur Hon.
(*d*) OROS. ibid.
(*e*) PROSP. CHRON. to. 1. Bibl. Labb. p. 49.

Les Gots peuvent donc être ſortis des Gaules en 414. & Attale n'avoit été pris que l'année ſuivante. On doit dire la même choſe de la chronique d'Idace (*a*), qui ne parle de la ſortie de ces peuples des Gaules que ſous l'an, 416. à l'occaſion de la mort d'Ataulphe, qu'il ſuppoſe être arrivée cette année: mais il eſt certain (*b*) qu'elle arriva à Barcelonne, au mois d'Aout, où au commencement de celui de Septembre, de l'an. 415. Nous ſçavons (*c*) d'ailleurs que Theodoſe, fil de ce prince, mourut auſſi dans la même ville l'an. 414 peu de tems après ſa naiſſance; les Viſigots devoient donc s'être retirez en Eſpagne dans la même année. Toutes ces raiſons ne nous permettent pas de douter que l'inſcription, que nous venons d'examiner ne ſoit ſupposée, & qu'elle n'ait été fabriquée dans le dernier ſiecle; car ſi elle eut été decouverte ſous le regne de Charles V. comme Bouche le pretend, elle n'auroit pas èté inconnuë à d'Albenas, à Catel, & à tous les autres hiſtoriens, ou Antiquaires de nos provinces, qui avoient interêt d'en parler & d'en faire uſage.

XV. Nous n'avons rien dit de deux autres inſcriptions, qu'on pretend être jointes à celle-ci, & avoir été gravées ſur deux autres côtez du même marbre. Le P. Meneſtrier (*d*) les a données dans ſon hiſtoire de Lyon. " Sur l'un des cotez de ce marbre, dit cet auteur, on voit la ville de Rome " & un cavalier qui y vouloit mettre le feu; mais un amour lui retenoit " le bras, tandis que les trois graces embraſſoient & careſſoient un Lyon " couronné de laurier, avec ces mots gravez au deſſus & au deſſous."

Non permittam, ut immittas,
Arderent iſto viſcera noſtra igne.
Amor ſervat urbem.
Gratia non omnibus grata.

" Sur un autre côté étoit une ville, ceinte de tours, qui repreſentoit l'an-
" cienne Heraclée avec un grand palais, qui portoit cette inſcription."

Niſi trajeciſſet amor pectora,
Roma non eſſet Roma.
Heraclea non eſſet,

(*a*) Idac. to. 1. Duch. p, 186.
(*b*) Chr. Pasch. in hiſt. Byſ. d. 716.
(*c*) Olymp. ap. Phot. p. 188. V. Till. art. 55. ſur Hon.
(*d*) Menest. hiſt de Lyon, p. 164.

Fla-

Flaviorum palatium,
Orbis non urbis
Nos caperet ſpatium.

Il eſt aiſé de s'appercevoir que ces inſcriptions ſont de la façon d'un auteur recent, ou d'un impoſteur. Le P. Meneſtrier qui les rapporte convient quelles ſont d'un ſtyle, qui fait voir que lors qu'elles ont été faites, l'eloquence & la langue Latine avoient extremement degeneré par une affectation de pointes & d'alluſions, dont les ouvrages de Sidonius, dit-il, de Caſſiodore, d'Ennodius, & de la plûpart des auteurs de ce tems-là ſont remplis ; maiscela ne prouve rien. Ces auteurs ſont de la fin du V. ſiecle, ou du commencement du VI. où la langue Latine commença à la verité à décheoir à cauſe du melange des barbares ; au lieu que l'inſcriprion, dont il s'agit, doit être du commencement du V. avant que ces peuples euſſent fixé leur ſejour dans les provinces de l'Empire, & par conſequent avant qu'ils n'euſſent eu le tems de corrompre le gout de la bonne latinité ; ce qui n'arriva pas tout-à-coup. On peut voir en effet dans le recueil de Gruter pluſieurs inſcriptions de la fin du IV. & du commencement du V. ſiecle, qui ſe reſſentent encore de la nobleſſe & de la ſimplicité, qu'on admire dans les divers monumens, qui nous reſtent des plus beaux ſiecles de l'Empire. Sans aller plus loin nous en donnons *(a)*, une de Narbonne, poſterieure de cinquante ans à celle d'Ataulphe, dont elle eſt entierement differente, ſoit pour le ſtyle, ſoit pour les penſées, elle prouve que le bon gout ſe conſervoit encore dans la Narbonnoiſe vers la fin du V. ſiecle.

XVI. Enfin nous remarquerons que Gariel dans ſon livre intitulé : *Idée generale de la ville de Montpellier (b)*, ouvrage qu'on peut dire en paſſant rempli de faits douteux, de fables & d'anachroniſmes, s'il en fût jamais, rapporte les mêmes inſcriptions, mais bien differemment ; car elles ſont d'un ſtyle beaucoup plus diffus. Il pretend les donner telles, qu'elles furent decouvertes, avec le marbre ſur lequel elles étoient gravées, *dans les ſuperbes ruines de S. Gilles*, ſous le regne de Charles le ſage. Il avouë cependant qu'il les avoit tirées d'un manuſcrit de feu Guillaume Peliſſier, évêque de Maguelonne, *qui avoit péri depuis un ſiécle* ; ce que nous ne ſçaurions concilier. Il eſt du moins évident, que ce qu'il rapporte, prouve de plus en plus la ſuppoſition de ces inſcriptions, puiſque ceux, qui les ont données, ne peuvent convenir entr'eux, ni du lieu, où elles furent trouvées, ni en quels termes elles étoient conçûes.

(a) Pr. p. 4. inſcr. 9.
(b) Gariel. id. de Montpell. p. 48. & ſeqq.

ANNO-

XIII. ANNOTATION.

Of the OSTRO-GOTHS, *in particular.*

The Hiſtory of the OSTRO-GOTHS, *to the Foundation of their Kingdom, in* Italy.

I.

Hermanaric, *King of the* Oſtro-Goths: *The Family of the* Amali.

1. I HAVE already taken Notice, when the *OſtroGoths* ſeparated from the *Wiſi-Goths*. Their King, *Hermanaric*, is equally famous, as well becauſe the Power of the *Goths* came to its higheſt Pitch, as becauſe it declin'd again in his Reign. (VII. 15.) He was of the Family of the *Amali*, (VI. 43. 1.) ſo called, becauſe it deſcended from *Amala*.

2. THE *Goths* themſelves were very proud of this Extraction. King *Athalaric* in his Letter to the *Roman* Senat (*Caſſiodor. Var.* VIII. 2.) to inform them of his Acceſſion to the Government, ſays: *Prælata eſt ergo ſpes noſtra cunctorum meritis; & certius fuit de nobis credi, quam quod de aliis potuit approbari, nec injuria: quoniam quævis claritas generis Amalis cedit, & ſicut, qui ex vobis naſcitur, origo Senatoria nuncupatur, ita, qui ex hac familia progreditur, regno digniſſimus approbatur:* And to the *Goths* themſelves, ibid. ep. 5. *Recipite itaque proſperum vobis ſemper nomen Amalorum, regalem proſapiam, Baltheum germen, infantiam purpuratam.* This very King reproaches the *Vandals*, for not having ſhewn greater Tokens of their Reſpect to the Blood of the *Amali*, in their Queen *Amalfried*. Var. IX. ep. 1. (ad Hildericum, Regem) *Nam & hoc veſtræ nobilitati fuiſſet adjectum, ſi inter Aſdingorum ſtirpem retinuiſſetis Amali ſanguinis purpuream dignitatem.* It would have been well for the Deſcendants of this Family, if they had always remember'd, what King *Theoderic* (*Caſſiod. L. cit. IV.* 39.) wrote to *Theodehat*: *Amali ſanguinis virum non decet vulgare deſiderium.*

3. IN

3. In the Genealogical Table of the *Amali*, compiled by *Jornandes*, we have the leſs Certainty, with Regard to the firſt Perſons of it, as he himſelf refers to the fabulous Times of the *Goths*. For the latter, they may be the better warranted, as we have likewiſe a farther Account of them in other Hiſtorians of Credit. *Jornandes* writes (c. 14.) having before made Mention of the *Gothick Heroes*, who were famous at the Beginning of the ſecond Century: *Horum ergo (ut ipſi ſuis fabulis ferunt) primus fuit Gapt, qui genuit Halmal, Halmal vero genuit Augis: Augis genuit eum, qui dictus eſt* Amala, *a quo & origo* Amalorum *decurrit. Et* Amala *genuit Iſarna, Iſarna autem genuit Oſtrogotha, Oſtrogotha genuit Unilt, Unilt genuit Athal, Athal genuit Achiulf, Achiulf genuit Anſilam & Ediulf, Vuldulf & Hermerich: Vuldulf vero genuit Valaravans, Valaravans autem genuit Winitharium, Wmitharius quoque genuit Theodemir, & Walemir & Widemir*, &c. In the *Cod. MS.* of the *Ambroſian* Library, there is a Difference, for there *Winitharius* is ſaid to have had but one Son, call'd *Wandalarius. Vulfuulf vero genuit Valaravans, qui genuit Vinitarium, & ipſe Vuandalarium, patrem Tiudemer, Valemir & Videmir. Thiudemir genuit Theudericum*, &c. So likewiſe *Jornandes*, in the vulgar Editions, (c. 48.) calls *Wandalarius* a Father of *Valamir*, &c. *Sed nobis, ut ordo, quem cœpimus, decurrat, ad Wandalarii ſobolem, quæ trino flore pullulabat, redeundum eſt. Hic etenim Wandalarius, fratruelis Ermanarici, & ſupra ſcripti Thoriſmundi conſobrinus, tribus editis liberis, in gente Amala gloriatus eſt, id eſt, Walamir, Theodemir, Widemir. Ex quibus per ſucceſſionem parentum Walamir in regnum conſcendit, adhuc Hunnis eos inter alias gentes generaliter obtinentibus. Eratque tunc in tribus his germanis contemplatio grata, quando mirabilis Theodemir pro fratris Walamir militabat imperio, Walamir vero pro altero jubet orando, Widemir ſervire pro fratribus æſtimabat. Sic, eis mutua affectione ſe tuentibus, nulli penitus deerat regnum, quod utrique in ſua pace tenebant. Ita tamen, ut ſæpe dictum eſt, imperabant, ut ipſi Attilæ Hunnorum Regis imperio deſervirent.*

II.

Condition of the Oſtro-Goths, *after* Hermanaric's *Death.*

1. After *Hermanaric*'s Death, this Hiſtory is the more obſcure, becauſe *Ammianus Marcellinus* and *Jornandes* differ. The former, who lived about this Time, ſays, that *Vithimer*, after *Hermanaric*'s Death, was elected King; and, being kill'd in a Battle with the *Huns*, (VII. 15.) was ſucceeded by his Son *Vitheric* (VII. 17. *n.* 5.)

2. JOR-

2. JORNANDES mentions neither *Vithimer* nor *Vitheric*; but ſays that, after *Hermanaric*'s Death, the *Oſtro-Goths* did not agree among themſelves: That his Son, *Hunnimund*, ſubmitted to the Sovereignty of the *Huns*; but that *Vinithar* * endeavour'd to maintain his own and his Nation's Liberty, 'till *Balamer* making War with him, he was himſelf kill'd in Battle. His Words are as follows: *Oſtrogothæ Ermanarici Regis ſui deceſſione a Veſegothis diviſi, Hunnorum ſubditi ditioni, in eadem patria remorati ſunt*; Winithario *tamen Amalo principatus ſui inſignia retinente; qui avi* Ataulfi *virtutem imitatus, quamvis Ermanarici felicitate inferior, tamen moleſte ferens, Hunnorum imperio ſubjacere, paululum ſe ſubtrahebat ab illis, ſuamque dum nititur oſtentare virtutem, in Antarum fines movit procinctum, eoſque dum aggreditur, prima congreſſione ſuperatur: deinde fortiter egit, Regemque eorum, Box nomine, cum filiis ſuis & LXX primatibus, in exemplo terroris, cruci adfixit. ut dedititiis metum cadavera pendentium geminarent. Sed cum tali libertate vix anni ſpatio imperaſſet, non eſt paſſus Balamber, Rex Hunnorum, ſed adſcito ad ſe Sigiſmundo, Hunnimundi magni filio, qui juramenti ſui & fidei memor, cum ampla parte Gothorum Hunnorum imperio ſubjacebat, renovatoque cum eo fœdere, ſuper Winithariam duxit exercitum, diuque certantibus, primo & ſecundo certamine Winitharius vincit. Nec valet aliquis commemorare, quantam ſtragem de Hunnorum Winitharius fecit exercitu. Tertio vero prælio ſubreptionis auxilio ad fluviam, nomine Erac, dum uterque ad ſe veniſſent, Balamber, ſagitta miſſa, caput Winithariі ſaucians interemit; neptemque ejus, Waldamaram, ſibi in conjugio copulans, jam omnem in pace Gothorum populum ſubactum poſſedit: ita tamen, ut genti Gothorum ſemper unus proprius regulus (quamvis Hunnorum conſilio) imperaret.*

3. AFTER him, the above-mention'd *Hunnimund* became King of the *Oſtro-Goths*; and he was ſucceeded by his Son *Thoriſmund*, who loſt his Life in a Battle with the *Gepidæ*. Of theſe Deſcendants of the *Amalian* Lineage, *Caſſiodorus* gives us ſome Account; and none could have a better Knowledge of them than he, as he lived ſo long at the *Gothick* Court, and had himſelf a Hand in writing the *Gothick* Hiſtory *. In a Letter

* CASSIODORUS *makes Mention himſelf of this his Work,* (Var. XII. 20.) *as likewiſe* in Præf. ad libros Variarum, *where he ſays:* Duodecim libris Gothorum hiſtoriam, defloratis proſperitatibus condidiſti. *He ſpeaks in Praiſe of them, in the Perſon of King* Athalaric, in ep. ad Senatum, VAR. IX. 25. Tetendit ſe etiam in antiquam proſapiam noſtram: lectione diſcens, quod vix Majorum notitia cana retinebat. Ille Reges Gothorum longa oblivione celatos, latibulo vetuſtatis eduxit. Iſte

Letter to the *Roman* Senat, (*Var.* XI. 1.) he ſays of Queen *Amalaſuinth*: *Ordo flagitat dictionis,* AUGUSTARUM VETERUM *pompam moderna comparatione diſcutere. Sed quemadmodum illi ſufficere poterunt exempla fœminea, cui virorum laus cedit univerſa? Hanc ſi parentum cohors illa regalis aſpiceret, tanquam in ſpeculum puriſſimum, ſua præconia mox videret. Enituit enim* AMALUS *felicitate,* OSTROGOTHA *patientia,* ATHALA *manſuetudine,* MUNITARIUS † *æquitate,* UNIMUNDUS *forma,* THORISMUTH *caſtitate,* WALAMER *fide,* THEUDIMER *pietate, patientia (ut jam vidiſtis) inclitus pater.*

† ſ. Vuinitarius.

4. *THORISMUND*, indeed, left a Son, call'd *Berimund*, but he choſe rather to abandon his native Country, than to live under the Sovereignty of the *Hunns*, and retir'd to the *Wiſi-Goths*, in *Gaul*. JORNANDES, cap. 33. *Berimundus, Toriſmundo patre genitus, de quo in catalogo Amalorum familiæ ſuperius diximus, cum filio Witiricho ab Oſtrogothis, qui adhuc in Scythiæ terra Hunnorum oppreſſionibus ſubjacebant, ad Veſegotharum regnum migravit. Conſcius enim erat virtutis, & generis nobilitatis: facilius ſibi credens Principatum a parentibus deferri, quem hæredem Regum conſtabat eſſe multorum. Quis namque de Amalo dubitaret, ſi vacaſſet eligere? Sed nec ipſe adeo voluit quis eſſet oſtendere. Et illi jam poſt mortem Valiæ Theodericum ei dedere ſucceſſorem, ad quem veniens Berimund, animi pondere, quo valebat, eximiam generis ſui amplitudinem commoda taciturnitate ſuppreſſit: ſciens regnantibus ſemper de Regali ſtirpe genitos eſſe ſuſpectos. Paſſus eſt ergo ignorari, ne faceret ordinanda confundi. Suſceptuſque eſt cum filio ſuo a Rege Theoderico honorifice nimis, adeo, ut nec conſilio ſuo expertem, nec convivio faceret alienum, non tantum pro generis nobilitate, quam ignorabat, ſed pro animi fortitudine & robore gentis, quam non poterat occultare.*

5. HIS Grandſon, *Eutharick*, had the Honour, that *Theoderic*, King of *Italy*, afterwards pitch'd upon him for his Son in Law. (XI. 39.)

Iſte Amalos cum generis ſui claritate reſtituit: evidenter oſtendens, in decimam ſeptimam progeniem ſtirpem nos habere Regalem. Originem Gothicam hiſtoriam fecit eſſe Romanam: colligens quaſi in unam coronam germen floridum, quod per librorum campos paſſim fuerat ante diſperſum. Perpendite, quantum vos in noſtra laude dilexerit, qui veſtri Principis nationem docuit ab antiquitate mirabilem; ut ſicut fuiſtis a Majoribus veſtris ſemper nobiles æſtimati: ita vobis Regum antiqua progenies imperaret. *We may eaſily perceive, that he had the Renown of the* Goths *principally in View, in this Work: But it is loſt, and* Jornandes's *Hiſtory is to be look'd upon as an Extract of it; for he himſelf writes,* (Præf. ad Caſtalium;) De breviatione Chronicorum ſuades, ut noſtris verbis duodecim Senatoris volumina, de origine actuque Getarum, ab olim uſque nunc per generationes, Regeſque, deſcendente, in unum, & hoc parvo libello coartem.

III.

VALAMIR, THEODEMIR, VIDEMIR,

Kings of the Oſtro-Goths.

1. THE *Oſtro-Goths* remain'd ſome Time without a King, 'till *Valamir*, the Son of *Vinithar*, aſcended the Throne. This Prince, with his two Brothers, *Theodemir* and *Videmir*, accompanied, in the Year 450, *Attila*, King of the *Hunns*, on his Expedition into *Gaul*. (IX. 25. *n.* 2.)

2. BUT when, after *Attila*'s Death, his Monarchy fell to nothing, theſe three Brothers came to an Agreement with *Marcian*, the *Roman* Emperor, who gave them that Part of *Pannonia*, which I have already deſcrib'd (X. 7.), where they had enough to do with the *Hunns*, *Gepidæ*, *Sarmatians*, and other Nations. (*Ib.* 8, 9, 10.)

3. AFTER *Marcian*'s Death, the Emperor *Leo* renew'd the Alliance with them, on which Occaſion, *Theodemir* deliver'd his Son, *Theoderic*, as an Hoſtage, to the Emperor. (*Ib.* 9.)

4. *VALAMIR* died without Iſſue, and his two Brothers, thinking themſelves too much ſtreighten'd in their Habitation, in *Pannonia*, reſolved to ſeek their Fortune farther. *Videmir* went to *Italy*; but died ſoon afterwards, and his Son, of the ſame Name, join'd the *Wiſi-Goths*, in *Gaul*. (X. 30.) *Theodemir* invaded *Greece*, about the Year 474: But *Zeno*, the Emperor, came to a new Agreement with him, and reſign'd to him the Diſtrict of *Pautalia*, in *Dacia Mediterranea*. His Death, which happen'd quickly after, made Way for young *Theoderic* (*X.* 31.), whom we ſhall meet with, in the following Annotation, as Founder of the Kingdom of *Italy*.

Genealo-

Genealogical Table of the Family of the AMALI.

Amala
Iſarna
OSTROGOTHA
Unilt
Athala
Achiulf

HERMANARIC, King of the *Oſtro-Goths*. † 376.

HUNIMUND, with one Part of the Nation, ſubmits to the Sovereignty of the *Hunns*.

Sigiſmund, ſ. Geſimund, ſerves *Balamar*, King of the *Hunns*, againſt *Vinithar*.

THORISMUND, King of the *Oſtro-Goths*, under the Sovereignty of the *Hunns*.

Beriſmund, retires to the *Wiſi-Gothſ*, in *Gaul*.

Widericus

Eutharic Cillaca - - -

XIV. ANNOTATION.

Of King THEODERIC, *and of the Kingdom of the* OSTRO-GOTHS, *in* ITALY.

WE cannot acquire a better Knowledge of the Kingdom of the *Oſtro-Goths*, in *Italy*, than from the Hiſtory of King *Theoderic*, who founded it. To what I have already ſaid, in its proper Place, of his Perſon, Court, and the Conſtitution of his Kingdom, I ſhall here only add ſome ſingle Obſervations, which may ſerve, partly as a Confirmation, and partly as an Illuſtration of what I have ſaid before.

I.

Of Theoderic's *Perſon and Family*, &c.

OF his Family, I treated, (XI. 39.) but the Account of his Funeral (*ib.* 38.) is in ſome Meaſure contradicted, if we compare with it, what *Agnellus*, who wrote in the XIth Century, *in Lib. Pontifical. p.* 280. ſays of it. *Theudericus autem poſt XXXIV annos regni ſui cœpit claudere eccleſias Dei, & coarctare Chriſtianos, & ſubito, ventris fluxum incurrens, mortuus eſt, ſepultuſque eſt in mauſoleum, quod ipſe ædificare juſſit extra portas Artemctoris, quod uſque hodie vocamus ad Farum, ubi eſt monaſterium S. Mariæ, quæ dicitur ad memoriam Regis Theuderici. Sed, ut mihi videtur eſſe, ſepulcro projectus eſt, & ipſa urna, ubi jacuit, ex lapide porphyretico valde mirabilis ante ipſius monaſterii aditum poſita eſt.*

II.

Theoderic's *Behaviour, with Regard to the* Romans.

1. ONE of the moſt remarkable Circumſtances in *Theoderic*'s Hiſtory, is his Conduct with Regard to the Emperor, and the *Roman* Empire. This may be illuſtrated by certain Inſcriptions. That in *Spon, Miſcell.* p. 277

277, borrowed by *F. Banduri*, and inſerted *in Numiſm. Imp. T. II. p.* 601, is particularly remarkable.

SALVIS DOMINO NOSTRO ZENONE
AUGUSTO ET GLORIOSISSIMO REGE
THEODORICO VALENTINIANI U. C. ETINL.
EX COM. DOMESTICO SACRI PALATII
IN ATRIO LIBERTATIS - - - - -
QUÆ VETUSTATE - - - - -
VE CONFEC- - - - -

2. THERE are likewiſe, in *Rome*, and other Places, Inſcriptions, in which the King is mention'd alone, and that in the very ſame Manner as Mention is us'd to be made of the Emperors. *Raph. Fabretti* tells us, *Inſcript. Antiqu.* p. 521, that many Stones have been found, in *Rome*, with the following Inſcriptions:

REG. DN THEODE
RICO FELIX ROMA

Likewiſe REG DN THEODE
RICO BONO ROMÆ

HE likewiſe there gives us another Inſcription, *ex Schedis* PEIRESCII:

SALVO. D.N. THEODERICO
REGE GLORIOSISSIMO

In GRUTERUS, p. 1082, 14. *we read*

REGNANTE D. N. THE
ODERICO. CONSTAN
TIUS. U. C. PU DIC.

3. BUT none is more remarkable, than that we find, *p.* 152. *n.* 8.

Anxuri ſive Terracinæ, in Cæſarei templo.

DN. GLORIOSISS. ATQ. INCLUTUS. REX. THEODORICUS, VICT. AC. TRIT. SEMPER. AUG. BONO. REIP. NATUS. CUSTOS.

TOS. LIBERTATIS. ET. PROPAGATOR. ROMANI NOMINIS DOMITOR. GENTIUM.
DECENNOVII. VIÆ. APPIÆ. ID. EST. A. TRIB. USQ. TERRACENA. ITER. ET. LOCA. QUÆ CONFLUENTIBUS. AB. UTRAQ. PARTE. PALUDUM PER. OMNES. RETRETO. PRINCIPUM. INUNDAVERANT USUI. PUBLICO. ET. SECURITATE. VIANTIUM ADMIRANDA. PROPITIO. DEO. FELICITATE RESTITUIT. OPERI. INJUNCTO. NAVITER. INSUDANTE ATQ. CLEMENTISSIMI. PRINCIPIS. FELICITER DESERVIENTE. PRÆCONIIS. EX. PROSAPIA. DECIO RUM. CÆC. MAV. BASILIO. DECIO UC. ET. INL. EXPF. URB. EXPPO. EXCONS. ORD. PAT. QUI. AD PERPETUANDAM. TANTI. DOMINO. GLORIAM. PER PLURIMOS. QUI. ANTE. NON. ERANT. ALBEOS – – – – – – – – – – – – – DEDUCTA. IN. MA RE. AQUA. IGNOTÆ. ATAVIS. ET. NIMIS. ANTIQUÆ REDDI – – – – – – – – – – – – – –

Some Expreſſions in this Inſcription might render it ſuſpected. We have however this Satisfaction, that *On. Panvinius* allows it to be genuine, and *Raph. Fabret* only finds Fault with it, *l. c.* that it is ill copied.

III.

Of the Royal Attire, &c.

1. *THEODERIC*, after he had eſtabliſhed himſelf in *Italy*, gave the Royal Dignity, among the *Goths*, as it were, a new Luſtre. *Jornandes* ſays of it. *Zenonis, Imperatoris, conſulto, privatum habitum, ſuæque gentis veſtitum, reponens; inſigne Regii amictus, quaſi jam Gothorum Romanorumque regnator, adſumit.* (XI. 4. not. 1.) It ſeems Emperor *Zeno* allowed *Theoderic* the Royal Title, with all the Pomp, that was anciently uſed, at the Imperial Court, on the like Occaſions *: And his Succeſſors afterwards kept up to it. So *Procopius* ſays of *Ildebadus*: *Quem cum induiſſent purpura, Regem ſalutarunt*; (XI. 21. not. 3.) and of *To-*

* This belongs to the *Ritus appellandi Reges*, which was very ancient in *Rome*. So *Julius Cæſar* put King *Arioviſtus* in Mind of the particular Favour ſhewn him by the *Romans*, in allowing him the Royal Title and Treatment. (II. 5.)

tilas, *Agathias* relates, (XIII. 22. *not.* 3.) that he ſeiz'd the *Inſignia Gothici Principatus*, at *Cuma* **.

Of the Palace at Ravenna.

2. He choſe the City of *Ravenna* for his Reſidence, as it had already been that of the Emperors. *Rubeus* makes mention of the Palace, *in Hiſt. Ravenn. Lib.* III. *p.* 127. *In hac Urbe ædes ſibi magnificas, ac plane regias extruxit eo loco, quem inter D. Martini in cœlo aureo, ſive, ut aliis placet, ad ſacellum Arrii, ab ſe itidem ædificati, & muros urbis ad Orientem, nunc in hortos degeneraſſe videmus: Portas domus, ferunt, ac porticus, carbaſeis velis intentis obductas, magnum publicæ ſecuritatis exemplum præbuiſſe. Harum imaginem, vermiculato pictam opere, in D. Martini, quod Apollinaris novi vocant, dextro pariete, videre quiſque, templum ingrediens, poteſt.* We may take a View of this *Muſeo*, to which *Rubeus* refers, *in Ciampini Veteribus Monumentis, Tom. II. cap.* 12. which is remarkable on Account of the *Vela* being ſo well expreſs'd in it. *Ciampini's* Opinion, that *Theoderic* did not firſt build this Palace, but that it was the Palace of the ancient Emperors, is very probable.

Cuſtoms at the Election of a King.

3. The *Gothick* Government was not abſolutely hereditary. Their Elections were held in the open Field, and they ſet their King on a Shield, to ſhew him to the People. So *Vitiges* ſays of his Election, *Gothos inter procinctuales gladios, more majorum, ſcuto ſuppoſito, regalem ſibi contuliſſe dignitatem.* XII. 8. not. 2. I have likewiſe obſerved the ſame Cuſtom of other *German* Nations.

IV.

Coins of the Kings of the Oſtro-Goths, *in* Italy.

That *Theoderic* likewiſe cauſed Money to be coined, with his own Image, in Gold, Silver, and a baſer Metal, is plain by the following Paſſage. *Var.* VII. *ep.* 32. *Omnino monetæ debet integritas quæri, ubi & vultus noſter imprimitur, & generalis utilitas invenitur. Quidnam erit*

** The Kings of the *Franks*, of the firſt Race, were likewiſe cloathed in Purple. So likewiſe *Fauſtus* writes, *in Vit. Mauri Abbatis*, of King *Theodebert*, of *Auſtraſia*, that he went into the Monaſtery (*Monaſterium Glannafolium*) *regali indutus purpura*; of which ſee Valesius, *Lib.* VIII. *p.* 436.

tutum

tutum, ſi in noſtra peccetur effigie, & quam ſubjectus corde venerari debet, manu ſacrilegia violare feſtinat? And farther: *Si vultus cujuſlibet ſincero colore depingitur, multo juſtius metallorum puritate principalis gratia cuſtoditur. Auri flamma nulla injuria permixtionis albeſcat: argenti color gratia candoris arrideat: acris rubor in nativa qualitate permaneat.*

V.

Famous Men in Theoderic's *Reign.*

1. We might have a greater Light into *Theoderic*'s Reign, if we had a better Account of thoſe Perſons, as well *Goths* as *Romans*, who were famous under him, and whoſe Names we, in Part, meet with in his Hiſtory. There was an excellent Academy, in which both Nations ſtrove to outvy each other, that they might pleaſe a Prince, who was ſo good a Judge of Merit. In the Letters of *Caſſiodorus*, *Ennodius*, and *Avitus*, we find ſome ſuch Materials, and the following Annotation will preſent us with the Image of the famous *Boëtius*, as it were for a Specimen. In the mean Time, I ſhall only add here, the excellent Epitaph of *Sennarius* * from *Pithœus*, *Lib.* IV. *Epigramm.*

Ille ego ſum mundi quondam ſine fine viator
Senarius, membris tumulo, non nomine, clauſus.
Principis invicti ſemper ſublimis amore,
Cujus in orbe fui vox Regum, lingua ſalutis,
Fœderis orator, pacis via, litibus hoſtis.
Novit & hoc Oriens, hoc ultimus axis Iberi,
Hoc ſcit bruma rigens, ſcit & Africa ſolibus uſta.
Bis denas & quinque ſimul legatio noſtra
Signat in orbe vias, & nunquam ſtrata labore.
Curſus erat volucer. namque anno pervigil uno
Bis maris Oceani, bis Pontica littora vidi,
Europamque Aſiamque ſequens, duo limina mundi.
His etiam meritis ſociavimus agmen honorum.
Aulica qnippe Comes rexi patrimonia clarus,
Et mea patricio fulſerunt cingula cultu.
Me pietas, me ſancta fides, me fovit honeſtas.
Sæcla canant titulos, nam moribus aſtra tenemus.

* Of *Senarius* ſee *Caſſiodorus*, *Var.* IV. *ep.* 13. *Avitus* writes to him, *ep.* 36. *Ennodius* makes Mention of him, *Lib.* V. *ep.* 16. and writes to him, *Lib.* III. *ep.* 11. and *Lib.* 6. *ep.* 8.

It is a good Sign, even in the Midſt of Flattery, when great Men love to be praiſed for thoſe Virtues, which perhaps they do not poſſeſs in ſo high a Degree. How many are there not, who are apt to perſuade themſelves that Riches and Favour at Court, place them above all Virtues.

VI.

Of the Swabians *who were ſubject to* Theoderic.

In the Countries, which belong'd to *Theoderic*'s Kingdom, on this Side the *Alps*, we find likewiſe a Nation of *Swabians*, *Var.* IV. *ep.* 49, where the King conſtitutes *Fridibad* his Lieutenant over them, with the Superſcription: *Univerſis Provincialibus*, Capillatis, *Defenſoribus*, & *Curialibus in* Suavia *conſtitutis*. And, *Lib.* V. *ep.* 15. *Univerſis Poſſeſſoribus in* Suavia *conſtitutis*. So likewiſe, *Lib.* IX. *ep.* 8, *Oſuin* is appointed *Stattholder* in *Suavia* and *Dalmatia*. Theſe *Swabians*, of whom *Jornandes* makes frequent Mention, and in particular, *cap.* 55. (X. 11. *not.* 4.) are probably the very ſame whoſe Habitation is taken Notice of by Procopius *de bell. Gothic. Lib.* I. *cap.* 15. *Hinc ſe aperit Prebulis regio: ſequitur, cui Dalmatiæ nomen eſt, & quæ cum ipſa Occidentalis imperii finibus comprehenduntur, proxima Liburnia, hinc Iſtria, deinde regio Venetorum ad Ravennam urbem porrecta. Atque hi ſunt maris accolæ: ſupra quos Siſcii & Suabi, non illi, qui Francis parent, ſed ab iis diverſi, interiores terræ tractus obtinent. Ultra hos Carnii ſiti ſunt Noricique: ad quorum dexteram Dacas, & Pannones habitant.*

VII.

Of the Liberty of the Goths.

1. In the Conſtitution of his Kingdom, as far as regards the *Goths*, we find they were all in general eſteemed a free People *: We find a Token of it, Var. *L.* V. *ep.* 30. *Coſtula igitur atque Daila cum Deo propitio Gothorum noſtrorum libertate lætentur, onera ſibi ſervilia a nobis cauſantur injungi.*

* We find the ſame of the *Franks* in Vales. *T.* II. 98. 198.

Of

Of their Warlike Exerciſes aud Turnaments.

2. THEY were, however, bred to War. Even in Time of Peace, their Diverſions were ſuch as accuſtomed them to a ready Uſe of the Spear and the Bow. This Cuſtom is extoll'd by *Ennodius*, *in Panegyr. p.* 314. *Jam illud quo ore celebrandum eſt, quod Getici inſtrumenta roboris, dum provides, ne interpellentur otia noſtra, cuſtodis, & pubem indomitam ſub oculis tuis, inter bona tranquillitatis, facis bella proludere? Adhuc manent in ſoliditate virium victricia agmina, & alia jam creverunt. Durantur lacerti miſſilibus, ut impleant actionum fortium, dum jocantur: agitur in vicem ſpectaculi, quod ſequenti tempore poterit ſatis eſſe virtuti. Dum armis puerilibus haſtilia lenta torquentur, dum arcus quotidianæ capitum neces dirigunt, urbis omne pomerium ſimulacro congreſſionis atteritur. Agit figura certaminum, ne cum periculo vera naſcantur.* Cuſtom made theſe Exerciſes a Sort of Diverſion, and probably theſe Turnaments of the *German* Nations contributed, in ſome Meaſure, to the Neglect of the ancient *Circus* among the *Romans*, in the *Weſt*.

3. WHEN *Procopius*, *Lib.* III. *cap.* 4, deſcribes the Combat, of which I made Mention, XII. 27, it gives us an Idea of thoſe Turnaments which afterwards came ſo much in Vogue. *Jamque in conſpectu proximo utrique ſteterant, cum Vir Gothus, Viliaris nomine, mole corporis valens, viſu terribilis, impiger ac bellicoſus, admiſſo equo proceſſit ante aciem, medioque in campo conſtitit, lorica munitus, & galea, atque e Romanis omnibus unum aliquem, quiſcunque vellet, in certamen popoſcit. Huic unus obtulit ſeſe Artabazes, cæteris gravi metu defixis. Ergo equis concurrunt adverſis ambo: hiſque admotis proxime, haſtas contorquent. Promptior Artabazes dexterum Viliaris latus confodit. Barbarus, lethali accepto vulnere, ſupinus in terram caſurus erat; ſed ipſius haſta, a tergo humi fulta ad petram, eum ſuſtinuit a lapſu. Tum Artabazes magis ac magis connititur, ut haſtam in viri viſcera adigeret, illum lethaliter nondum ſaucium ratus. Hic forte accidit, ut cuſpis haſtæ Viliaridis, quæ pene arrecta erat, loricam Artabazis contigerit, ac ſenſim progrediendo, per eam aſcenderit lubrica, donec ad collum Artabazis illapſa, cutem perſtrinxit. Caſu quodam inſinuans ſeſe altius ferrum, illius partis arteriam rupit: unde multo ſtatim ſanguine ſine ullo doloris ſenſu defluente, ad Romanam ille aciem ſe equo retulit. Viliaris autem exanimis ibi concidit. Artabazes, cum ſiſtere non poſſet ſanguinem, tertio poſt die efflavit animam.*

4. THE

4. The ſame Hiſtorian extols, *Lib.* IV. 31, the Readineſs of King *Totilas*, in theſe Exerciſes. *Unus admodum Totilas inter aciem utramque prodit, non ad ſingulare certamen; ſed ducendi eximendique temporis gratia. Cum enim bis mille Gothos, quos deſiderabat, in proximo eſſe audiret, prœlium in eorum adventum extrahens, hæc palam egit. Primum hoſtibus oſtendere voluit, qui vir eſſet. Armis auro plurimo illitis indutus erat. Ex ejus pilo atque haſta pendebant phaleræ, purpura adeo ardenti inſignes, ut Regi plane conveniret mirificus hic ornatus. Ipſe equo eximio vectus, inter geminas acies armorum ludum ſcite ludebat. Equum enim circumagens ac reflectens utroque verſum, orbes orbibus impediebat. Sic equitans, haſtam in auras jaculabatur, eamque, cum tremula relaberetur, aripiebat mediam, & ex altera manu in alteram ſæpe trajiciens, ac dextere mutans, operam huic arti feliciter navatam oſtendebat: reſupinabat ſeſe, & flexu multiplici nunc huc nunc illuc ita inclinabat, ut appareret, diligenter ipſum a pueritia didiciſſe ſaltare. In hac ludicra exercitatione tempus omne matutinum contrivit.*

Difference of the Soldiers among the Goths.

5. Notwithstanding the *Goths*, in general, boaſted of their Freedom, there was a certain Diſtinction of Perſons among them, which ſeems to have its Foundation in their Military Diſcipline. *Procopius* ſays of the *Goths*, whom *Theoderic* ſent with his Siſter *Amalfrid*, when ſhe was married to *Thraſamund: de Bell. Vand. Lib.* I. *cap.* 8. *Sororem ille miſit cum comitatu Gothorum mille nobilium, qui ſtipatorum munus obirent: hos ſecuta ſunt miniſteria, e viris bellicoſis collecta, ad quina circiter millia.*

6. The ſame Diſtinction was likewiſe among the *Longobards*. *Procopius* ſays, ſpeaking of the Troops which King *Audoin* ſent the Emperor, as Succours, in the *Gothick* War, *Lib.* IV *cap.* 26. *Audoinus Longobardorum Rex, a Juſtiniano Auguſto, multa pecunia, & fœderis ſanctione inductus, delectu ſuorum habito, bis mille ducentos bellatores egregios auxilio miſerat, hiſque in famulatum addiderat amplius tria pugnatorum millia.* This is the ſame Diſtinction which was afterwards made between Freemen and Servants, Knights and private Centinels.

Mille-

Millenarii: Vexilliferi: *Of the Annual Donation.*

7. Of the Donation *, Mention is made, *Lib.* V. *ep.* 26. *Præſenti juſſione mandamus, ut octavo Iduum Juniarium die, Deo auxiliante, ad præſentiam noſtram venire debeatis, qui ſolenniter Regalia dona ſuſcipitis, ſi venire protinus feſtinatis. Illud tamen neceſſario commonentes, ut venientium nullus provenire poſſit exceſſus, nec poſſeſſorum ſegetes, aut prata vaſtetis: ſed ſub omni continentia properantes, de cuſtodita diſciplina grata nobis eſſe veſtra occurſio poſſit: quia ideo exercituales gratanter ſubimus expenſas, ut ab armatis cuſtodiatur intacta civilitas.*

8. The *Millenarii* are mentioned, *Var.* V. *ep.* 27. *Conſuetudine liberalitatis regiæ commonemur, ut Gothis noſtris debeamns ſolennia dona largiri. Et ideo devotio tua* Millenarios *provinciæ Piceni, & Samnii ſine aliqua dilatione commoneat, ut eos, qui annis ſingulis noſtræ manſuetudinis præmia conſequuntur, pro accipiendo donativo ad Comitatum faciat incunctanter occurrere, quatenus, qui bene nobis meriti fuerint, majore munificentia gratulentur.* The *Vandals* had the very ſame Diviſion (X. 35. *n.* 7 *and* 8.) as well as the *Wiſi-Goths.* Among the other Offices of War, we particularly find that of *Vexillifer.*

VIII.

Of the Office and Dignity of the Dukes and Counts.

1. It will likewiſe not be amiſs to explain what has been ſaid of the *Duces & Comites Gothorum.* The *Duces* bore the Title of *Vir Sublimis.* Wherein their Office conſiſted, we may conclude from the *formula Ducatus Rhætiarum, Variar.* VII. 4. where among other Things, it is ſaid: *Ideoque validum te ingenio ac viribus audientes, per illam indictionem, Ducatum tibi credimus Rhætiarum, ut milites & in pace regas, & cum eis fines noſtros ſolemni alacritate circumeas: quia non parvam rem tibi reſpicis fuiſſe commiſſam, quando tranquillitas regni noſtri tua creditur ſollicitudine cuſtodiri. Ita tamen, ut milites tibi commiſſi vivant cum Provincialibus jure civili; nec inſoleſcat animus, qui ſe ſentit armatum: quia clypeus ille exercitus noſtri quietem debet præſtare Romanis. Quos ideo conſtat appoſitos, ut intus vita felicior ſecura libertate carpatur. Qua*

* The Emperors were likewiſe wont to give their Soldiers a Donation, of which we find many Footſteps in *Tacitus*, as likewiſe, *l.* 10. *D. de re milit.* and *l.* 1. *C. eod.*

propter

propter noſtro reſponde judicio, fide nobis & induſtria placiturus; ut nec gentiles ſine diſcuſſione ſuſcipias, nec noſtros ad gentes ſub incurioſitate tranſmittas.

2. THEY were principally ſet over Military Diſcipline; but had likewiſe other Things under their Diſpoſition, as we may ſee by the good Exhortations the King gives them, in ſundry Paſſages. He writes, *Var.* IV. 17. to *Iba: Eſto contra talia omnino ſollicitus, ut qui es bello clarus, civilitate quoque reddaris eximius. Sic & arma tua, Deo juvante, corroboras, ſi juſtitiam mediocribus ſervare contendas.* And *Lib.* V. *ep.* 30. to Duke *Gudui: Quos Duces eligimus, eis ſimul & æquitatis momenta jure delegamus: quia non tantum armis, quantum judiciis nos effici cupimus clariores.*

3. THE *Officium Comitis* conſiſted properly in judiciary Matters. We find *Comitiva per Provincias*, *Var.* VII. 1. and in particular *Comitiva ſuper Gothis.* Wherein theſe laſt Offices conſiſted, appears by the *Formula Comitivæ. Var.* III. 3. *Cum, Deo juvante, ſciamus, Gothos vobiſcum habitare permixtos; ne qua inter conſortes, ut aſſolet, indiſciplinatio naſceretur, neceſſarium duximus, illum ſublimem virum, bonis nobis moribus hactenus comprobatum, ad vos* COMITEM *deſtinare, qui ſecundum edicta noſtra inter duos Gothos litem debet amputare: ſi quod etiam inter Gothum & Romanum natum fuerit fortaſſe negotium, adhibito ſibi prudente Romano, certamen poſſit æquabili ratione diſcingere. Inter duos autem Romanos Romani audiant, quos per provincias dirigimus, cognitores, ut unicuique ſua jura ſerventur, & ſub diverſitate Judicum una juſtitia complectatur univerſos.*

IX.

Of the Courts of Juſtice.

THEODERIC himſelf, *Variar.* III. 24, ſays, in Praiſe of the *Goths*, that their Courts did not admit of Deciſions by Combat; as was cuſtomary with other *German* Nations: And, in the ſame Place, admoniſhes the Inhabitants of *Pannonia* to follow the Example of the *Goths*, and to aboliſh this Cuſtom. *Cur ad monomachiam recurritis, qui venalem judicem non habetis? Deponite ferrum, qui non habetis inimicum: peſſime contra parentes erigitis brachium, pro quibus conſtat glorioſe moriendum. Quid opus eſt homini lingua, ſi cauſam manus agat armata? aut unde pax eſſe creditur, ſi ſub civilitate pugnetur. Imitamini*

mini certe Gothos noſtros, qui foris prœlia, intus norunt exercere modeſtiam. Sic vos volumus vivere, quemadmodum parentes noſtros, Domino præſtante, cernitis floruiſſe.

X.

Preſervation of the Gothick *Tongue.*

NOTWITHSTANDING moſt Writings were made in the *Latin* Tongue, the *Gothick* ſtill remained in common Uſe. What I have already ſaid (XI. 43.) of the Preſervation of it, is illuſtrated by the two following Paſſages. *Theoderic* writes to the King of the *Heruli*, *Var.* IV. *ep.* 2. *Reliqua per Illum & Illum, Legatos noſtros, patrio ſermone mandamus, qui vobis literas noſtras evidenter exponant, & ad confirmandam gratiam, quæ ſunt dicenda, ſubjungant.* *Athalaric* ſays in Praiſe of the *Patricius Cyprianus*, that he cauſed his Children to learn *Gothick*. *Ibid.* VIII. *ep.* 21. *Pueri ſtirpis Romanæ noſtra lingua loquuntur, eximie indicantes, exhibere ſe nobis eorum fidem, quorum jam videntur affectaſſe ſermonem.*

XV. ANNOTATION.

of BOETIUS.

ad XI. 36.

WHAT I have already ſaid (XI. 36.) of *Boetius*, which will be farther illuſtrated by the following Paſſages, may ſerve as a Specimen how the Hiſtory of famous Men, in *Theoderic*'s Reign, may be collected.

1. His Name at Length is: *Anicius Manlius Severinus Boetius.* We have his Life written by *Jul. Martianus Rota*: But *Pagius* juſtly calls him *Autor futilis, ad A.* 526. *n.* 7. Some Circumſtances may be illuſtrated from *Boetius*'s Treatiſe *de Conſolatione Philoſophiæ.*

2. He takes Notice, how, when *Theoderic* had a Suſpicion of the Senat of *Rome*, he eſpouſed their Cauſe. *L.* I. *proſ.* 4. *p.* 12. *Meminiſti, inquam, Veronæ cum Rex avidus communis exitii, majeſtatis crimen, in Albinum delatum, ad cunctum Senatus ordinem transferre moliretur, univerſi innocentiam Senatus, quanta mei periculi ſecuritate defenderim. Scis, me hæc & vera proferre, & in nulla umquam mei laude jactaſſe.*

3. *BOETIUS* juſtifies his own good Conduct, and that he fear'd no Danger, *Lib.* I. *Proſ.* 4. *p.* 9. where he addreſſes himſelf in the following Manner to Philoſophy. *Hanc igitur auctoritatem ſecutus, quod a te inter ſecreta otia didiceram, transferre in actum publicæ adminiſtrationis optavi. Tu mihi*; &, *qui te ſapientium mentibus inſervit, Deus, conſcii, nullum me ad magiſtratum, niſi commune bonorum omnium ſtudium, detuliſſe. Inde cum improbis graves, inexorabileſque diſcordiæ, & quod conſcientiæ libertas habet, pro tuendo jure ſpreta potentum ſemper offenſio.*

Quoties

Quoties ego COGIGASTUM † *in imbecilles cujuſque fortunas impetum facientem obviis excepi! Quoties* TRIGUILLAM, *regiæ præpoſitum domus, ab incepta perpetrataque jam prorſus injuria dejeci! Quoties miſeros, quos infinitis calumniis impunita ſemper Barbarorum avaritia vexabat, objecta periculis autoritate protexi! Numquam me ab jure ad injuriam quiſquam detraxit, Provincialium fortunas, tum privatis rapinis, tum publicis vectigalibus, peſſundari, non aliter, quam qui patiebantur, indolui. Cum acerbæ famis tempore gravis atque inexplicabilis indicta coëmtio profligatura inopia Campaniam provinciam videretur, certamen adverſum præfectum prætorii, communis commodi ratione, ſuſcepi, rege cognoſcente contendi, & ne coëmtio exigeretur, evici. Paulinum, conſularem virum, cujus opes Palatini canes jam ſpe atque ambitione devoraſſent, ab ipſis hiantium faucibus traxi. Ne Albinum, conſularem virum, præjudicatæ accuſationis pœna corriperet, odiis me Cypriani delatoris oppoſui.*

4. HE extols the happy Occurrences of his Life, and in particular the Honour of having his two Sons Conſuls, at one and the ſame Time, *L.* II. *Proſa* 3. *p.* 26. *fin. Verumtamen, ne te miſerum exiſtimari velis, an numerum modumque tuæ felicitatis oblitus es? Taceo, quod, deſolatum parente, ſummorum te virorum cura ſuſcepit, delectuſque in affinitatem principum civitatis, quod pretioſiſſimum propinquitatis genus eſt, prius carus, quam proximus, eſſe cœpiſti. Quis non te feliciſſimum cum tanto ſplendore* ſocerorum **, cum* conjugis *pudore, tum maſculæ quoque prolis opportunitate prædicavit? Prætereo (libet enim præterire communia) ſumtas in adoleſcentia negatas ſenibus dignitates; ad ſingularem felicitatis tuæ cumulum venire delectat. Si quis rerum mortalium fructus ullum beatitudinis pondus habet, poteritne illius memoria lucis quantalibet ingruentium malorum mole deleri, cum duos pariter conſules liberos tuos domo provehi, ſub frequentia patrum, ſub plebis alacritate vidiſti, cum eiſdem in curia curules inſidentibus,* tu regiæ laudis orator, *ingenii gloriam, fa-*

† S. CONIGASTUM. Ad illum extat epiſtola R. Athalarici, VAR. VIII. 28.

* Boetius *had firſt* Elpis, *the Daughter of* Feſtus, *in Marriage; and at that Time his ſecond Wife,* Ruſticiana, *the Daughter of* Symmachus, *of whom Mention was made* (XII. 35.) *was living.* Ennodius, in Parænefi didaſcalica, *ſpeaks, at the ſame Time, in Praiſe of* Feſtus *and* Symmachus. Patricii Feſtus & Symmachus, omnium diſciplinarum materia, & conſtantes forma ſapientiæ, ab urbe ſacratiſſima non recedunt. In ipſis eſt nobilis Curiæ Principatus: quos vidiſſe, erudiri eſt. Non apud eos ſermo de ludicris, nec pantomimorum vix ignoſcenda commemoratio. Illi auram popularem per pudoris detrimenta non capiunt: contenti recte magis placere, quam plurimis, ſortiuntur de innocenti actione teſtimonium. Iſtorum quamvis in omnibus juſſa ſequenda ſint, eſt tamen in illis & magiſtra taciturnitas, & eruditi forma filentii.

cundiæque meruiſti: cum in circo, duorum medius, conſularis, circumfuſæ multitudinis expectationem, triumphali largitione ſatiaſti.

5. He himſelf takes Notice of the Accuſation hatch'd againſt him, *l. c. p.* 10. It was inſinuated to the King, that he had formed dangerous Projects concerning the *Roman* Liberty: But *Boetius* complains as much of the Injuſtice of the Senat, as of the Malice of his Accuſers. *Quibus autem deferentibus perculſi ſumus? quorum Baſilius olim regio miniſterio depulſus, in delationem noſtri nominis, alieni aeris neceſſitate compulſus eſt: Opilionem vero, atque Gaudentium, cum ob injurias, atque multiplices fraudes ire in exilium regia cenſura decreviſſet, cumque illi parere nolentes ſacrarum ſeſe ædium defenſione tuerentur, compertumque id regi foret, edixit, ut niſi infra præſcriptum diem Ravenna urbe decederent, notas inſigniti frontibus pellerentur. Quid huic ſeveritati poſſe adſtrui videtur? Atqui eodem die deferentibus iiſdem nominis noſtri delatio ſuſcepta eſt. Quid igitur? noſtræne artes ita meruerunt? an illos accuſatores juſtos fecit præmiſſa damnatio? Itane nihil fortunam puduit, ſi minus accuſatæ innocentiæ, at accuſantium vilitatis? At, cujus criminis arguimur, ſummam quæris? Senatum dicimur ſalvum eſſe voluiſſe. Modum deſideras? delatorem, ne documenta deferret, quibus ſenatum læſæ majeſtatis reum faceret, impediſſe criminamur. Quid igitur, o magiſtra, cenſes? infitiabimur crimen, ne tibi pudori ſimus? At volui, nec unquam velle deſiſtam. Fatebimur? ſed impediendi delatoris opera ceſſabit. An optaſſe illius ordinis ſalutem nefas vocabo? Ille quidem ſuis de me decretis, uti hoc nefas eſſet, effecerat. Sed ſibi ſemper mentiens imprudentia, rerum merita non poteſt immutare: nec mihi Socratico decreto fas eſſe arbitror, vel occuluiſſe veritatem, vel conceſſiſſe mendacium. Verum id quoque modo ſit, tuo, ſapientiumque judicio, æſtimandum relinquo. Cujus rei ſeriem, atque veritatem, ne latere poſteros queat, ſtylo etiam, memoriæque mandavi. Nam de compoſitis falſo literis, quibus libertatem arguor ſperaſſe Romanam, quid attinet dicere? Quarum fraus aperta patuiſſet, ſi nobis ipſorum confeſſione delatorum, quod in omnibus negotiis maximas vires habet, licuiſſet. Nam quæ ſperari reliqua libertas poteſt? Atque utinam poſſet ulla. Reſpondiſſem Canii verbo: qui cum a C. Cæſare, Germanici filio, conſcius contra ſe factæ conjurationis fuiſſe diceretur: ſi ego, inquit, ſciſſem, tu neſciſſes. Qua in re non ita ſenſus noſtros mœror hebetavit, ut impios ſcelerata contra virtutem querar molitos: ſed quæ ſperaverint effeciſſe vehementer admiror.*

6. He complains, in particular, that no Form of Proceſs was obſerved, *l. c. p.* 12. *Pro veræ virtutis præmiis falſi ſceleris pœnas ſubimus. Et cujus unquam facinoris manifeſta confeſſio ita judices habuit in ſeveri-*

tate

tate concordes, ut non aliquos vel ipſe humani error ingenii, vel fortunæ conditio, cunctis mortalibus incerta, ſummitteret? Si inflammore ſacras ædes voluiſſe, ſi ſacerdotes impio jugulare gladio, ſi bonis omnibus necem ſtruxiſſe dicerentur, præſentem tamen ſententia confeſſum, convictumque puniſſet. Nunc quingentis fere paſſuum millibus procul moti, atque indefenſi, ob ſtudium propenſius in ſenatum, morti, preſcriptionique damnamur. O meritos, de ſimili crimine neminem poſſe convinci! cujus dignitatem reatus ipſi etiam, qui detulere, viderunt: quam, uti alicujus ſceleris admiſtione fuſcarent, ob ambitum dignitatis ſacrilegio me conſcientiam polluiſſe mentiti ſunt. He thereupon introduces Philoſophy as anſwering: *p.* 16. *Et tu quidem de tuis in commune bonam meritis vera quidem, ſed pro multitudine geſtorum tibi, pauca dixiſti. De objectorum tibi vel honeſtate, vel falſitate, cunctis nota memoraſti. De ſceleribus, fraudibuſque delatorum recte tu quidem ſtrictim attingendum putaſti, quod ea melius, uberiuſque recognoſcentis omnia vulgi ore celebrentur. Increpuiſti etiam vehementer* INJUSTI FACTUM SENATUS. He therefore found ſome Comfort in his Misfortune, in the inward Conviction of his own Innocence, which remains the moſt certain Reward of Virtue, when deceitful Fame, when Malice and Ignorance repreſent the beſt of Actions in a falſe Light. Indeed all his Merit could not then ward off the Blow, which his Fate and Power had prepared for him: But they have preſerv'd his Memory, and Poſterity blames, or, at leaſt, pities *Theoderic*, for having ſprinkled his Throne with the Blood of *Boetius* and *Symmachus* †.

7. OF his Execution, we find the following, *in Anon. Valeſii: Rex vero vocavit Euſebium, præfectum urbis Ticini: & inaudito Boethio protulit in eum ſententiam. Qui mox in agro Calventiano, ubi in cuſtodia habebatur, miſit, & reum fecit occidi. Qui accepta chorda in fronte diutiſſime tortus, ita ut oculi ejus creparent, ſic ſub tormento ad ultimum fuſte occiditur. Marius Aventicenſis (ad A.* 524.) *Interfectus eſt Boethius in territorio Mediolanenſis.* This Computation is confirmed by *Pagius*, *ad A.* 524. *n.* 3, and *ad A.* 526. *n.* 67. As this *Anonymus* names the *Ager Calventianus*, ſo, on the contrary, the vulgar Relation is, that *Boetius* was impriſoned at *Pavia*, where not only his Epitaph is to be ſeen; but, according to *Baronius*, *ad A.* 526. *n.* 16, likewiſe the Tower which was his Priſon.

† Q. AURELIUS MEMMIUS SYMMACHUS, Exconſ. *and* Patricius. *The Family of the* Symmachi *we find an Account of in* SIRMONDUS, in not. ad lib. 7. epiſt. ENNODII, *and* REN. VALLINUS in not. ad BOETIUM, p. 36.

8. I

8. I HAVE here only cited thoſe Paſſages, which confirm what is ſaid of *Boetius*, in the Hiſtory of King *Theoderic*. His Writings render him noted on another Account. In them we diſcover an excellent Genius, and, at the ſame Time, a more than ordinary Diligence, which he applied in the Study of *Plato*'s and *Ariſtotle*'s Philoſophy. He ventur'd likewiſe to diſcuſs the moſt ſubtle controverſial Points the Church was then engag'd in: Tho' he complained, that Occaſion was taken, from his Application to Study, to render him ſuſpected *. Some learned Men, upon going thro' his Works more narrowly, have, at the ſame Time, examined the Occurrences of his Life more circumſtantially. In this Light we may look upon *Ren. Vallini vita Boetii*, which he has added to his Treatiſe *de Conſolatione Philoſophiæ*, and more particularly, *La vie de Boece, avec la Critique de ces Ouvrages*, inſerted by *Monſ. le Clerc*, in the *Biblioteque Choiſie*, *T.* XVI. And likewiſe the *Hiſtoire de Boece, Senateur Romain, avec l'Analyſe de tous ſes Ouvrages* **, of which we find an Account in the *Journal des Scavans*, *T.* 59. *p.* 329.

* *He ſays*, lib. 1, *addreſſing himſelf to Philoſophy*. Sed o nefas? illi vero de Te tanti criminis fidem capiunt, atque hoc ipſo videbimur affines fuiſſe maleficio, quod Tuis imbuti diſciplinis, tuis inſtituti moribus ſumus.

** Paris, 1715. 12. *in* 5 Vol.

XVI. ANNO-

XVI. ANNOTATION.

State of the PUBLICK SHEWS, *in the Times of* THEODERIC, *particularly of the* Ludi Circenſes, *and the* Factiones Circi.

SOME may perhaps think it ſtrange, to find in the Hiſtory of King *Theoderic* (XI. 42. *n.* 14.) that he employed his Care for the Publick Shews, and even concerned himſelf in the Factions which then reigned in the *Circus*. But the Management of the Theatre was then one of the Affairs of State.

I.

The Pleaſure the Romans *took in* Publick Shews, *eſpecially the* Circus.

1. THE *Romans* took an unmeaſurable Delight in Publick Shews. Even in the Time of their Liberty, they not only placed the greater Part of their Diverſions; but likewiſe a Sort of Devotion in them; and their Splendor encreaſed in Proportion to the Wealth of the Times. *Cicero*'s Letter to *Marius* * may ſerve to give us an Idea what Pleaſure the moſt noble of the *Romans* took in this Kind of Diverſion.

2. THEY were, in a particular Manner, fond of the Races in the *Circus*. This Propenſity was ſo general, that an ancient Author † reckons it among the Cauſes that perverted the *Roman* Youth from the Purſuit of more valuable Studies. *Jam vero propria & peculiaria Urbis hujus vitia pæne in utero matris concipi mihi videntur, hiſtrionalis favor,*

* Famil. VII. 1.

† Autor Dialogi de cauſſis corr uptæ eloquentiæ, cap. 2.

& gla-

& gladiatorum, EQUORUMQUE *ſtudia: quibus occupatus & obſeſſus animus quantulum loci bonis artibus relinquis? quotum quemque inveneris, qui domi quidquam aliud loquatur? quos alios adoleſcentulorum ſermones excipimus, ſi quando auditoria intrávimus? Nec præceptores quidem ullas crebriores cum auditoribus ſuis fabulas habent.* Many young Men, of the moſt diſtinguiſh'd Families, applied themſelves to nothing, with that Fervency, as an Expertneſs in the Management of their Chariots and Horſes *.

Of the Factiones Circi.

3. THERE were four diſtinct Companies who appeared in the *Circus*, and were diſtinguiſh'd by the Colours of their Habits and Chariots. Among theſe was divided the Affection of all *Rome*. The Spectators laid conſiderable Wagers among themſelves, and their Partiality was thereby the more quicken'd. *Pliny* gives us the more impartial Account of theſe Things, as he was not himſelf biaſs'd by an Inclination to them: X. *ep.* 6. *Circenſes erant; quo genere ſpectaculi ne leviſſime quidem teneor. Nihil novum, nihil varium, nihil, quod non ſemel ſpectaſſe ſufficiat. Quo magis miror, tot millia virorum tam pueriliter identidem cupere currentes equos, inſiſtentes curribus homines videre. Si tamen aut velocitate equorum, aut hominum arte traherentur, eſſet ratio nonnulla: nunc favent panno, pannum amant: et ſi in ipſo curſu, medioque certamine, hic color illuc, ille huc transferatur, ſtudium favorque tranſibit, & repente agitatores illos, equos illos, quos procul noſcitant, quorum clamitant nomina, relinquent. Tanta gratia, tanta auctoritas in una viliſſima tunica. Mitto apud vulgus, quod vilius tunica eſt; ſed apud quoſdam graves homines: quos ego cum recordor in re inani, frigida, aſſidua, tam inſatiabiliter deſidere, capio aliquam voluptatem, quod hac voluptate non capiar. Ac per hos dies libentiſſime otium meum in litteris colloco, quos alii otioſiſſimis occupationibus perdunt.* At this Time, it is hardly to be conceived, to what a Length the *Romans* ſuffer'd this their Inclination to hurry them. *Pliny*, the elder, even ſays †, that when the Corpſe of one *Felix*, who was famous in the Red Company, was burning, one of his Admirers ruſh'd into the Flames. It might be asked whether ever a Philoſopher had ſo

* JUVENAL. Sat. I. 58. *and* VIII. 146.

† *Hiſt. Natur. Lib.* VII. *cap.* 54. Invenitur in actis, Felice Ruſſato auriga elato, in rogum ejus unum e faventibus jeciſſe ſeſe: frivolum dictu: ne hoc gloriæ artificis daretur, adverſis ſtudiis copia odorum corruptum criminantibus.

zealous

zealous Adherents? But Wiſdom neither covets nor allows of ſuch Sacrifices.

II.

Particularly of the Praſini *and* Veneti.

1. THE Green † and Blue ‖ Bands render'd themſelves the moſt famous. As a Specimen, we need only have Recourſe to what *Juvenal* ſays of the *Factio Praſina*, *Sat.* X. 195.

† *Praſini.*
‖ *Veneti.*

*Totam hodie Romam circus capit, & fragor * artem*
Percutit, eventum VIRIDIS *quo colligo panni.*
Nam ſi deficeret, mœſtam attonitamque videres
Hanc urbem, veluti Cannarum in pulvere victis
Conſulibus.

Their Adherents carried this Matter ſo far, that, at Length, the Colours of the *Circus*, at that Time, diſtinguiſh'd the different Factions in the Kingdom: So eaſy it is to ſtrengthen a Party, when *Diſcord* has once diſplay'd her Fane.

2. THE Emperors themſelves ſometimes were too partial in their Favour to one or other of theſe Companies. *Caligula* ſhew'd his Affection to the *Praſini* †. On which Occaſion, it is no Wonder that he made himſelf ſo familiar with the Charioteers, that he would even have made his Horſe a *Roman* Conſul **. On the other Hand, *Vitellius* favour'd the *Veneti*, and it was almoſt dangerous to ſhew any Affection to either of the other Companies. *Suetonius* ſays of him (*Vit.* 14.)

* SEN. *in Epiſt.* Ecce, Circenſium obſtrepit clamor, ſubita aliqua & immenſa voce ferluntur aures meæ.

† SUETON. *in Cal.* 55. Praſinæ factioni ita addictus & deditus, ut cœnaret in ſtabulo aſſidue, & maneret. Agitatori Cythico comiſſatione quadam in apophoretis vicies HS. contulit. Incitato equo, cujus cauſſa pridie Circenſes, ne inquietaretur, vicinæ ſilentium per milites indicere ſolebat, præter equile marmoreum, & præſepe eburneum, præterque purpurea tegumenta, ac monile e gemmis, domum etiam, & familiam, & ſupellectilem dedit, quo lautius nomine ejus invitati acciperentur: conſulatum quoque traditur deſtinaſſe.

** DIO *pag.* 650. Unum e ſuis equis, incitatum nomine, ad cœnam quoque adhibebat, & in auro hordeum apponebat, & in aureis poculis vinum propinabat, ſalutem ejus ac fortunam jurabat, & pollicebatur, Conſulem ſe renunciaturum.

Quoſdam de plebe ob id ipſum, quod Venetæ factioni clare maledixerant, interemit: contemtu ſui & nova ſpe id auſos opinatus. *Commodus* * and *Heliogabolus* †, even put on the Habit of the *Praſini*, when they drove themſelves. Now the more one Party was elevated by the like Favours, the more outrageous were the other; and, taking Advantage of the Liberty of the *Circus*, did not even ſpare the Purple. So *Capitolinus* ſays, that *L. Verus*, becauſe he was, beyond Meaſure, affectionate to the *Praſini*, was obliged to put up with many Reflections from the *Veneti* ‖. His Brother, *M. Antoninus*, therefore thanks the Gods, that he never embraced any Party, either in the *Circus* or in the Amphitheater **.

III.

Continuation and Encreaſe of the Circenſes.

1. TOGETHER with the Seat of the Empire, the *Circenſes* and other Publick Shews were removed to *Conſtantinople*, and, according to the Example of the two Capitals, the other principal Cities of the Provinces built their *Circi*; of which we find Inſtances in *Gaul* ††, even in the Times of the *Goths* and *Franks* ‖‖. The Primitive *Chriſtians* expreſs'd

* ID. *pag.* 824. *fin.* Currus nunquam agitavit publice, niſi ſi quando nocte obſcura id facere cupiviſſet. Pudebat enim eum multitudinis. Id vero domi faciebat aſſidue PRASINO UTENS ORNATU.

† ID. *pag.* 932. Currus agitabat PRASINO VESTITU, idque domi inter privatos parietes facere videbatur.

‖ CAPITOL. *in Vero:* Circenſium tantam curam habuit, ut frequenter provincialibus litteras, cauſſa Circenſium & miſerit & acceperit. Denique etiam præſens, & cum Marco ſedens, multas a Venetianis eſt paſſus injurias, quod turpiſſime contra eos faveret. Nam & volucri, equo Praſino, aureum ſimulacrum fecerat, quod ſecum portabat. Cui quidem paſſas uvas & nucleos, in vicem hordei in præſepe ponebat, quem ſagis fuco tinctis coopertum, in Tiberianum ad ſe adduci jubebat: cui mortuo ſepulcrum in Vaticano fecit. In hujus equi gratiam primum cœperunt equi aurei, vel bravia poſtulari. In tanto autem equus ille honore fuit, ut ei a populo Praſinianorum ſæpe modius aureorum poſtularetur.

** *de Vit. l.* 5. 5. Ne in certamine equeſtri Praſinæ aut Venetæ factioni, neve in gladiatorio Thraci, aut Secutorio fautor fierem.

†† PROCOPIUS ſays, of the Kings of the *Franks*, that they cauſed the ſame Kinds of Diverſions to be performed at *Arles*. (XII. 9. *n.* 4.) The Paſſage of *Salvianus* (IX. 21. *n.* 6.) concerning the *Circus* at *Trters*, is worthy our Notice.

‖‖ *Narbonne* was already in the Hands of the *Goths*, when *Sidonius Apollinaris*, *Carm.* XXIII. *v.* 376. wrote of the *Circus* of that Place.

Raucus

expreſs'd a great Abhorrence of all ſuch Publick Shews, and particularly of the *Circus*, chiefly on Account of the Idolatry annexed to them, as we may ſee in *Tertullian*'s Treatiſe *de Spectaculis*. Notwithſtanding this, the *Chriſtian* Emperors could not aboliſh them. *Conſtantine* the *Great* contented himſelf with having put down the *Gladiators* *: But he ſuffer'd the *Circus*, together with the Reſt. When therefore *Amm. Marcellinus* deſcribes the State and Manners of *Rome*, in his Time, he does not forget to take Notice of their Propenſity to theſe Diverſions: *Exoptato die equeſtrium ludorum illuceſcente, nondum ſolis puro jubare, fuſius omnes feſtinant præcipites, ut velocitate ipſos currus anteeant certaturos, ſuper quorum eventu, diſciſſis votorum ſtudiis, anxii plurimi agunt pervigiles noctes.* The Emperors *Gratian*, *Valentinian*, and *Theodoſius* mention the *Ludi Circenſes*, in their Laws, as a very innocent Paſtime †. *Juſtinian* himſelf allows of them, expreſly by Name, among the other Diverſions with which the Conſuls were uſed annually to entertain the Populace ‖.

> Raucus corda ferit fragor faventum.
> Atque ipſis pariter viris equiſque
> Fit curſu calor.

Of the *Circus* which King *Chilperic* cauſed to be built, ſee XIV. 18. *not.* 4.

* *L. un. C. de Gladiat. penitus tollendis:* Cruenta ſpectacula in otio civili, & domeſtica quiete non placent; qua propter omnino gladiatores eſſe prohibemus.

† *L. 2. 3. C. de Spectacul.*

‖ Nov. 105. c. 1. *The Paſſage is remarkable, on Account of the Diverſions themſelves which are mentioned in it.* Proceſſiones autem eorum volumus eſſe ſeptem. Si enim adhoc adinventum eſt, ut ſpectacula ad animi voluptatem agantur populo, hæc autem a nobis determinantur in Circenſibus, & beſtiarum ſpectaculis, & thymeles delectatione, nullo horum noſter privabitur populus: ſed erit ei quidem proceſſus primus, quo ſuſcipiet conſulatum, & hujus poſſidebit codicillos, Kalendis Januariis. Poſt illum vero ſecundum aget ſpectaculum CERTANTIUM EQUORUM, (quam MAPPAM vocant.) Et tertium, qui THEATROQUINEGIUM dicitur, non bis; ſed ſemel exhibendum, & poſt illud, quod dicitur totius diei, multa delectatione implebit populum: hoc quod vocatur παγκράτιον, & cum beſtiis pugnantes homines, & vincentes audacia, in ſuper & interemptæ beſtiæ. Quintum quoque faciet poſſeſſum, qui ad THEATRUM ducit, quem ADORNA vocant, ubi in ſcena ridiculorum eſt locus, tragœdis & thymelicis choris, & ſpectaculis univerſis, & audibilibus apertum eſt theatrum Rurſus quidem ſpectaculum equorum certantium edit, ſeu quæ vocatur HIPPOMACHIA, ſextum agens hunc conventum. Ex hoc deponit annalem hunc honorem, in depoſitione agens ſolemnem EDITIONEM. Et ita ſeptem noctium & proceſſuum complebitur curſus, nullam ſpecierum antiquitus ſtatutarum derelinquens.

Vehemence of the Factions in the Eaſt.

2. In the *Eaſt*, theſe Factions were, at Length, the moſt turbulent. In the Reign of *Anaſtaſius*, they concerned themſelves even in religious Controverſies (which of all Things ſuch Aſſemblies have the leaſt Pretenſions to) and, by that Means, had almoſt thruſt the Emperor from his Throne. (XL. 29.) One would likewiſe hardly imagine it of *Juſtinian*, that a Prince, who would not ſuffer any Sects among the Practitioners of the Law, could not keep the Factions of the *Circus* within Bounds. *Procopius, de Bell. Perſ. Lib.* I *cap.* 24, gives the following Account of their Inſolence, in which even the Women took Part. *Pervetus quidem eſt in civitatibus ſingulis factionum Venetæ Praſinaque diſcrimen: haud tamen ita vetus inſania, qua nominibus his & coloribus, quibus conſpicui ludis interſunt, ita ſunt dediti, ut eorum gratia fortunas profundant, corpora cruciatibus acerbiſſimis offerant, nec mortem defugiant vel turpiſſimam. Cum adverſariis digladiantur, ignari cauſæ, cur in periculum ſe ac dimicationem conjiciant; at non ignari paratæ pœnæ, cum probe ſciant, ſe, quamvis victores, ſub ipſam ſtatim pugnam raptum iri in carcerem, indeque ad ſupremum ſupplicium. Alter ab altero nulla injuria provocati, odium inter ſeſe excipiunt adeo inexpiabile, ut licet germanitatis aut alio hujuſcemodi vinculo juncti, qui colorum iſtorum diverſis invicem ſtudiis diſſident, nulli tamen neceſſitudini, non conſanguinitati, non legibus amicitiæ concedat. Præ victoria, quam in his ambiunt, divina æque apud illos humanaque jacent omnia: neque ipſis penſi eſt, quid ſocii æmulive impie in Deum peccent, aut quo ſcelere leges remque publicam violent. Eos nec rei familiaris anguſtia, nec ſumma injuria, quæ in maximis neceſſitatibus infertur patriæ, movet, dummodo Pars (ita vocant: ſocios factionis) belle ſe habeat. Neque ipſæ fœminæ hoc piaculo vacant: ſiquidem eandem cum viris ſuis, vel forte adverſam factionem ſequuntur: quamvis ſpectaculis omnino abſtineant, neque alio quopiam agi irritamento poſſint: ut illud ego verius nequeam apellare, quam animi morbum, veramque inſaniam.*

Juſtinian *is favourable to the* Veneti. Cofroës, *on the contrary, declares for the* Praſini.

3. *JUSTINIAN* himſelf and *Theodora* were biaſs'd in Favour of the *Veneti*; and *Procopius* aſſigns as a Reaſon for it, that *Theodora* herſelf had been an Actreſs in this Company, and in that Capacity had the Fortune to

to captivate *Juſtinian* *. Therefore *Goſroes*, King of *Perſia*, who was then the moſt dangerous Enemy the *Roman* Empire had in *Aſia*, when he came to *Seleucia*, declared for the *Praſini*. *Procop. loc. cit. Poſt amore popularis auræ incenſus, populum in Circum aſcendere, & aurigas conſueta certamina edere jubet. Eodem ipſe aſcendit, ſpectandi cupidus, quæ ibi fierent. Et quoniam Juſtinianum Aug. colori Veneto, qui cæruleus eſt, incredibili ſtudio favere didicerat, quo illi hic quoque adverſaretur, victoriam Praſino deferre conſtituit. Igiter cæptum a carceribus curſum agebant aurigæ, cum forte prætervectus Venetus præiit. Sequebatur Praſinus impreſſam ab illo orbitam inſiſtens. Quod ex compoſito fieri putans Coſroës, ſtomachatur & minitabundus clamat, primas concedi Cæſari non oportere: tum præcurrentibus imperat, equos ſuſtineant, ut deinde a tergo relicti certent. Mos illi geſtus, atque ita victoria Coſroi & factioni Praſinæ ceſſiſſe viſa eſt.* The ſame Hiſtorian deſcribes the dreadful Bloodſhed occaſioned by the *Factiones Circi*, at *Conſtantinople*, when they attempted to depoſe *Juſtinian*, and proclaim'd *Hypatius*, a Relation of *Anaſtaſius*, Emperor †. We may therefore very well believe, with him, that it was ſomething extraordinary, in thoſe Days, when a Perſon of Diſtinction at Court, as he ſays, in Praiſe of *Germanus* **, would have no Concern with the *Factiones Circi*.

IV.

Theoderic's *Care for the* Publick Shews. *He takes the Part of the* Praſini. *Of the Office of* Tribunus Voluptatum.

UNDER theſe Circumſtances, it is no Wonder that *Theoderic* was ſolicitous for the Encouragement of Publick Shews, and in particular for the *Theatrum Pompeii*, and the Diverſions of the *Amphitheatre* and *Circus*; on which Occaſion, we may obſerve, that Muſick, and the other Arts, which are required for the Stage, have been conſtantly preſerved, even to this Day, in *Italy*, or at leaſt in *Rome*. *Theoderic* declares, *pro parte Praſina, Variar.* I. *ep.* 20. *ad Albinum atque Albienum: Qua propter illuſtris magnitudo veſtra præſenti juſſione commonita, patrocinium partis*

* Hiſt. Arc.

† Hiſt. Arc.

** *De Bell. Goth.* III. 40. Ei *(ſc. Germano)* nulla conſiliorum ſocietas, nulla erat conſuetudo cum Circi Byzantini factioſis, quamvis multi, qui honoribus utebantur, in abſurda illa media prolaberentur.

Praſinæ,

Praſinæ, quod glorioſæ recordationis pater veſter impendit, dignanter aſſumat. And farther: *Convocatis ergo ſpectatoribus, de Hellandio & Theodoro, qui lætitiæ publicæ aptior fuerit æſtimatus, populi confuſione ſublata, conſtituatur a vobis Praſini Pantomimus: quatenus ſumptum, quem pro ſpectaculo civitatis impendimus, electis contuliſſe videamur.* Perhaps, at that Time, the *Veneti* bore the Sway in the *Eaſt*. At leaſt, we may plainly perceive, by the Deſcription which *Caſſiodorus*, *Var.* III. 51, gives of the *Circus*, that the King followed the Propenſity of the *Romans* more than his own. *Cætera Circi Romani longum eſt ſermone decurrere, dum omnia videantur ad cauſas ſingulas pertinere. Hoc tantum dicimus omnibus ſtupendum, quod illic, ſupra cætera ſpectacula, fervor animorum inconſulta grævitate rapiatur. Tranſit Praſinus, pars populi mœret: præcedit Venetus, & potior turba civitatis affligitur: nihil proficientes, ferventer inſultant: nihil patientes græviter vulnerantur; & ad inanes contentiones ſic deſcenditur, tanquam de ſtatu periclitantis patriæ laboretur. Quod merito creditur dicatum numeroſæ ſuperſtitioni, ubi ab honeſtis moribus ſic conſtat excidi. Hæc nos fovemus neceſſitate populorum imminentium, quibus votum eſt ad talia convenire, dum cogitationes ſerias delectantur abjicere. Paucos enim ratio capit, & raros probabilis oblectat intentio, & ad illud potius turba ducitur, quod ad curarum remiſſionem conſtat inventum. Nam quicquid æſtimat voluptuoſum, hoc & beatitudinem temporum judicat applicandum. Quapropter largiamur expenſas, non ſemper ex judicio demus. Expedit interdum deſipere, ut populi poſſimus deſiderata gaudia continere.* *Theoderic* willingly allowed the *Romans* theſe Diverſions, that they might the more readily leave the Wars to him and the *Goths*: But the Inſpection over them belong'd to the *Tribunus Voluptatum*, as we may ſee by the Appointment to this Office, *Var.* VII. 10.

V.

When the Ludi Circenſes *ceas'd?*

1. The *Circus* ſtill continued in Vogue, in the *Eaſt*. *Juſtinus Minor* did indeed, almoſt at the Beginning of his Reign, enjoin the two Factions to live quietly, as *Theophanes*, *ap. Alemann. in not. ad Hiſt. Arc. p.* 155. relates. *Aurigarum curriculo abſoluto, factioſi inter ſe tumultuabantur: quare Juſtinus utrique factioni per mandatum ſic interminatus eſt.* Vobis defunctum jam eſſe Juſtinianum ſcitote Veneti: ſupereſſe etiam nunc vobis Praſini Juſtinianum credite. *Quo illi audito quieverunt, neque amplius altercati ſunt.* But under *Mauritius* they were the more inſolent, and even quarrel'd about what Name ſhould be given to the new

new-born Prince. So *Alemannus* ſays, *l. c. p.* 104. from a *Cod. MSC. Bibliothecæ Vaticanæ. Conſtantina, Mauritii conjux, filium genuit, quem Mauritius Theodoſium nominavit; & Veneti Juſtinianum appellandum contendebant: contra Praſini Theodoſium, quod ille orthodoxus fuerit, diuque vixerit. Tum Veneti acclamarunt, Juſtiniani tibi Deus annos cum pace concedat. Nam illius nonaginta & amplius anni fuerunt, Theodoſii vero quinquaginta.* Under *Focas*, Matters came, at Length, to an open Rupture with them. *Paulus Diaconus*, VI. *cap.* 37. *Hujus tempore Praſini & Veneti per Orientem, & Ægyptum civile bellum faciunt, ac ſe mutua cæde proſternunt.*

Particularly in the Weſt.

2. But in the *Weſt*, and particularly in *Italy*, both the *Circus*, and the *Amphitheatre* were ſooner aboliſh'd; which probably was in Part owing to the Badneſs of the Times, eſpecially when the Conſulſhip was no more, and they were no longer provided for at the Publick Expence. To this we may add the more rigid Diſcipline of the Churches *, which had long ſhewn their Zeal at the Councils, againſt the *Circenſes*; and perhaps, likewiſe, the Propenſity of the *German* Nations, who delighted in quite different Diverſions, and particularly in Turnaments.

* *Concil. Arelat.* 1. De circiſtariis agitatoribus, qui fideles ſunt, placuit, eos, quamdiu agitant, a communione removeri.

XVII. ANNOTATION.

Of the Right of the Kings of the OSTRO-GOTHS, *with Regard to the* PAPAL ELECTION.

I HAVE already obſerved (XI. 42.) what Right the Kings of the *Oſtro-Goths*, in *Italy*, exercis'd, with Regard to the Papal Chair, and particularly at the Election of the Popes. This Point wants ſome Illuſtration, and the more, as in following Times, the *Carolingians*, and after them likewiſe other *German* Emperors, were accuſtomed to confirm the Popes.

Whether the Kings of the Oſtro-Goths *firſt introduced this Claim?*

I CANNOT conceive how ſo many learned Men * can pretend, that the Kings of the *Oſtro-Goths* firſt aſſumed certain Rights at the Papal Elections, and that the ſucceeding Emperors only trod in their Steps: Whereas it rather appears, that the *Roman* Emperors had before, from Time to Time, exercis'd their ſupream Authority †, even in what concern'd the *Roman* Chair; ſo that, in this Point, the Kings of the *Goths* rather followed the Footſteps of the Emperors.

* *In this they followed* Baronius, *who*, ad A. 526. n. 24. *ſays*: Hanc ab Arianis Italiæ Regibus vindicatam ſibi tyrannice autoritatem, iis de medio ſublatis, Orientalis Orbis Imperatores ſibi pariter arrogarunt.

† *So ſays* SOCRAT. Hiſt. Eccleſ. Lib. V. Procem. Ex illo tempore, quo imperatores Chriſtiani eſſe cœperunt, eccleſiæ negotia ex illorum nutu pependere viſa ſunt.

Ancient

More ancient Tokens of it, under the Emperors.

2. THIS Authority of the Emperors is chiefly discovered in their Ordinances for the Election of Bishops. We likewise find several Tokens of it in the Induction of the other Patriarchs, particularly those of *Constantinople* *.

Especially under Valentinian I.

3. WE find, even in the *Roman* Church, two Instances of it, which leave us no Room for Doubt. First, in the Reign of *Valentinian* I, when, about the Year 367, *Damasus* and *Ursicinus* were elected Popes, in Opposition to one another: Whereupon *Prætextatus*, who was *Præfectus Urbis*, protected *Damasus* in the Possession of the *Roman* Chair, and drove *Ursicinus* out of the City. Of this we find the following in *Amm. Marcellinus, Lib.* 27. *cap.* 3. *Cujus* PRETEXTATI *autoritate, justisque veritatis suffragiis, tumultu lenito, quem Christianorum jurgia concitarant pulsoque Ursicino, alta quies parta.*

And Honorius.

4. YET more evident is the Example we have in the Times of *Honorius*, when, after the Death of Pope *Zosimus*, *Bonifacius* and *Eulalius* were chosen, *A.* 418. The *Præfectus Urbis*, *Symmachus*, gave an Account of it to the Emperor, and, in his Letter, *ap. Baron. ad An.* 418, we find the following remarkable Words: *Et quoniam Pietatis vestræ est de hac parte ferre judicium, statim pro competenti sollicitudine vestram Majestatem credidi consulendam, ut, quod de hac parte pietas vestra decernat, præcepto vestri numinis evidenter informet.* *Honorius* took the Matter under Consideration, and sent *Achilleus*, Bishop of *Spoleto*, to *Rome*, with Orders, in the mean Time, to Exercise the Papal Functions, at the approaching Festival of *Easter*. At Length, the *Præfectus Urbis* was commanded to introduce *Boniface* into *Rome* (*Baronius ad An.* 419.) and the Emperor thereupon publish'd that famous Decree (*Ib. n.* 41.) that when, for the Future, two Popes should be elected, neither of them should remain so, but a new Election should be appointed †. *Sed illum solum*

* SOCRATES *writes*, Lib. VII. 4. *of* Theodosius Junior: Per Episcopos, qui ibi aderant, Proclum, in sede episcopali, (*sc. Constantinopolitana*) collocandum curavit.

† Vid. Can. 8. Dist. 79. *which Passage is taken out of this Decree of* Honorius.

ſolum in ſede Apoſtolica permanſurum, quem rex numero clericorum, nova ordinatione, divinum, judicium, & univerſitatis conſenſus elegiſſet.

II.

Nature of the Papal Election, in the Time of Odoacer.

1. When, afterwards, the Kings of the *Oſtro-Goths* ruled in *Italy*, this Point was liable to greater Difficulties, becauſe the Kings were of a different Communion. Our ſafeſt Way will be exactly to remark the different Caſes that happen'd. In the Time of *Odoacer*, *Baſilius*, *Præfectus Prætorii*, puts the *Romans* in Mind that Pope *Simplicius* himſelf ordained, that no Pope ſhould be elected, without the King's previous Knowledge. His Words are: *Admonitione beatiſſimi viri, Papæ noſtri, Simplicii, quam ante oculos ſemper habere debemus, hoc vobis meminiſtis ſub obteſtatione fuiſſe mandatum, ut propter illum ſtrepitum, & venerabilis eccleſiæ detrimentum, cum de hac luce tranſire contigerit, non ſine noſtra conſultatione cujuſlibet celebraretur electio.* See XI. 2. n. 1.

Examples of the Exerciſe of this Right under Theoderic: *At the Election of* Symmachus.

2. The Reign of *Theoderic* gives us two Inſtances, in which the Royal Authority, with Regard to the Papal Election, is apparent. When in the Year 498, the Senat and the Clergy differ'd, ſome having choſen *Symmachus*, and others *Laurentius*, the King ſummon'd both to *Ravenna*, of which *Anaſtaſius* ſays: *Ambo perrexerunt ad judicium Theoderici Regis, qui, dum ambo introiſſent in Ravennam, hoc judicium æquitatis invenerum, ut, qui primo ordinatus fuiſſet, vel ubi pars maxima cognoſceretur, ipſe ſederet in ſede Apoſtolica*.* But four Years afterwards, the Party which had oppoſed *Symmachus*, began to be in Motion again, of which *Anaſtaſius* gives the following Account: *Poſt annos quatuor zelo ducti aliqui ex clero, & alii ex Senatu, maxime Feſtus & Probinus, incriminarunt Symmachum, & ſubornaverunt teſtes falſos, quos miſerunt Ravennam ad Regem Theodericum, accuſantes B. Symmachum, & occulte revocaverunt Laurentium, poſt libellum Romæ factum, & fecerunt ſchiſma, & diviſus eſt iterum clerus. Et alii communicabant Symmacho, alii Laurentio. Tunc*

* Anaſtaſius *ſays of* Symmachus: Hic ſub contentione Ordinatus eſt uno die cum Laurentio, *So it appears, that the Pope was conſecrated at* Rome, *immediately after the Election, without waiting for the King's Confirmation: We ſhall find the ſame, in the Sequel, at the Election of* Boniface II.

Feſtus

Feſtus & Probinus Senatores miſerunt relationem Regi, & cœperunt agere, ut Viſitatorem daret Rex ſedis Apoſtolicæ. Tunc Rex dedit Petrum Alticinæ (Altinæ) *civitatis Epiſcopum, quod cannones prohibebant.* At Length, the King, at the Deſire of *Symmachus* himſelf, conven'd a Council, which is known by the Name of the *Synodus Palmaris:* By the Acts of this Synod, we ſee, that the Biſhops made a Scruple of attending at it, if the Pope was not ſatisfied with it. *Memorati Pontifices, quibus allegandi imminebat occaſio, ſuggeſſerunt, ipſum, qui dicebatur impetitus, debuiſſe Synodum convocare, ſcientes quia ejus ſedi, primum Petri Apoſtoli meritum, vel Principatus, deinde ſecutam juſſionem Domini Conciliorum venerandorum auctoritas, ſingularem in Eccleſiis tradidit poteſtatem: nec antedictæ ſedis Antiſtitem minorum ſubjacuiſſe judicio, in propoſitione ſimili forma aliqua teſtaretur. Sed potentiſſimus Princeps ipſum quoque Papam in colligenda Synodo voluntatem ſuam literis demonſtraſſe ſignificavit. Unde a manſuetudine ejus paginæ poſtulatæ ſunt, quas ab eo directas conſtabat, haſque dari Sacerdotibus ſine tarditate conſtituit.* At this Aſſembly, the Pope defended himſelf againſt the Articles he was charged with; and the King * left the Deciſion to them: Whereupon they decreed *Symmachus* to be the lawful Head of the *Roman* Church.

At the Election of Felix.

3. After the Death of Pope *John*, *A.* 526, *Theoderic* aſſum'd a yet greater Authority, and nominated *Felix*, Pope, (XI. 37.) who accordingly was conſecrated at *Rome*, the 12th of *July:* But we have hardly any farther Account of this, than in the Letter written by King *Athalaric*, who, in the mean Time, had ſucceded *Theoderic*, in the Government, in which he expreſſes, *Var.* VIII. *ep.* 15, his Satisfaction at this Election, to the Senat of *Rome*, in the following Manner: *Gratiſſimum noſtro profitemur animo, quod glorioſi Domini avi noſtri reſpondiſtis in Epiſcopatus electione judicio. Oportebat enim arbitrio boni Principis obediri, qui, ſapienti deliberatione pertractans, quamvis in aliena religione, talem viſus eſt Pontificem delegiſſe, ut nulli merito debeat diſplicere, ut agnoſcatis, illum hoc optaſſe præcipue, quatenus bonis Sacerdotibus Eccleſiarum omnium religio pullularet. Recepiſtis itaque virum, & divina gratia probabiliter inſtitutum, & Regali examinatione laudatum. Nullus adhuc priſtina contentione te-*

* *The King writes:* in Synodali eſſe arbitrio, in tanto negotio ſequenda præſcribere, nec aliquid ad ſe, præter reverentiam, de eccleſiaſticis negotiis pertinere: *He only deſires,* ut proviſione concilii pax in civitate Romana Chriſtianis omnibus redderetur.

neatur. Pudorem non habet victi, cujus votum contingit a Principe ſuperari.

Whether, at that Time, the Papal Election took a new Form?

4. *F. FRANC. PAGIUS, in Breviar. in vit. S. Felicis, n.* 1. is of Opinion, that the Papal Election then took a new Form. *Et tandem lege res compoſita eſt, ut more priſtino a clero Pontifex eligeretur, & a Rege aſſenſu ſuo confirmaretur, certa pecuniæ ſumma pro confirmatione imperata, non tantum Romano Pontifici, ſed etiam omnibus Epiſcopis, qui ſub Gothorum ditione in Italia gemebant:* And farther: *Ea creandi Pontificis Romani ratio obtinuit, quandiu Gothorum in Italia floruit imperium. Imo quando illud deletum, Juſtinianus Imperator jus approbandi Pontificis Romani ſibi retinuit.* But this Aſſertion is not yet ſufficiently proved. Immediately after the Death of *Felix*, *Boniface* and *Dioſcorus* were ordain'd, without the King's previous Confirmation being ſought.

In Athalaric's *Reign*: Boniface II. *ſeeks in vain to ſhake off this Yoke.*

5. AFTER the Death of *Felix*, there was again a Diviſion among the *Romans*, one Party elected *Boniface* II, and the other *Dioſcorus* *, who however died ſoon after, and to put an End to this Schiſm. *Boniface* attempted to introduce an Innovation; and perhaps he thought the then Government, in the Minority of King *Athalaric*, a favourable Opportunity for it. With this View, he nominated, in a Synod, *Vigilius*, Deacon of the *Roman* Church, his Succeſſor. But this his Proceeding was annull'd in a Council that enſued. (XII. 3.) *Anaſtaſius* gives us the following Account of it: *Eodem tempore, facta iterum Synodo, hoc* † *cenſuerunt ſacerdotes omnes, propter reverentiam Sanctæ Sedis, & quia contra canones hoc fuerat factum, & quia culpa eum* (ſc. Bonifacium) *reſpiciebat, ut ſucceſſorem ſibi conſtitueret: ipſe Bonifacius Papa* REUM SE CONFESSUS EST MAJESTATIS **, *quod Diaconum Vigilium, ſui ſubſcriptione*

† *caſſaverunt*

* ANASTAS. Hic cum Dioſcoro ordinatur ſub contentione, qui Dioſcorus ordinatus in Baſilica Conſtantiniana, Bonifacius vero in Baſilica Julii. Et fuit diſſenſio in Clero & SENATU dies 28. Eodem tempore defunctus eſt Dioſcorus.

** *Cardinal* Baronius *obſerves on this Occaſion*, ad An. 531. § 2. MAJESTATIS vero ex ea parte crimen videri poterat Gothis Bonifacius incurriſſe, quod contra Regis voluntatem, ad quem electionem Romani Pontificis ſpectare Theodericus ſtatuerat, a Bonifacio fuiſſet inſtitutus ſucceſſor.

chirographi

chirographi, ante confeſſionem B. Petri, ſucceſſorem conſtituiſſet, ac ipſum conſtitutum in præſentia omnium ſacerdotum, & cleri, & SENATUS *incendio conſumſit.* (XII. 3.)

Senatus conſultum *againſt Bribery at the Papal Election.*

6. NOTHING is ſo remarkable on this Occaſion, as that the Senat of *Rome*, about this Time, had an Eye over the Papal Election. As Bribery began to prevail, and, particularly at this very Election of *Boniſacius* and *Dioſcorus*, run very high; a *Senatus conſultum* was decreed againſt it, which made it the more memorable, as one ſhould hardly have expected, that the Senat had retain'd ſo much of its ancient Power. *Athalaric* confirm'd this Decree, and commanded the *Præfectus Urbis*, to cauſe as well that as his Reſcript, to be hewn in Marble, and to be affix'd at the Entrance into *St. Peter's* Church. *Var.* IX. 16. *Dudum ſiquidem Senatus ampliſſimus, a ſplendore ſuo cupiens maculam fœdiſſimæ ſuſpicionis abradere, provida deliberatione conſtituit, ut in beatiſſimi Papæ conſecratione nullus ſe abominabili cupiditate pollueret, pœna etiam conſtituta, qui talia præſumere tentaviſſet: non injuria, quia tunc electi vere meritum quæritur, cum pecunia non amatur. Quod nos laudantes & augentes inventum, ad beatiſſimum Papam direximus conſtituta, quæ his antelata præfulgent; ut ab honeſtate Sanctæ Eccleſiæ profanus ambitus auferatur. Hoc vos ad notitiam Senatus & Romani populi volumus ſine aliqua dilatione perducere; quatenus cunctorum figatur cordi, quod cupimus omnium ſtudio cuſtodiri. Verum ut Principale beneficium & præſentibus hæreat ſeculis, & futuris, tam Definita noſtra, quam* SCTA *tabulis marmoreis precipimus decenter incidi, & ante atrium B. Petri Apoſtoli, in teſtimonium publicum, collocari.*

7. HE likewiſe wrote, on this Account, to Pope *John* II, the Succeſſor of *Boniface*, *Var.* IX. 15, where, at the ſame Time, we meet with a far ther Account of this S.C. *Nuper ſiquidem ad Nos defenſor Eccleſiæ Romanæ flebili alegatione pervenit, cum Apoſtolicæ ſedi peteretur Antiſtes, quoſdam nefaria machinatione neceſſitatem temporis aucupatos, ita facultates pauperum extortis promiſſionibus, ingravaſſe, ut, quod dictu nefas eſt, etiam ſacra vaſa emptioni publicæ viderentur expoſita. Hoc quantum fuit crudele committi, tanto glorioſum eſt adhibita pietate reſecari. Atque ideo Sanctitas Veſtra ſtatuiſſe nos præſenti definitione cognoſcat, quod etiam ad univerſos patriarchas, atque metropolitanas eccleſias volumus pertinere; ut a tempore Sanctiſſimi Papæ, Bonifacii, cum de talibus prohibendis ſuffragiis* PATRES CONSCRIPTI SENATUS CONSULTA, NOBILITATIS SUÆ MEMORES, *condiderunt: Quicumque*

que in Epiſcopatu obtinendo, ſive per ſe, ſive per aliam quamcunque perſonam, aliquid promiſiſſe declaratur, ut execrabilis contractus cunctis viribus effœtetur. Si quis autem in hoc ſcelere deprehenditur fuiſſe verſatus, nullam relinquimus vocem; verum etiam ſi aut repetendum, aut quod acceptum eſt, non reddendum crediderit, ſacrilegii reus protinus habeatur, accepta reſtituens compulſione Judicis competentis. Juſtiſſimæ ſiquidem leges, ut bonis aperiunt, ita claudunt malis moribus actionem. Præterea quicquid in illo SENATUS *decretum eſt* CONSULTO, *præcipimus in eos modis omnibus cuſtodiri, qui ſe quoquo modo per interpoſitas quaſcumque perſonas ſceleſtis contractibus miſcuerunt.*

In Theodehat's *Reign.*

8. IN the Reign of *Theodehat*, *Sylverius* was elected, at the Deſire of of the King: *Anaſtaſius* ſays of him: *Hic levatus eſt a Tyranno Theodato ſine deliberatione decreti. Qui Theodatus corruptus pecunia data talem timorem induxit clero, ut, qui non conſentiret in ejus ordinationem, gladio puniretur. Qui quidem Sacerdotes non ſcripſerunt in eum ſecundum morem antiquum, vel decretum confirmaverunt ante ordinationem. Jam autem ordinato ſub vi & metu Silverio, propter adunationem Eccleſiæ & religionis, poſtmodum ſic ſubſcripſerunt Presbyteri.*

What Power the Kings of the Goths *properly had at the Papal Election.*

9. OUT of all theſe Caſes, we cannot however form one certain Rule, what Power the Kings properly had at the *Papal Election.* It ſeems rather, as if the Proceedings were not always the ſame, but were generally ruled by the Circumſtances of the Times. But this we may, however, conclude, that the *Romans* had the Freedom of Electing and Ordaining the Pope, and that the Concurrence of the Senat was particularly eſſential. We do not, indeed, find any expreſs Teſtimony, that the Kings regularly confirmed the Popes: Tho' it may be probably conjectured. On the other Hand, it is beyond all Doubt, that in controverted Elections, the Deciſion was the King's Prerogative; and, on theſe Occaſions, he proceeded in the ſame Manner as the Emperors were wont to do. When *Theoderic* promoted *Felix*, and *Theodehat*, *Sylverius*, to the Papal Dignity, it was out of the common Way, and the leſs to be taken for a Rule, as we do not ſo much as know, in what Manner it was really tranſacted.

Of

Of the Defenſor Sedis Apoſtolicæ.

10. As likewiſe the *Romiſh* Church, had, in many Occurrences, Affairs at Court *, they were tranſacted by a particular *Defenſor*; as the Popes kept afterwards their *Reſponſales*, with the *Exarch*, at *Ravenna*, and even with the Emperors at *Conſtantinople*.

III.

Nature of the Election under Juſtinian, *and the ſucceeding Emperors.*

1. *BELISARIUS* had no ſooner taken *Rome*, than *Juſtinian* made ſure of the *Roman* Chair. (XII. 12.) The Proceedings of the Emperors with the Popes were much more rigid, than thoſe of the Kings of the *Goths*. We need, for Inſtance, only mention what *Juſtinian* did to *Sylverius* and *Vigilius*, and *Conſtans* to *Martin* (XV. 12.) and what *Leo Iſaurus* threaten'd *Gregory* II. (XVI. 3.)

2. In this Period, we find a more certain Account of the Concurrence of the Court at the Papal Election: and eſpecially, that the Pope would not be conſecrated till he was confirmed by the Emperor.

3. *ANASTASIUS*, therefore, remarks it as ſomething extraordinary, at the Election of *Pelagius* II, that he was conſecrated † *abſque juſſione Principis*; tho' the Occaſion of it was, becauſe the *Longobards* had inveſted *Rome*, in ſuch Manner, that no one could go out or in. (XIV. 8. *not.* 9.) Neceſſity was an Excuſe for this Proceeding; and beſides, *Pelagius* was as much devoted to the Emperor as his Predeceſſors. (XIV. 24. *not.* 1.) *F. Pagius*, *in Breviar. p.* 543, is of Opi- † *A.* 578.

* *The* Roman *Church itſelf ſubmitted, in judiciary Matters, to the Royal Officers of Juſtice, of which we have an Example,* Var. III. ep. 49. *On the other Hand* Athalaric, Var. VIII. 24. *confirm'd her in the Privilege, that if any one had a Demand on an Eccleſiaſtick, he muſt firſt bring his Cauſe before the Pope.* Si quiſpiam ad Romanum clerum aliquem pertinentem in qualibet cauſa probabili crediderit actione pulſandum, ad beatiſſimi Papæ judicium prius conveniat audiendus, ut aut ipſe inter utroſque more ſuæ Sanctitatis cognoſcat, aut cauſam deleget æquitatis ſtudio terminandam; & ſi ſorte, quod credi neſas eſt, competens deſiderium fuerit petitoris eluſum, tunc ad ſecularia fora, jurgaturus occurrat, quando ſuas petitiones probaverit a ſupradictæ Sedis Præſule fuiſſe contemptas.

nion,

nion, that *Gregory* III was the laſt who was confirmed by the *Grecian* Emperor; and that the *Roman* Church firſt attained to a perfect Independency at the Election of *Zacharias*. Tho' ſome Doubt may ariſe, with Regard to the latter, if we conſider, that, at that Time, as well *Rome* as *Zacharias* himſelf, yet conſtantly allowed the Supremacy of the Empire. (XVI. 29.)

The Teſtimonies of On. Panvinus, Mabillon *and* Pagius.

4. THESE Circumſtances of the Papal Election deſcribed by *F. Mabillon, in Comment. in Ord. Romanum* §. 17. *ex opere MS.* Onuphrii Panvinii de varia creatione Romani Pontificis: *Gothis Italiæ ditione a Narſete omnino exactis, Italiaque cum urbe Roma in Orientis Imperii portionem redacta, inſignior fuit in electione Papæ mutatio, uſque ad Carolum M. Mortuo Pontifice, ſedis Apoſtolicæ vacantis cura tribus præcipuis cleri miniſtris committebatur, ſcilicet Archipresbytero, Archidiacono, & Primicerio Notariarum. Ab his quam primum de morte Papæ nuntium ſignificatur Exarcho, quem, Gothis pulſis, Ravennæ inſtituerat Imperator. Poſt juſta defuncto perſoluta, exactumque tridui jejunium, de eligendo Pontifice tractabatur. Huic electioni intererant clerus, optimates, populus & milites, hoc eſt, militum ſtationes, qui, ad tutandam adverſus Longobardos, reliquam Italiæ partem, Romæ potiſſimum & Ravennæ conſiſtebant. De electione mox referebatur ab Imperatorem, a quo petebatur, expectabaturque factæ electionis approbatio. De ea item ſcribebatur ad Exarchum, ad Judices, Archiepiſcopum & APOCRISIARIUM Ravennæ, ut electioni faverent. Poſt datam ab Imperatore approbationem electus tandem ordinabatur ad Confeſſionem Beati Petri, ibique fidem profitebatur: inoxque fidei ſuæ confeſſionem ad omnes Eccleſias dirigebat. Hæc omnia conſtant ex libro diurno Romanorum Pontificum, cujus formulæ ab eo tempore, id eſt, poſt electionem Pelagii, in uſu eſſe cœperunt.* F. *Pagius* cites this Paſſage, *ad An. 555. n.* 11. and adds, *Ita Mabillonius, cui in omnibus aſſentio, niſi in eo, qnod ait, morem hunc uſque ad Carolum M. peduraſſe; infra enim videbimus, regnante Pipino, Francorum Rege, Eccleſiam ab illa ſervitute liberatum fuiſſe, licet Ludovico imperante mos ille in priſtinum ſtatum reſtitutus fuerit, & Pontificum Romanorum ordinatio coram legatis Cæſareis iterum peracta.*

Form

Form of the Letters which were wont to be written to the Emperor and the Exarch, for obtaining this Confirmation.

1. IN the Journal of the *Roman* Pontiffs, we find Copies of the Letters, which, on this Occaſion, were written to the Imperial Court, and to the Exarch, at *Ravenna*; which give a particular Light to this Matter. To the Emperor they ſay, *Tit.* III. *p.* 15. *Ideoque lacrymabiliter cuncti famuli ſupplicamus, ut dominorum pietas ſervorum obſecrationes dignanter exaudiat, & conceſſa pietatis ſuæ juſſione, petentium deſideria, pro mercede imperii ſui, ad effectum de ordinatione ipſius præcipiat pervenire. Quatenus per ſacros clementiæ ſuæ apices, ſub paſtore eodem conſtituti, pro vita imperioque ſereniſſimorum dominorum noſtrorum, omnipotentem Dominum, & beatorum Apoſtolorum Principem, cujus Eccleſiæ dignum ordinari gubernatorem concedit, jugiter exoremus.*

2. THEY give almoſt as good Words to the Exarch, at *Ravenna*, *Tit.* IV. *p.* 19. *Iterum atque iterum impenſius, præcelſe & a Deo ſervate domine, ſupplicamus, ut celerius, Deo operante, veſtriſque præcordiis inſpirante, Apoſtolicam ſedem de perfecta ejuſdem noſtri Patris atque Paſtoris ordinatione adornare præcipiatis, utpote per gratiam Chriſti miniſterium Imperialis faſtigii feliciter atque fideliter peragentes: quatenus & nos exigui famuli deſiderium noſtrum maturius expleri cernentes, inceſſabiles Deo & Imperiali clementiæ, atque eximiæ a Deo placitæ Dominationi Veſtræ, gratiarum actiones valeamus exſolvere, & cum promoto Apoſtolicæ ſedis Pontifice, ſpirituali noſtro Paſtore, juges preces effundere, pro vita atque incolumitate atque perfectis victoriis tranquilliſſimorum atque Chriſtianiſſimorum Dominorum noſtrorum Ill. & Ill. magnorum, victorum, Imperatorum, ut regalibus eornm virtutibus miſericors Deus multiplices concedat victorias, & de ſubjectione omnium gentium Chriſtianam rempublicam faciat triumphare, deque reſtituta plenius Romani Imperii priſca devotione lætitiam cordis impertiat. Scimus enim, quod oratio ejus, quem ad Pontificalis dignitatis culmen Dei nutu eligimus, divinam omnipotentiam ſuis precibus flectet & complacabit, & optatæ felicitatis incrementa Romano Imperio præparabit, veſtramque a Deo cuſtodiendam poteſtatem, ad diſpenſationem hujus ſervilis Italicæ Provinciæ, noſtrumque omnium famulorum præſidium, & ſubventum longævis armorum actis conſervabit.*

IV.

Of the Money which was to be paid at the Confirmation of a Pope.

1. F. PANVINIUS and *Mabillon* omit one Circumſtance, which *F. Pagius* takes Care to obſerve, in the Paſſage cited above, *II.* 4. of this *Annotation*, *viz.* That the Popes, as well as the other Patriarchs, were obliged to pay a certain Sum of Mony, when they obtained the Imperial Confirmation, as likewiſe, at their Conſecration, to diſtribute Mony to the People.

2. UNDER the *Gothick* Government, we find ſome Mention of this in the *Senatus conſultum* cited above, II. *num.* 6. King *Athalaric*, on this Occaſion, moderates the Expences to be made, in theſe Caſes, as well at Court, as to the People. *Var.* IX. 15. *Cum de Apoſtolici conſecratione Pontificis intentio fortaſſe pervenerit, & ad palatium noſtrum producta fuerit altercatio populorum, ſuggerentes nobis inter tria millia ſolidorum cum collectione chartarum cenſemus accipere. A quibus tamen omnes minus idoneos, rei ipſius conſideratione, removemus: quia de eccleſiaſtico munere pauperibus eſt potius conſulendum. Alios vero Patriarchas, quando in comitatu noſtro de eorum ordinatione tractatur, in ſupra dictis conditionibus, atque perſonis, intra duo millia ſolidorum jubemus expendere. In civitatibus autem ſuis tenuiſſimæ plebi non amplius quam quingentos ſolidos ſe diſtributuros eſſe cognoſcant.*

Conſtantinus Pogonatus *remits this Tax.*

3. UNDER the ſucceeding Emperors we find more expreſs Teſtimonies. *Anaſtaſius* remarks it as ſomething extraordinary, that *Conſtantinus Pogonatus* remitted this Payment to Pope *Agatho*. *Hic Agatho divalem juſſionem, ſecundum ſuam poſtulationem, ut ſuggeſſit, ſuſcepit, per quam relevata eſt quantitas, quæ ſolita erat dari pro ordinatione Pontificis facienda: ſic tamen, ut, ſi contigerit poſt ejus tranſitum electionem fieri, non debeat ordinari, qui electus fuerit, niſi prius decretum generale introducatur in regiam urbem, ſecundum antiquam conſuetudinem, & cum eorum conſcientia & juſſione debeat ordinatio provenire.**

* From this Paſſage *C.* 21. *Diſt.* 63. is taken.

BUT

BUT what were the real Motives to, and Circumſtances of this Tax, and when it was firſt laid, is not yet ſo clearly made out.* They that ſuppoſe it to be a Sort of Tribute, appropriated wholly to the Treaſury, are the fartheſt from the Mark. It appears by the abovementioned Ordinance of King *Athalaric*, that it was diſtributed at Court; and therefore it may perhaps be derived from the Gifts, or Perquiſites, which on many Occaſions, and particularly, when Perſons entered upon any Poſt of Honour, were wont to be diſtributed at *Rome*, and to be received by Perſons of the greateſt Diſtinction. They were in Time converted into Mony, as we may conclude from *Juvenal.* Sat. I. 117.

Sed cum ſummus honos finito computet anno
Sportula quid referat, quantum rationibus addat;
Quid faciant Comites, quibus hinc toga, calceus hinc eſt
Et paries, fumuſque domi?

And even the *Sacerdotia* were not exempted from them in *Ancient Rome.* SUETON. Claud. 9. *Poſtremo ſeſtertium octogies, pro introitu novi ſacerdotii coactus impendere.* We ſee by the Letters of *Symmachus*, *Ep.* X. 124. that ſuch Gifts were, in his Time, cuſtomary, at entring upon the Conſulſhip: *Sportulam Conſulatus mei & amicitiæ noſtræ, & honori Tuo debeo. Hanc in ſolido uno ad Te miſi, orans, ut benigno animo ſolennia officii mei libamenta accipias.* Thus, probably, they were alſo continued in the Caſe of Eccleſiaſtical Dignities.

Of the Inthroniſticum, *or* Cathedraticum.

5. THIS Mony ſo to be paid for Confirmations at Court, is not to be confounded with the *Inthroniſticum*,† or *Cathredraticum*, which the Patriarchs, as well as Metropolitans, and other Biſhops, were uſed to pay at their Conſecrations, to the Biſhops who were preſent, and to the Notaries who aſſiſted at them. *Juſtinian* regulated this *Inthroniſticum*, or, as *Julian* tranſlates it, *Cathedraticum*, in the memorable *Nov.* 123. *de ſanctiſs. Epiſcopis*, &c. in which we have a full View of the Power the Emperors then exerciſed, with Regard to the Clergy; and that Paſſage is, in ſome Meaſure, illuſtrated by the above-mentioned Ordinance of *Athalaric*'s. *Jubemus igitur beatiſſimos archiepiſcopos & patriarchas,*

* F. Thomaſin *is of Opinion, that this Cuſtom firſt came up after the Council of* Chalcedon.

† *This* Inthroniſticum *is treated of by* PETR. DE MARCA de Concord. Sacerd. & Imper. Lib. IV. cap. 10. §. 3, 4, 5. *where a great deal is ſaid, in Explanation of this Paſſage.*

hoc eſt, ſenioris Romæ, & Conſtantinopoleos & Alexandriæ, & Theopoleos, & Hieroſolymorum, ſiquidem conſuetudo habet epiſcopis & clericis in eorum ordinatione, non minus quam viginti auri libras dari, ipſa ſolummodo præberi, quæ conſuetudo recognoſcit: plus autem ab hac quantitate nihil ſupra viginti auri libras præberi; Metropolitas autem a propria ſynodo, aut a beatiſſimis patriarchis ordinatos, & alios omnes epiſcopos, qui aut a patriarchis, aut a metropolitis ordinantur, dare pro inthroniſticis quidem ſolidos centum: notariis autem ordinantis, & aliis miniſtrantibus ei, & ſolenniter accipientibus ſolidos trecentos. Hæc autem, quæ præberi diſpoſuimus, primus presbyter ordinantis Epiſcopi, & Archidiaconus, ſuſcipientes, ex conſuetudine percipientibus dividant. He likewiſe lays down the Reaſons which gave Occaſion to this Law: viz. *Ut non ex talibus occaſionibus eccleſiæ debitis prægraventur, & ſacerdotia venalia fiant.*

XVIII. A N-

XVIII. ANNOTATION.

Of AMALASWINTH, *and* THEODEHAT *.

Ad XII. 3, 4.

THE Hiſtory of Queen *Amalaſwinth*, and her perfidious Partner in the Government, *Theodehat*, I have already treated of (XII. 3. *ſq.*) I will here only add ſome Paſſages, which may ſerve as Proofs to confirm it.

I.

Theodehat's *unjuſt Behaviour in* Tuſcany.

1. IN what Manner *Amalaſwinth* obliged *Theodehat*, in her Son's Life-Time, to reſign certain Eſtates he unjuſtly poſſeſſed, is related by *Procopius*, Lib. I. c. 4. p. 316. ſeq. *Hæc ibi dum aguntur, interea Tuſci complures, de vi in omnes provinciæ ſuæ incolas apud Amalaſunthan accuſant Theodatum, ex mera libidine cum in alios quoſvis, tum in domus regiæ fundos, quos patrimonium vocitant, involantem. Quamobrem illa accitum ad rationem reddendam Theodatum, & ab accuſatoribus manifeſte convictum, quæcunque malis artibus eripuerat, reſtituere coëgit, ac tum demum remiſit. Inde cum in ſummam offenſionem hominis incurriſſet, deinceps interceſſit inter ambos diſcordia, illum avaritia conficiente, quod nec peccare licentius, nec vi invadere cupita poſſet.* *Caſſiodorus*, *Var.* X. 4. has a View to this Proceeding, when he writes to the Senat of *Rome*, in the Perſon of *Theodehat*, whom the Queen had then admitted to a Partnerſhip with her in the Government. *Sed inter diverſa munera, quæ nobis*

* *This Name, which is properly of* Gothick *Original, is written differently.* In Caſſiodori Var. *he is call'd* Thedahadus; *but, on Coins,* Theodahatus. Procopius *always names him* Theodatus, *as does likewiſe* Juſtinian, *the Emperor, in the* Sanctio Pragmatica, *mentioned* XIII. 27.

cum

cum regia majeſtate Divina tribuerunt, illud amplius permulcet animum noſtrum, quod nos ſapientiſſima Domina trutina magnæ diſceptationes elegit: cujus prius ideo juſtitiam tuli, ut purior ad ejus provectionis gratiam pervenirem. Cauſas enim, ut ſcitis, jure communi nos fecit dicere cum privatis. O animi nobilitas ſingularis! En æquitas mirabilis, quam mundus loquatur! Non dubitavit parentem prius juri publico ſubdere, quem paullo poſt voluit ipſis quoque legibus anteferre. Exploravit conſcientiam, cui erat regni traditura cenſuram; ut & illa domina cognoſceretur eſſe cunctorum, & me probatum perducere dignaretur ad regnum.

He endeavours privately to enter into a League with Juſtinian.

2. *THEODEHAT* had neither the Moderation to be ſatisfied with what was juſtly his Due, nor Courage enough openly to attempt any thing farther. His Hatred and revengeful Temper ſought other Means, ſo that, according to *Procopius*'s Relation, *loc. cit. Lib.* I. *cap.* 3. he privately agreed with *Juſtinian* to deliver *Tuſcany* into his Hands, on Condition, that he would call him to the Senat at *Conſtantinople*. *Procopius* ſays, Lib. I. cap. 3. p. 313. *Inter Gothos quidam erat, nomine Theodatus, filius Amalafridæ, ſororis Theodorici, provecta jam ætate homo, ac latinis quidem literis & philoſophia Platonis imbutus, * ſed rei bellicæ plane rudis, ſumme ignavus, & avaritiæ deditus extra modum. Hic agrorum Tuſciæ partem maximam cum poſſideret, e reliquis exturbare dominos enitebatur, genus quoddam infelicitatis eſſe ducens, habere vicinos. Quam hominis cupiditatem omni ſtudio reprimebat Amalaſuntha: ideoque hanc ille inexpiabili odio proſequebatur, victuſque impatientia, Tuſciam in Juſtiniani Aug. poteſtatem tradere cogitabat, ut ab eo multa auctus pecunia, & in Senatum electus, deinceps Byzantii vitam ageret.*

II.

Amalaſwinth *takes him for her Partner in the Kingdom.*

1. THE Death of the young King *Athalaric* put a ſtop to his Deſigns at that Time. The Circumſtances of Things were very precarious

* *Of his Learning, ſee farther, in the following* §. II. num. 3.

for

for his Mother, not only with Regard to the *Goths*, but in Reſpect to the *Romans*. The ſame Author relates, on what Conditions ſhe, therefore, raiſed *Theodebat* to be a Sharer with her on the Throne. *Sub idem tempus tabe exeſus obiit Atalaricus, cum in regno annos VIII. vixiſſet. Tunc Amalaſuntha, haud dubie peritura, nulla nec indolis Theodati, nec ſuæ in eum recentis ſeveritatis habita ratione, in animum induxit, ſe illum plane innoxium experturam, ſi in ipſum majus aliquod beneficium conferret. Eum igitur accerſit, ac poſt ipſius adventum deliniit, aſſeverans, ſe antea cognoviſſe, quæ eſſet opinio de morte propinqua filii; quippe cum a medicis omnibus prenunciatam illam audiret, ac videret ipſa Athalarici corpus in dies contabeſcere: quoniam vero perſpiciebat, minus commode apud Gothos & Italos audire Theodatum, ad quem Theoderici genus redactum eſſet, ſibi id cordi fuiſſe, ut, turpi illa exiſtimatione depulſa, ipſi ad regnum vocato nihil obſtaret: preterea ſe ex amore æqui ſollicitam timuiſſe, ne quando ab illis circumfuſa, qui ſe injuria affectos ab eo dicerent, audiret expoſtulantes, adeſſe neminem, ad quem, quæ paſſi eſſent, deferrent, ſibique infenſum dominum imperare, itaque ſe ad regnum jam illum invitare, cum eſſet purus a ſuſpicione, & in famam ſecundam reſtitutus: at ſanctiſſime jurandum eſſe, nomen quidem regiæ poteſtatis ad Theodatum tranſiturum, rem vero ipſam, ut prius, in Amalaſuntha manſuram. Theodatus, his auditis, quicquid placuit Amalaſunthæ, jurato promiſit, ſed malo animo ac fraudulenter; quippe memor uti ante ab ea fuiſſet habitus. Juravit quoque Amalaſuntha Theodato ex animi ſui ſententia, ac decepta, regem illum conſtituit: qua de re miſſis Byzantium legatis Gothis, Juſtinanum Aug. certiorem fecit.*

2. *AMALASWINTH* acquainted the Emperor *Juſtinian* with this her Choice. *Var. Lib.* 10. *ep.* 1. *Perduximus ad ſceptra virum nobis fraterna proximitate conjunctum, qui regiam dignitatem communi nobiſcum conſilii robore ſuſtineret, ut & ille avorum ſuorum purpureo decore fulgeret, & animum noſtrum ſolatium prudentis erigeret.*

3. *AMALASWINTH* herſelf extol'd him, in the Letter by which ſhe inform'd the Senat of the Choice ſhe had made. *Var.* X. 3. *Elegimus, Deo auſpice,* CONSORTEM REGNI *felicisſimum, Theodahatum; ut quæ hactenus Reipublicæ molem ſolitaria cogitatione pertulimus, nunc utilitates omnium junctis conſiliis exequamur, quatenus in tractatibus duo, in ſententiis unus eſſe videamur.* And farther: *Acceſſit his bonis deſiderabilis eruditio literarum, quæ naturam laudibilem eximie reddit ornatum. Ibi prudens invenit, unde ſapientior fiat: ibi bellator reperit, unde animi virtute roboretur: inde princeps accipit, quemadmodum populos ſub æqua-*

litate.

litate componat; nec aliqua in mundo poteſt eſſe fortuna, quam literarum non augeat glorioſa notitia. Accipite, quod majus generalitatis vota meruerunt. Princeps veſter etiam eccleſiaſticis eſt literis eruditus, a quibus ſemper, quicquid eſt pro homine, commonemur, judicare recte, bonum ſapere, divina venerari, futura cogitare judicia.

4. THE new King likewiſe wrote to the Emperor: *Variar. Lib.* X. *ep.* 2. *Quod facienti mihi, piiſſime Imperator, multo melius divina tribuerunt: quoniam veſtram gratiam ſecurus expeto, quam præcellentiſſimam dominam ſororem noſtram Nobis pepigiſſe cognoſco. Ab ejus enim judicio me nullatenus deviare certiſſimum eſt, quæ tanta ſapientiæ luce reſplendet, ut & propria regna mirabili diſpoſitione componat, & promiſſam cunctis gratiam robuſta firmitate cuſtodiat. Ideo enim me curarum ſuarum fecit eſſe ſocium, quatenus & ego illos deſiderem habere reverendos, quos ſibi ipſa fecit eſſe pacificos.*

5. *AMALASWINTH* therefore, did not take the Title of Queen, 'till after her Son's Death. We find him in publick Records, *Var.* VIII. *ep.* 8. and 10. She names *Theodehat*, *Conſors Regni*, *Ib. ep.* 3, as he likewiſe gives himſelf the Title, *Ib. ep.* 4.

III.

Theodehat's *Ingratitude to the Queen.*

1. IT is, in itſelf, a dangerous Thing to admit of Partnerſhip in Dominion: But *Theodehat*'s Temper made it the more ſo. *Amalaſwinth*'s unhappy Choice coſt herſelf her Liberty and Life, and, at the ſame Time, paved the Way to the Subverſion of the *Gothick* Kingdom. *Procopius* informs us how ungratefully *Theodehat* behav'd himſelf to her. *Principatum adeptus Theodatus, cum ſpem Amalaſunthæ, tum ſui promiſſi fidem prorſus fefellit. Gothorum enim, ab illa interfectorum, complexus propinquos, quorum magnus in ea gente & numerus erat & ſplendor, repente quoſdam ex Amalaſunthæ neceſſariis occidit, adeoque ipſam conjecit in carcerem, prius quam legati Byzantium perveniſſent. Eſt in Tuſcia lacus (Vulſinum appellant) & in eo parva admodum inſula, caſtello munita valido. Clauſam hic Amalaſuntham Theodatus ſervari juſſit, ac veritus, quod accidit, ne eo facto Imperatorem offenderet, Liberium & Opilionem, Senatores Romanos, alioſque nonnullos miſit, omni ope deprecari juſſos illius odium, affirmando, nihil mali Amalaſunthæ irrogaſſe Theodatum, quamvis*

quamvis ab ea prius acceptum peſſime. In eandem ſententiam literas & ipſe Rex dedit, & ab Amalaſuntha, vel invita expreſſit.

He cauſes her to be murdered.

2. HE gives us farther Circumſtances of her Murder: *Ibid.* p. 318. D. *Gothorum enim, quos illa morte affecerat, propinqui, Theodatum adierant, eique aſſeverant, nec ipſum, nec ſe vivere ſecuros poſſe, niſi Amalaſuntham de medio quam primum tollerent. Annuente illo, nulla interpoſita mora delati in inſulam, necem attulerunt Amalaſunthæ, & ea re mœrorem maximum Italis omnibus & cæteris Gothis. Hæc enim mulier ſumma animi firmitate, ut ſupra paullo dixi, omnium officia virtutum obibat. Quocirca Petrus Theodato Gothiſque cæteris aperte denuntiavit, quandoquidem hoc facinus admiſiſſent, Imperatori bellum cum ipſis fore inexpiabile. At ſtolide ineptus Theodatus, cum Amalaſunthæ interfectoribus plurimum honoris tribueret, Petro & Imperatori perſuadere volebat, ſe minime approbante, quin potius invitiſſimo, Gothos hoc piaculum perpetraſſe.* When *Juſtinian* made a Pretence of this Inhumanity to make War with the *Goths*, *Theodehat* was ſo irreſolute, that he neither brought the Treaty of Alliance, which was begun, to a Concluſion, nor prepared for a gallant Reſiſtance. His own Son-in-Law was the firſt who went over to the Emperor.

Whether the Empreſs Theodora *excited him to it?*

3. WHAT I hinted of *Theodora*'s Inſtigation, we find in *Procopius* Hiſt. arcan. cap. 16. *Poſteaquam Amalaſuntha, ut libris ſuperioribus declaravimus, Gothorum abdicatis rebus, aliud vitæ genus quæſivit, cogitavitque Byzantium ire, æquo cum civibus jure victura, Theodoræ ſtatim occurrit fœminæ illius nobile genus, regia dignitas, forma corporis ſingularis, acre & induſtrium ingenium, ob idque non dubitavit, quin ſibi & ab illius virili animi majeſtate, & levitate conjugis, metuendum foret. Nec ſane leviter hanc patefecit rivalitatem, ſed inſidias ac necem reginæ molita, viro confeſtim perſuaſit, ut Petrum ad eam legaret in Italiam. Huic ergo Cæſar proficiſcenti, quæ opportuno loco narravi, imperat; at Auguſta (cujus metu, veræ tunc locus narrationi non fuit) hoc unum committit, ut Amalaſunthæ paret, maturetque necem, magnorum injecta ſpe bonorum, ſi juſſis pareat. Ille vel dignitatis vel divitiarum ſpe in Italiam ſtatim tranſmittit; nam ad nefarias cædes moderate venire mens humana nequit, Theodatum rationibus mihi quidem obſcuris in Amalaſunthæ cædem impellit. Ex-*

inde Petrus ad Magiſtri dignitatem magna quidem potentia, ſed omnium odio, evehitur. But here *Procopius* manifeſtly contradicts himſelf, when, *de bello Goth. Lib.* I. *cap.* 4, he gives us to underſtand, that *Peter* did not come to *Italy*, till after *Theodehat* had cauſed the Queen to be murdered.

IV.

Jornandes's *Relation of Queen* Amalaſwinth.

JORNANDES de rebus Gothicis, *c.* 59, gives us her Hiſtory in a few Words. *Tum mater, ne pro ſexus ſui fragilitate a Gothis ſperneretur, ſecum deliberans, Theodatum, conſobrinum ſuum, germanitatis gratia accerſitum a Thuſcia, ubi, privatam vitam degens, in laboribus propriis erat, in regnum collocavit. Qui, immemor conſanguinitatis, poſt aliquantum tempus a palatio Ravennate abſtractam, in inſulam lacus Bulſinenſis eam exilio relegavit. Ubi, pauciſſimos dies in triſtitia degens, ab ejus ſatellitibus in balneo eſt ſtrangulata.* And, de regn. ſucceſſ. p. 140. *Mortuoque Athalarico, mater ſua Theodahatum, conſobrinum ſuum, regni ſic participem faciens, non poſt multum, ipſo jubente occiſa eſt. Et quia dudum ſe, ſuumque filium commendaverat Principi Juſtiniano, is mortem ejus audiens doluit, nec paſſus eſt inultam tranſire: Sed mox eundem ducem belli, qui Pœnorum domitor fuit, & de opibus Vandaliticis triumphans adhuc in faſcibus erat, agmini diverſarum præponens nationum, ad partes Heſperias deſtinavit: qui primo acceſſu mox Siciliam pervadit, duce ejus Sinderich ſuperato, &c.*

V.

Falſe Accounts of this Queen given by Gregorius Turonenſis.

1. TO conclude, I am at a Loſs how the Biſhop of *Tours* comes to give ſo bad an Account of *Amalaſwinth*, Lib. III. cap. 31. *Et quia Theodoricus, Rex Italiæ, Chlodovei Regis ſororem in matrimonio habuit, mortuus parvulam filiam cum uxore reliquit. Hæc autem cum adulta facta eſſet, per levitatem animi ſui, relicto matris conſilio, quæ ei Regis filium providebat, ſervum ſuum Trauvilanem nomine accepit, & cum eo ad civitatem, qua defenſari poſſet, aufugit. Cumque mater ejus contra eam valde frenderet, peteretque ab ea, ne humiliaret diutius nobile genus, ſed dimiſſo ſervo ſimilem ſibi de*

*de genere regio, quem providerat, deberet accipere, nullatenus voluit adquieſcere. Tunc mater ejus contra eum frendens, exercitum commovit. At illi venientes ſuper eos, Trawilanem interfecerunt gladio, ipſam quoque cædentes in domum matris reduxerunt. Erant autem ſub Ariana ſecta viventes. Et quia conſuetudo eorum eſt, ut ad altarium venientes, de alio calice Reges communicent, & de alio populus minor, venenum in calice illo poſuit, de quo mater communicatura erat *. Quo illa hauſto, protinus mortua eſt.* And farther: *Indignantes ergo Itali contra hanc mulierem Theodatum Regem Tuſciæ invitantes, ſuper ſe Regem ſtatuunt. Hic vero cum didiciſſet, quæ meretrix illa commiſerat, qualiter propter ſervum, quem acceperat, in matrem extiterat parricida, ſuccenſo vehementer balneo, eam in eodem cum una puella includi præcepit. Quæ nec mora, in arduos vapores ingreſſa, in pavimento corruens mortua atque conſumpta eſt. Quod cognoſcentes hi Reges, Childebertus & Chlotharius, conſobrini ejus, nec non & Theodebertus, quod ſcilicet tam turpi fuerit interfecta ſupplicio, ad Theodatum legationem dirigunt, exprobrantes de morte ejus, atque dicentes: ſi hæc, quæ egiſti, nobiſcum non compoſueris, regnum tuum auferemus, & ſimili pœna te damnabimus.* Theſe Fables of *Gregory*'s are confuted by *F. le Cointe, ad Ann.* 534. *n.* 42.—49. In the mean Time, they may ſerve as a Warning to us, how erroneous the Accounts we find in ancient Writers frequently are.

2. *THOMAS CORNEILLE* has given us a Tragedy called *Theodat*, in which he has painted this King as a Hero, and *Amalaſwinth* in the falſe Colours *Gregory* has ſhewn her in. This may indeed be, in ſome Meaſure, allowed in a Poet: But for the falſe Circumſtances we find in many latter Hiſtorians, I ſhall not detain the Reader with enumerating them here, ſince *Monſ. Rival* has already pointed them out, in his *Diſſertation ſur quelques particularités de l'Hiſtoire d'Amalaſonthe, Princeſſe des Oſtrogoths, en Italie* †.

* *We need not think it extraordinary in the* Goths, *that they received the Communion in both Kinds. It was a general Cuſtom in the Church.* F. Ruinart *makes the following Remark on this Paſſage:* Mos adhuc ſæculo 8. in Romana eccleſia vigebat, ut colligere licet ex epiſtola 9. Gregorii II. ad Sanctum Bonifacium Moguntinum, ubi Pontifex ſcribit, congruum non eſſe *duos vel tres calices in altario ponere, cum Miſſarum ſollemnia celebrantur.*

† *This we meet with in his* Diſſertations Hiſtoriques & Critiques. T. I.

XIX. ANNOTATION.

Of BELISARIUS.

Ad XII. 38.

AS *Beliſarius* greatly experienced the Inſtability of Fortune with the Great, and, even in his Life-time, furniſhed no leſs Matter for Satyr than for Panegyrick; Poſterity is in the dark as to many Parts of his Hiſtory, whether he more deſerves our Admiration or our Pity.

I.

Of his Country: Whether he was a German?

1. He was born in *Germania*, a City of *Thrace*. *Procopius* de Bel. Vandal, Lib. I. *Ducebat originem ex Germania, quæ inter Thraces & Illyrios ſita eſt.* The Name of *Germania* ſeduced *Leunclavius* to believe *Beliſarius* was a *German*; and in the Dedication of his Edition to *Sambucus*, he expreſſes himſelf thereupon, in the following Manner: *Sic igitur hæc a Procopio fuiſſe ſcripta conjicimus, ut Beliſarium dicat oriundum ex illa fuiſſe parte Germaniæ, quæ inter Illyricum & Thraciam ſeſe porrigat. Hoc modo vir eminentiſſimus & ornamentum ejus ſæculi ſingulare, qui perpetuis victoriis per orientem & meridiem, & occaſum, ſic obſcuratam & extinctam prope Romani nominis famam, illuſtravit, ut eum merito ſuo Juſtinianus Imperii Romani decus in numiſmatis appellarit, Beleſarius, quaſi natalibus reſtituetur, & germanæ patriæ, Germaniæ noſtræ vindicabitur.*

2. Many

2. MANY more learned Men were of this Opinion, who are already refuted by *Alemannus*, *in not. ad Procop. Hiſt. Arcan.* when he remarks on the above-cited Words: HUBERTUS GIPHANIUS *in Commentario de Juſtiniano Imperatore, cui adſtipulatur* MARCUS VELSERUS, Lib. 4. Rerum Auguſtanarum, *ſic eum locum accepit, ut Beliſarium Germanum crediderit. Rationes, quibus id adſtruere conatur, ingenioſæ ſunt, non veræ. Nam Germania, quæ inter Thraciam & Illyricum jacet, non ſunt Quadi in Auſtria, ſed urbs Thraciæ, & alibi nota, & in Sanctionibus Orientalium Antiſtitum, eaque metropolis eſt.*

II.

Procopius *leſſens his Character in the* Hiſtoria Arcana.

1. IN the Courſe of this Hiſtory, I have introduced *Beliſarius*, as repreſented by *Procopius*, in his Books of the *Gothick* and *Vandalick* Wars: But in his *Anecdots*, he paints him in very different Colours. The Hiſtory in general, does indeed agree, tho' ſome ſecret Circumſtances may differ from what they are generally related: However, we are not to build ſo abſolutely on *Procopius*'s *Anecdots*. An Author, who himſelf acknowledges, that he, at another Time, concealed the Truth out of Fear, may afterwards have been farther miſled by Hatred and a Love of Slander, than he was before by Fear.

2. IF it be true what *Beliſarius*, in theſe *Anecdots*, is ſaid to have ſuffered from his Wife *Antonina*, and how he was miſled by her, we cannot but wonder, that a General, who conquered Kings and Nations, could be ſo pliant and ſubmiſſive among the Women and Eunuchs; and how much more dangerous ſecret Enemies at Court are, than open ones in the Field.

3. AT leaſt we ſee, by this *Hiſtoria Arcana*, what Judgment the Enemies and Enviers of *Beliſarius* formed of his Expeditions. All his Succeſs was attributed wholly to Fortune, *c. 4. p. 15. In Italiam ubi pervenit, infelices rerum eventus, quandoquidem divino numine adverſo, in dies cœpit experiri. Primo quidem bello contra Theodatum, & Vittigem, quæ pro re nata cœpit conſilia, licet minime opportuna rebus viderentur; ad exitus tamen plerumque felices deducta ſunt. Secundo vero illa demum fuit aliorum de eo ſententia, optime quidem conſultare, utpote qui Italici belli adminiſtrandi experimentum haberet; at rebus ut plurimum male ſic recidentibus, minime ſane conſilii opinionem movit, confirmavitque.* They who judge as *Procopius* does here, muſt take great Delight in finding Fault. When every Thing went to *Beliſarius*'s Wiſhes, it was owing to

to blind Fortune; but when an Expedition miſcarried, the Blame lay at his Door.

4. But he that finds Fault with a General, in his Enterprizes, becauſe a greater Share of Fortune than Underſtanding appears, praiſes him more than he thinks. Indeed the Renown of a Hero may then be ſaid to be compleat, when Prudence in his Orders, and Fortune in the Execution of them unite, as *Cicero* ſays of ſome *Roman* Generals. *pro L. Manilia*, cap. 16. *Exiſtimo, Maximo, Marcello, Scipioni, Mario, & ceteris magnis Imperatoribus, non ſolum propter virtutem, ſed etiam propter fortunam ſæpius imperia mandata, atque exercitus fuiſſe commiſſos. Fuit enim profecto quibuſdam ſummis viris quædam ad amplitudinem, & ad gloriam, & ad res magnas bene gerendas, divinitus adjuncta fortuna*.* But where they do not both meet, Fortune, with but an indifferent Conduct, is, in Reality, preferable to Wiſdom in the Management, without Succeſs in the Event. The *Carthaginians* therefore dealt unreaſonably, in puniſhing their Generals, if they made a Miſtake, tho' the Event proved ſucceſsful. *Carthaginienſes, Duces, bella pravo conſilio gerentes, etiamſi proſpera fortuna ſubſecuta eſſet, cruci tamen ſuffigebant: quod bene geſſerunt, Deorum immortalium adjutorio, quod male commiſerant, ipſorum culpæ imputantes.* Val. II. cap. 7. exemp. ext. 1. How often have Things ſucceeded contrary to all Appearances? *Velleius Paterculus* wonders at this in young *Octavius*, who ventured to enter upon the Inheritance of *Julius Cæſar*, contrary to the Advice of his Friends. *Non placebat Atiæ Matri, Philippoque Vitrico, adiri nomen invidioſæ fortunæ Cæſaris: ſed aſſerebant ſalutaria Reipublicæ, terrarumque orbis fata conditorem conſervatoremque Romani nominis. Sprevit itaque cœleſtis animus humana conſilia, & cum periculo potius ſumma, quam tuto humilia propoſuit ſequi.* God ſometimes employs mean Inſtruments to carry the moſt important Tranſactions into Execution. In ſuch Caſes the Circumſtances operate quite unexpectedly, as it were of themſelves; whereas, on the other Side, the beſt concerted Meaſures miſcarry †.

5. Of the ill Succeſs of his latter *Italian* Expeditions, *Procopius* ſays farther, *cap.* 5. *Poſt ſecundam ergo Beliſarius in Italiam Expeditionem turpiſſime inde reducitur; cum e navigiis in terram deſcendere, ut ſupra me-*

* *In the ſame Place he requires of a compleat Hero in War, that he poſſeſs:* Eximia belli ſcientia, ſingularis virtus, clariſſima autoritas, EGREGIA FORTUNA.

† *The* Roman *Senat heard* Qu. Fabius Maximus (Liv. XXII. 25.) *with great Coldneſs, when he boaſted:* Propediem effecturum ſe, ut ſciant homines, bono Imperatori haud magni fortunam momenti eſſe: mentem rationemque dominari.

moravi,

moravi, quinquennium totum nequiverit, neque incertum aliquod præſidium ſe recipere, ſed perpetuo maritimam oram claſſe legeret. Certe licet inſane Totilas cuperet; minime tamen illum cum toto Romanorum exercitu, perculſum in aciem deducere potuit. Quare afflictas Italiæ res non reſtituit; quin Romam etiam, & ſi quæ alia reliqua erant, de manibus inſuper amiſit. He goes on, in the ſame Place, to cenſure his Covetouſneſs: *Nihil ex ærario Cæſaris ad hoc bellum illi fuit, proinde hoc tempore profunda laboravit avaritia, omneque ſtudium ad turpe compendium convertit. Sic Italos fere omnes, Ravennates, Siculoſque indigenas expilavit, & ſi quos alios fortuna in ejus poteſtatem conjeciſſet, a quibus, neſcio quo jure, anteactæ vitæ cogitationum pœnas exegit. Sic in Herodianum animadverſurus pecunias petiit, minas omnes intendens; quarum ille pertæſus dictum Romanis ſacramentum exuens, cum ſuis cohortibus ſeque & Spoletum Totilæ, Gothiſque, dedidit.* It ſeems, indeed, to be ſomewhat hard for a General to carry on a War at his own Expence: But *Hannibal*, at a certain Time, was under the Neceſſity of doing it, and yet *Livy* doubted whether he ſhould admire him moſt in his fortunate or unfortunate Days **.

III.

Of the Diſgrace he at laſt fell under.

1. AMONG all the Viciſſitudes of Fortune, which *Beliſarius* experienc'd, the Diſgrace he fell under, in his old Age, gave moſt Occaſion for his being talk'd of. *Agathias* attributes the whole of the Accuſation againſt him to Envy. He boaſts, *Lib.* V. *p.* 561, how *Beliſarius* drove the *Hunns* from before *Conſtantinople*, and then goes on: *Beliſarius autem, tametſi veriſimiliter eos abeuntes majore ſtrage ac damno afficere potuiſſet, utpote homines jam metu perculſos inſectans, quum fugæ ſimilem diſceſſionem facerent; nihilominus tamen ſtatim in urbem rediit, idque non tam ex animi ſui ſententia, quam Imperatoris juſſu. Quum enim, populus univerſus victoria hac ipſis nunciata, eum decantaret, & in conventibus ſummis laudibus efferret, veluti ab illo apertiſſime conſervatus; momordit vero id, peſſimeque habuit, pleroſque primores urbis invidia & livore occupatos, vitiis adeo atrocibus, & ſemper optima quæque labefactantibus. Calumniati itaque ſunt virum, ut arrogantem & popularis auræ blanditiis in ſoleſcentem, altaſque ſpes animo agitantem. Quibus quidem de cauſis citiſſimeque eo ventum eſt, ut non abſolutiſſimam gloriam repor-*

** *Lib.* XXIII. 12. Neſcio, an mirabilior adverſis quam ſecundis rebus fuerit.

taret,

taret, neque ob res præclare abs ſe geſtas debito honore afficeretur; Sed omnis victoriæ laus ei quodammodo e manibus effluxit, quantum in illis erat obliterata, præmiique expers, & in univerſum ſilentio involuta.

2. We muſt here, at the ſame Time, conſult *Theophanes* and *Zonaras*. The latter ſays, *Lib.* XIV. *cap.* 9. *p.* 69. *Cum autem Juſtiniano multorum inſidiæ nunciarentur, quarum etiam Beliſarius patricius eſſet particeps: ſatellites ei omnes ademit, ipſumque domi cuſtodiri juſſit, ejuſque mortui opes in fiſcum omnes ſunt relatæ.* From *Theophanes* * we ſee, that he was, indeed, reſtored to the Emperor's good Graces; but, notwithſtanding that, his Effects were confiſcated after his Death.

3. From hence it is ſelf-evident, that what ſome modern Writers pretend, of his being depriv'd of his Sight and his Effects, at one and the ſame Time, and becoming ſo poor, that he was oblig'd to beg his Bread, is a Fable; as *Alemannus, in not. ad Procopii Anecdota*, and *Du Cange, in not. ad Zonaram, loc. cit.* have already remark'd more circumſtantially.

IV.

Whether the Medals ſaid to be of him are genuine?

1. Among the *Byzantine* Hiſtorians, *Michael Glycas* † and *Cydrenus* **, take Notice that *Juſtinian* cauſed Medals to be ſtruck in Honour to *Beliſarius*, when he put ſo ſucceſsful an End to the *African* War. Some more modern Writers pretend actually to have ſeen them. *Pe. Gyllius*, in his *Topograph. Conſtantinopol. Lib.* II. *p.* 378, ſays, that he had ſuch a Medal in his Hand at *Conſtantinople*. *Nunc vero Circus Conſtantinopoli-*

* Theophanes, *ad An. Juſtiniani* XXXVI. Cæterum, Julii menſis die decimo nono, Patricius Beliſſarius, prioribus cunctis dignitatum honoribus reſtitutus, in gratiam quoque Imperatoris rediit.

Id. *ad An. Juſtiniani* XXXVIII.
Hoc anno, menſe Martio, indictione decima tertia, Patricius Beliſſarius Byzantii moritur facultateſque ejus omnes Imperialibus Marinæ ædibus, & ejus ærario, addictæ.

† *Annal. P.* 4. *p.* 266. Beliſarius ſexcentis victoriis inſignis ad Imperatorem eſt reverſus. Quo factum, ut Imperator eum meritis præmiis honeſtans, propriis in numis, tam aureis, quam argenteis, virum armatum inſculperet, cum gladio ſtricto. Quin etiam triumphum ei ſplendidum apparavit, in quo Gellimer ante ipſum captivus incedebat.

** T. I. *p.* 370. Beliſarius triumphavit in circo, & conſulatum geſſit in Urbe: Adeo autem acceptus fuit Juſtiniano, ut is, percuſſo numo, in altera parte ſe, in altera parte Beliſarium armatum effinxerit: cum inſcriptione hac: Belisarius Romanorum Decus.

tanus

tanus friget, omnibus ornamentis ſpoliatus, nuperque exædificari cœptus eſt: quod me ſpectantem dolor affecit: quem augebat Beliſarii, primum de Rege Vandalorum in Hippodromo triumphantis, deinde ob virtutem ſummam maxime periclitantis, recordatio, quam mihi dabat numiſma, quod tum forte habebam in manibus, in cujus uno latere ſcalptus erat Juſtinianus, Beliſarium excipiens triumphantem, in altero Beliſarii imago cum hoc elogio: GLORIA ROMANORUM BELISARIUS.

2. THERE is another Silver Medal, with the Head of *Beliſarius*, and the Reverſe, *Gothis devictis* *, which differs quite from the Deſcription of the *Greek* Hiſtorians. I leave it to the Deciſion of *Connoiſſeurs* to whoſe Hands they may come †. *F. Banduri*, who had ſeen the latter, declares them both to be ſpurious, *in Comment. in Anon. Antiquit.* Conſtantinop. p. 778. ſq. *Unde crederem laudatum numum, quem olim poſſidebat Pet. Gyllius, ex eadem officina prodiiſſe, ex qua prodiit alter argenteus, quem Pariſiis nacti ſumus; in cujus quidem numi parte anteriori cernitur Beliſarius barbatus cum galea, ad pectus cum chlamyde, ubi legitur hæc inſcriptio:* BELISARIUS. *In altera vero parte viſitur figura muliebris ad dextram gradiens, dextra geſtans coronam lauream, ſiniſtra palmam: cum hac inſcriptione:* GOTHIS DEVICTIS. *Sed hunc numum ſuppoſititium quidem eſſe non dubito, uti ſuo loco pluribus de hac re adnotabimus.*

* Ap. PAUL PETAVIUM in Supell. Antiqu. in Monſ. SALENGRE's Theſaur. nov. Antiqu. Rom. T. II. p. 1038.

† *It happen'd, beſides, very ſeldom, that the Emperors granted this Favour to any one. Tho' we find, in* F. Banduri, T. II. p. 570, *a* Medaillon *of Copper, with a* Buſto *of Emperor* Valentinian III, *on the Reverſe of which, is the famous Count* Boniface, *in Triumph: As likewiſe,* p. 573, *another Medal of the ſame Emperor, on which is repreſented* Petronius Maximus, *V. C. Conſul.*

XX. ANNOTATION.

Of NARSES.

I.

The good Qualities of Narſes.

1. IF we may believe what *Procopius* and *Agathias* * ſay of *Narſes*, he is a Contradiction to the Opinion of thoſe who believe, that the Operation made upon Eunuchs renders them unfit for great Actions †. What *Claudian* reproaches in *Rufinus* is not applicable to him.

- - - - penituſque ſupremum
In cerebrum ſecti traxerunt frigora nervi.

We can, with more Safety, give Credit to theſe Hiſtorians; becauſe the Victories he obtain'd over *Totilas* and *Tejas*, alone ſhew him to have

* *The Paſſage from* Procopius, *I have given above*, XIII. 15. not. 1. Agathias *ſays of him:* Erat enim Narſes inprimis mente validus, acer, ſolerſque, aptare ſe temporibus: & quanquam litteris tinctus non erat, nec ad eloquentiam exercitus, compenſabat hæc ingenii felicitate, nec conſiliis exprimendis verba deerant, mirum in ſpadone, interque aulæ delicias educato. Corpus illi natura breve, curatura etiam gracile, ſed fortior & celſior, quam credi poſſet, animus. Adeo ubicunque libertas generoſa in pectore eſt, ne quis vir ſit optimus, cætera non impediunt.

† *Whatever has been ſaid, either by Natural Philoſophers or Hiſtorians, to the Advantage or Diſadvantage of Eunuchs, and how much the Laws have oppos'd this Operation, is diſcuſs'd by* Heribertus, *in a particular Treatiſe, entitled,* Eunuchi, nati, facti, myſtici. Divon. 1655. 4.

been

been a great General. On the other Hand, *Evagrius* confines himſelf to extol his Devotion, and hardly finds any Room for other Virtues **.

2. IN the Inſcription erected to his Honour (XIII. 25.) he is called, *Ex Præpoſito S. Palatii* EXCONS. *atque Patritius.* The Law of *Theodoſius Junior* ††, that no Eunuch ſhould be honoured with the *Patriciat*, muſt therefore have given Way to the Valour and Succeſs of *Narſes:* But for his Title of *Conſul*, it was merely honorary.

3. THE *Eaſt* had been long accuſtom'd to *Eunuchs*, not only at Court, but in the Army; as we have likewiſe more modern Inſtances, in thoſe Parts *: But *Narſes* could never gain the Affection of the *Romans*. The Pomp of the *Patriciat* ſeems the leſs becoming him †, becauſe he had render'd himſelf more particularly obnoxious by his Extortions; Complaints of which we ſhall find in the Sequel.

** *Lib.* IV. *cap.* 23. De Narſete, qui familiariter cum eo vixere, illud perhibent, ita ipſum ex divino numine pependiſſe, atque id omnis generis pietate coluiſſe, & Virginem, eandemque Dei genetricem ita veneratum eſſe, ut illa manifeſto illi apparens, quando prælium commitendum eſſet, præciperet, neque illum facile prius in aciem deſcendiſſe, quam tempus opportunum ab ea cognoviſſet.

†† SUIDAS *obſerves* in voce Ευνοῦχος: Imperator, Theodoſius minor, Antiocho præpoſito iratus edictum promulgavit, ne eunuchus inter Patricios cenſeretur.

* *In the* Eaſt *we find more Examples of* Eunuchs, *who gave Proofs of their Valour in War. In the Reign of* Juſtinian, *we have given Inſtances above,* XIII. 15. *In more modern Times,* Sultan Solyman's *General is famous, of whom I ſhall here add the Words of* Thuanus. *He ſays of him,* Lib. XVII. Erat Halis Eunuchus, ſed corporis defectum animo penſabat, &c. *Among other Things, he obſerves the Anſwer he gave, when Advice was brought him of the Loſs of the City of* Gran. Ejus rei cum trepidus nuncius ad eum veniſſet, ipſa vultus conſternatione magnum aliquod malum profeſſus, purpuratus non ſine circumſtantium riſu conſternationi nuncii illudens, & Strigonii, quod nullo negotio recuperari poſſet, amiſſionem elevans, his verbis eum excepiſſe dicitur. Quam tu mihi cladem ingentem, fatue, quod tantum incommodum narras? ea demum mihi clades deploranda contigit, cum hinc (genitalium ſedem oſtentans) ea membra ademta ſunt, quibus vir eram.

† Spado Romuleo ſuccinctus amictu.

II.

He is recall'd out of Italy; *but dies, in the mean Time, at* Rome.

An. 571.

1. EMPEROR *Juſtin* recall'd *Narſes* out of *Italy*. *Marius ad An.* II. *Juſtini: Hoc anno Narſes, Ex Præpoſito & Patricio, poſt tantos proſtratos Tyrannos, id eſt, Baduilam & Tejam, Reges Gothorum, & Buccelenum, Ducem Francorum, nec non & Sindevalem Erolum; Mediolanum vel reliquas civitates, quas Gothi deſtruxerant, laudabiliter reparatas; de ipſa Italia a ſupraſcripto Auguſto remotus eſt.* But *F. Pagius* obſerves, *ad An.* 567. *N.* 5, that *Marius* miſtakes the Year, and that *Narſes* was already recall'd about the Year 566. Tho' it is to little Purpoſe to diſpute about the preciſe Year when this happen'd.

2. CERTAIN, however, it is, that *Narſes* did not return to *Conſtantinople*; but died at *Rome*. *Anaſtaſius, in vit. Johannis*, has ſome memorable Circumſtances, from which we, at the ſame Time, diſcover the Diſaffection of the *Romans* to him. *Ut cognovit Johannes Papa, quia ſuggeſtionem ſuam ad Imperatorem contra Narſetem Senatorem miſiſſent Romani, feſtinus venit Neapolim: cœpiteum Joannes Papa rogare, ut reverteretur Romam. Tunc Narſes dixit ei: Dic, Sanctiſſime Papa, quid male feci Romanis? Vadam ad pedes ejus, qui me miſit, ut cognoſcat Italia, quomodo totis viribus laboravi pro ea. Reſpondit Joannes Papa, dicens: citius ego vadam, quam tu de hac terra egreſſus fueris. Reverſus ergo eſt Narſes cum Joanne Sanctiſſimo Papa. Hinc Sanctiſſimus Papa retinuit ſe in cœmeterio SS. Tiburtii & Valeriani, & habitavit ibi multum temporis, ut etiam Epiſcopos ibi conſecraret. Narſes vero ingreſſus Romam, non poſt multum temporis mortuus eſt, cujus corpus poſitum eſt in locello plumbeo, & reductæ ſunt omnes divitiæ ejus Conſtantinopolim.* *Pagius* places his Death in the Year 571.

3. *AGNELLUS*, an Author, who indeed lived in the ninthCentury; but who made Uſe of more ancient Intelligences, writes, among other Things: *in Vita Agnelli, Epiſcopi Ravennatis* XXVII. *Tertio vero anno Juſtini minoris, Imperatoris, Narſis Patritius de Ravenna evocitatus, egreſſus*

greſſus eſt cum divitiis omnibus Italiæ, & fuit Rector XVI. annis, & vicit duos Reges Gothorum, & Duces Francorum jugulavit gladio. And farther; *ad An.* V. *Juſtini: Narſis Patritius obiit Romæ, poſtquam geſſit multas victorias in Italia, cum denudatione omnium Romanorum.*

III.

Whether he invited the Longobards *into* Italy?

(*Ad* XIV. 6.)

1. WE ſhould have yet leſs Reaſon to concern ourſelves about his being recalled, if there was not a general Report, that he, out of Deſpair, on that Account, enticed the *Longobards* to come into *Italy*. Some ancient Writers relate this Matter, with the following Circumſtances: The Empreſs *Sophia* having, at the ſame Time, ſent him a Spindle, with the reproachful Meſſage, that, for the future, he ſhould, in the Habit of a Woman, have the Inſpection over ſuch Kind of Work, *Narſes* declared he would begin ſuch a Web, that ſhould furniſh the Empreſs with Work for all her Life-time; and that he thereupon excited the *Longobards*, to exchange their miſerable Territories of *Pannonia*, for wealthy *Italy*; and to encourage them the more to it, ſent them all Sorts of *Italian* Fruits. The Words of *Paulus* are, *Lib.* II. *cap.* 5. *Deleta, ut dictum eſt, vel ſuperata Narſes omni Gothorum gente, Hunnis quoque, de quibus diximus, pari modo devictis, dum multum auri, ſive argenti, ſeu ceterarum ſpecierum divitias adquiſiſſet, magnam a Romanis, pro quibus multa contra eorum hoſtes laboraverat, invidiam pertulit, qui contra eum Juſtino Auguſto, & ejus conjugi Sophiæ; in hæc verba ſuggeſſerunt, dicentes: Quia expedierat Romanis, Gothis potius ſervire, quam Græcis, ubi Narſes imperat eunuchus, & nos ſervitio premit, & hæc noſter piiſſimus princeps ignorat: Aut libera nos de manu ejus, aut certe & urbem Romam, & noſmet ipſos gentibus trademus. Cumque hæc Narſes audiſſet, hæc breviter retulit verba: Si male feci cum Romanis, male inveniam. Tunc Auguſtus in tantum adverſus Narſetem commotus eſt, ut ſtatim in Italiam Longinum mitteret præfectum, qui Narſetis locum obtineret. Narſes vero his cognitis valde pertimuit; & in tantum maxime ab eadem Sophia Auguſta territus eſt, ut regredi ultra Conſtantinopolim non auderet. Cui illa inter cetera, quia eunuchus erat, hæc fertur mandaſſe, ut eum in gynæceo lanarum faceret penſa dividere. Ad quæ verba Narſes dicitur hæc reſponſa dediſſe: Talem ſe eidem telam orditurum, qualem ipſa, dum viveret, depo-*

nere

nere non poſſet. Itaque odio metuque exagitatus, in Neapolitanam civitatem ſecedens, legatos mox ad Longobardorum gentem dirigit, mandans, ut paupertina Pannoniæ rura deſererent, & ad Italiam, cunctis refertam divitiis, poſſidendam venirent. Simulque multimoda pomorum genera, aliarumque rerum ſpecies, quarum Italia ferax eſt, mittit, quatenus eorum ad veniendum animos poſſet illicere.

2. *FREDEGARIUS* relates it almoſt in the ſame Manner, *Epit.* 65. *Narſis Patritius minis Juſtini imperatoris, ejuſque Auguſtæ, Sophiæ, perterritus, eo quod Auguſta ei adparatum ex auro factum muliebre, eo quod eunuchus erat, cum quo filaret, direxit, & penſilarios regeret non populos. At ille reſpondet: Filium filabo, de quo Juſtinus Imperator, nec Auguſta ad caput venire non poſſunt. Tunc Longobardos a Pannoniis invitans, cum Alboëno rege Italiam introduxit.* So likewiſe ANASTASIUS *in Johanne* III: *Tunc Romani, invidia ducti, ſuggeſtionem fecerunt Juſtiniano & Sophiæ, quia expedierat Romanis Gothis ſervire, quam Græcis, ubi Narſes eunuchus imperat, & ſervitio nos ſubjicit: Aut libera nos de manu ejus, & civitatem Romanam, aut certe nos gentibus deſerviemus. Quo audito, Narſes dicit: ſi male feci Romanis, male inveniam. Tunc egreſſus Narſes de Roma venit Campaniam, & ſcripſit genti Longobardorum, ut venirent & poſſiderent Italiam.* Theſe three Teſtimonies agree ſo exactly, even in the very Words, that they may, as it were, be looked upon as one and the ſame.

3. *F. PAGIUS, ad A.* 567. *n.* 7. quotes a Paſſage, from a Manuſcript Chronicle, whoſe Author, *Mellitus*, lived about the Year 614. *Narſis Patricius, poſtquam ſub Juſtiniano Auguſto, Tutilano Gothorum Regem in Italia ſuperavit, Sophiæ Auguſtæ, Juſtini conjugis, minis perterritus, Longobardos a Pannoniis invitavit, eoſque in Italiam perducit. Iſidorus* likewiſe mentions the ſame Circumſtances, as does likewiſe the co-eval Author of an ancient Chronicle, publiſhed by *Em. a Scheelſtraten*, out of the *Vatican* Library; and theſe are followed by *Sigebertus, Hermannus Contractus*, and other more modern Writers.

4. ON the other Hand, *Baronius, ad An.* 568. *n.* 10, and *Valeſius, T.* II. *p.* 37. have called theſe Relations in Queſtion; and the very Circumſtances themſelves render them ſuſpicious. Among others, *Narſes* had no Occaſion to ſend the Fruits of the Land, to entice them to come to *Italy*; ſince they were before well enough acquainted with that Country. (XIII. 15, 17.) The Teſtimony of *Anaſtaſius*, that he died in Peace, at

at *Rome*, and that Pope *John* always preſerved a high Eſteem for him, do not ſo well agree with the pretended open Intelligence with the *Longobards*. Probably the whole Story has no other Grounds but an uncertain Report. The Populace, at all unexpected Revolutions, are very apt to dream of Poiſon and Treachery; and might be the more ready to lay ſuch Things to the Charge of *Narſes*, as his Diſcontent was publickly known, and the *Longobards* invaded *Italy* at the ſame Time.

XXI. ANNOTATION.

The Remainder of the OSTRO-GOTHS.

Ad XIII. 25.

1. AS, among the Kingdoms, which the *Germans* eſtabliſhed in the *Roman* Provinces, that of the *Oſtro-Goths* made the greateſt Figure, the Overthrow of it is the more memorable. How numerous this Nation was, we may conjecture, from the Aſſignment that was made them of the third Part of the cultivated Lands in *Italy*. (XI.42.) War being their Occupation, we may eaſily conceive, that the unhappy Circumſtances thereof were of themſelves ſufficient to exhauſt the Nation, eſpecially as their Armies ſuffered ſo greatly, many of their Chiefs ſubmitted voluntarily to the Emperor, and many were carried away Captive with *Vitiges*. (XII. 22.) The Number of the *Goths*, who afterwards reſumed their Courage, under *Ildebad*, was very ſmall. (XII. 23.) The Overthrows they ſuffered in following Times, eſpecially after *Tejas* was kill'd, put an End to their Kingdom: (XIII. 20.) And as for thoſe who, from Time to Time, ſubmitted to the Emperors, they remained peaceably under their Subjection; and perhaps, likewiſe, many ſingle Perſons afterwards joined the *Longobards*; ſo that nothing remained that could make the Appearance of a Nation.

2. BUT as *Procopius* makes mention, that after the Overthrow of *Tejas*, his Troops capitulated for a Retreat out of *Italy*, (XIII. 20. *not.* 3.) it naturally excites our Curioſity to enquire, whether any Footſteps are to be traced out of theſe *Goths*. It is believed, in *Swiſſerland*, that the Inhabitants of the Canton of *Uri* are deſcended from them. *Stumpf* appeals for this to the ancient Tradition of the Land-holders *: Tho' Tradition as often propagates Falſehood as Truth.

* Beſchreib. der Eydgenoſſen, &c. fol. 450. add. DELICES DE LA SUISSE, *p.* 316.

3. *NI-*

3. *NICHOLAS PETREIUS*, in his *Origines Cimbrorum & Gothorum*, *p.* 100. *ſq.* has the Aſſurance to pretend to perſuade the World, that theſe *Goths* returned to the Iſland of *Gothland*. His Words are: *Confecto igitur bello Gothico Principes, concilio convocato, quid porro agendum ſit, deliberant. Pronuntiatis itaque libere ſententiis, ſtatuunt, non indecorum fore, ſi ſub Romana militia, quibus ita fert animus, ſtipendia facerent; reliquis autem, quo patrius ſervetur honos libertaſque, tentare conſulant, ſi qua ratione, quave via in Gothlandiam & primævas ſedes pervenire queant. Dimiſſo concilio in duas partes Gothorum exercitus diviſus eſt, quarum altera Romanæ militiæ adſcripta in Italia remanſit, altera occaſionem captans, qua ſeſe tuto itineri mandare poterat, non deſtitit, donec* GOTHLANDIAM, *ſolumque, ex quo natales traxit, denuo ingreſſa eſt.* He gives more particular Circumſtances, *p.* 103. *Porro reliquiæ Gothorum circa annum Chriſti quingenteſimum quinquageſimum ſeptimum in Gothlandiam redeuntes a gentilibus ſuis perquam amice ſuſcepti ſunt, cum quod peſtis, quæ paulo ante tempore Juſtiniani Imperatoris graſſata eſt, miſerabili ſtrage Gothlandiam affeciſſet, tum quia a vicinis & præſertim orientalibus populis, Livoniam, Curlandiam & Eſtiam incolentibus piratica infeſtabantur. Provinciam, quæ illis a Gothlandis conceſſa eſt,* ROMAM *appellavere, ut nomen Romanum ſaltem apud illos maneret, qui caput orbis totius afflixerant. Hoc in loco apud Gothos poſtea exſtructum eſt monaſterium ordinis Benedictini, cujus templum totum marmoreum erat.* But this Treatiſe of *Petreius* is full of ſtrange Conceits; which neither have any Foundation in the ancient Hiſtorians, nor agree with the Circumſtance of real Hiſtory.

XXII. ANNOTATION.

Of the Kingdom of the GEPIDÆ.

I.

The Original, and moſt Ancient Hiſtory of the GEPIDÆ.

1. THE *Gepidæ* were of the ſame Extraction, and had the ſame Language and Manners, as the *Goths*, *Vandals*, and *Burgundians*, (V. 33. X. 6.) and the Traces we find of them are in the Hiſtories of theſe Nations.

2. So we find, that their King *Faſtida* was defeated by *Oſtro-Gotha*, King of the *Goths*. (V. 33, 5.) And, at another Time, they are reckon'd among the *Gothick* Nations, who went from the *Nieſter*, into the *Black Sea*. (V. 44.)

3. *PROBUS* conquered, at one and the ſame Time, the *Greutungi*, *Vandali*, and *Gepidæ*. (V. 55.)

4. *MAMERTINUS*, in his Panegyrick on the Emperor *Maximinian*, when he ſpeaks of the Domeſtick Wars, which, at that Time, put the *Northern* Parts of *Germany* in Motion, mentions likewiſe the *Vandals* and *Gepidæ*, as being attacked by the *Thuringians* and *Taifali*. (VI. 6.)

5. *JEROM* reckons them among thoſe Nations who invaded *Gaul*, *An.* 407. (VII. 16. *n.* 1.)

6. THEY underwent the ſame Fate as the *Oſtro-Goths*, and became ſubject to the *Huns*. Their King, *Ardaric*, is particularly famous in *Attila's*

Attila's Hiſtory, and was preſent at the Battle *in Campis Catalaunicis.* (*Ibid.* 28.)

II.

Ardaric, *after* Attila's *Death, eſtabliſhes a new Kingdom in* Dacia.

1. THE ſame *Ardaric*, after the Power of *Attila* fell with him, gave the Kingdom of the *Gepidæ* a new Splendor. He threw off the Yoke the *Hunns* had laid upon his Nation, beat the Sons of *Attila* out of the Field, and made himſelf Maſter of *Ancient Dacia.* He ſtrengthened himſelf in the Poſſeſſion of it by an Alliance with the Emperor *Marcian.* (*Ibid.*) The *Gepidæ* received a certain annual Subſidy from the Emperors, in Conſideration of their ſerving the *Roman* Empire, or, at leaſt, to prevent their infeſting the adjacent Territories.

2. AT the ſame Time, likewiſe, many other Nations had ſhook off the Yoke of the *Hunns*, and ſought new Habitations. The *Rugi* ſettled in the Neighbourhood of the *Gepidæ*, on the River *Morava.* (X. 7.) Others forced their Way into *Pannonia*, and took the Field againſt one another, on which Occaſion the *Gepidæ* aſſiſted the *Oſtro-Goths* againſt the *Scirri* and *Suevi.* (X. 10.)

3. THEY afterwards extended themſelves beyond the *Danube*; eſpecially in thoſe Parts where the two Cities of *Sirmium* and *Singedunum* were ſituated. A Party of *Heruli* likewiſe joined them, after this Nation was vanquiſhed by the *Longobards.* (XIII. 1. *ſq.*)

4. WHEN *Theodoric*, King of the *Oſtro-Goths*, led his Nation out of *Thrace* into *Italy*, **Trafſtila*, King of the *Gepidæ*, endeavoured to oppoſe his March, but was kill'd, in a bloody Battle, not far from the *Paludes Volc.* (or *Platten-See*) a Lake, ſeveral *German* Miles in Length, between the Cities of *Caniſia* and *Stuhl-Weiſſenburg*, (or *Albâ Julia*) in *Lower Hungary.* (XI. 13. *add.* XIII. 4.) * An. 489.

5. AS long as the Kingdom of the *Goths*, in *Italy*, ſubſiſted, their Kings knew how to keep the *Gepidæ* in Awe. And here we may apply what *Caſſiodorus* ſays in Praiſe of *Amalaſwintha*, VAR. XI. 1. *In ipſis quoque primordiis, (quando ſemper novitas incerta tentatur) contra Orientis Principis votum, Romanum fecit eſſe Danubium. Notum eſt, quæ pertu-*

lerint invaſores; quæ ideo prætermittenda dijudico, ne genius ſocialis Principis verecundiam ſuſtineat perditoris. Quid enim de noſtris partibus ſenſerit, hinc datur intelligi, quando pacem contulit læſus, quam aliis concedere noluit exoratus. Additur, quod tantis nos legationibus tam raro requiſitus ornavit; & ſingularis illa potentia, ut Italicos Dominos erigeret, reverentiam Eoi culminis inclinavit. See a farther Proof, XIII. 4. *n.* 3.

III.

Their Differences with the Longobards, *in the Reign of* Juſtinian; *as likewiſe with the* Hunns, Sclaveni, *&c.*

1. AFTER *Juſtinian* made War with the *Oſtro-Goths*, and took from them what they poſſeſſed in *Pannonia*; but could not well People the habitable Places, the *Gepidæ* extended their Dominions more and more. (XIII. 4.)

2. THE Emperor therefore with-held the uſual Subſidies, and ſuffer'd the *Longobards* to come into *Pannonia*, who waged a bloody War with the *Gepidæ*, eſpecially about the City of *Sirmium*. (XIII. 4.) About this Time *Elemundus* ruled over the *Gepidæ*, and after him *Thoriſinus*. (Ib.)

3. THE latter ſuffered, in the Year 551, or the Beginning of the following Year, a ſignal Overthrow, from *Audoin*, King of the *Longobards*, (XIII. 8.) to whom *Juſtinian* ſent ſome Succours, under the Conduct of *Amalafrid*, Prince of the *Thuringians*.

4. THESE Wars occaſioned great Devaſtations in the Territories of *Illyricum*, and, at the ſame Time, gave an Opportunity to the *Sclavi* and *Hunns*, but more particularly to the *Abari*, to make Excurſions at Pleaſure. Hence we find theſe Nations ſo often mentioned, in the Hiſtory of the *Gepidæ*, about this Time. (XIII. 7, 8.)

IV.

When the Kingdom of the Gepidæ *was overthrown?*

Ad XIII. 8. *n.* 2. and XIV. 3.

1. *PAGIUS* is of Opinion, that the ſignal Overthrow, I mention-

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ed above, brought on, at the ſame Time, the Ruin of the whole Nation, and therefore reckons it in the Year 552. There is, however, no Doubt, but that it did not happen till the Reign of *Juſtin*, the Succeſſor of *Juſtinian*.

2. FOR, at the Beginning of his Reign, the *Gepidæ* were ſtill reckoned among thoſe Nations, whoſe Arms the *Roman* Empire had Reaſon to be apprehenſive of*. Soon afterwards the *Longobards* and the *Abari* concluded the Alliance, that proved ſo fatal to the *Gepidæ*, of which I ſhall here ſubjoin a Proof.

3. *MENANDER* gives a circumſtantial Account, how *Cunemund*, King of the *Gepidæ*, applied to *Juſtin* for Succours, when *Alboin*, King of the *Longobards*, entered into a League with the *Abari* againſt him, *p.* 110. B. *Alboinus, Longobardorum Rex, (nec enim inimicitias, quas cum Cunemundo, Gepidarum rege exercebat, deponebat, ſed quacunque ratione Gepidarum opes ſibi evertendas ducebat) legatos ad Bajanam miſit, quibus eum ad armorum ſocietatem adhortabatur. Legati cum adveniſſent, precibus cum Bajano, Abarorum duce, agebant, ne ſe contemneret, qui nefanda omnia a Gepidis paſſi erant, quin etiam & a Romanis, Abarorum genti quam infeſtiſſimis, qui Gepidas bello juvaſſent. Neque tam ardenti ſtudio in Gepidas bello ferri, niſi ut Juſtinum labefacerent, regem omnium Abaris inimiciſſimum. Is fœdera non ita dudum, cum Juſtiniano, ejus patruo, tranſacta pro nihilo habens, Abaros conſuetis muneribus privaverat. Adjecit, ſi cum Longobardis ſe conjungerent, fore, ut invicti eſſent, & Gepidis exterminatis, eorum opibus & regione communiter potirentur. Tum in poſterum tota Scythia ſubacta, beatam vitam traducerent. Inde facile illis fore Thraciam occupare, & ex vicinis locis moventes, minimo negotio Romanorum regiones armis percurrere, & Byzantium uſque ferri. Dixerunt quoque Longobardorum legati, Abaris expedire Romanos pugna prævenire. Si enim illis res ad voluntatem fluxerint, quoque Abari terrarum conſtiterint, illos perſecuturos, & quacunque ratione deleturos. Bajanus legatos quidem Longobardorum excepit, ſed viſus eſt eos parvi facere, ut ea ratione, conditionibus, quæ ſuis rationibus utiles eſſent, ad armorum ſocietatem ſecum contrahendam pelliceret. Et modo ſe non poſſe, modo poſſe*

*CORIPPUS de laud. Juſtini minor. Lib. I. *where he introduces* Juſtin *haranguing at the Obſequies of* Juſtinian.

En Arabes, Francique truces, Gypideſque, Getæque,
Totque aliæ Gentes, commotis undique ſignis,
Bella movent. Qua vi tantos ſuperabimus hoſtes,
Cum virtus Romana jacet!

jactabat,

jactabat, ſed nolle. Cumque ſe in omnes partes dicendo verſaret, & precantes omni fraudis genere concuſſiſſet, magna cum difficultate ſtatuit, eorum petitioni aſſentiri, ſed non alia conditione, quam ſi decimam partem quadrupedum, quæ tunc temporis apud Longobardos eſſent, confeſtim acciperet, ſi ſuperiores evaderent, dimidium manubiorum, & tota Gepidarum regio ejus juri cederet. Atque hæc cum ita conventa eſſent, bellum inferre Gepidis deincips inſtituerunt. Quæ ubi Cunimundus intellexit, dicitur, timore perculſus, legatos quoque miſiſſe ad Juſtinum Imperatorem, & eum eſſe obteſtatum, ut, non minus quam antea, in partem periculi veniret. Tum rurſus, ut illi Sirmium, & omnem regionem, quæ inter Dravum fluvium eſt, concederet. Neque pudore afficiebatur, quod contrarium faceret his, quæ juraſſet, neque jurejurando ſtaret, & pareret. Ex quo cum Imperator perſpiceret, & conjiceret ex his, quæ evenerant, nihil ineſſe Conimundo fidei minime illi quidem denegandum auxilium, ſed dilatione & procraſtinatione, petitionem ejus ducendam exiſtimavit. Reſpondit enim, per varias provincias diſperſos eſſe Romanorum exercitus. Cum celeritate & ſtudio illos accerſiturum, & quam citiſſime ſuppetias miſſurum.

Alboin *vanquiſhes* Cunemund. *Downfall of the Kingdom of the* Gepidæ.

4. THE Battle itſelf, in which *Alboin* vanquiſhed *Cunemund*, is deſcribed by *Paulus*, Lib. I. c. 27. *Obiit interea Tariſendus, Rex Gepidorum, cui ſucceſſit Cunimundus in regno. Qui vindicare veteres Gepidarum injurias cupiens, rupto cum Longobardis fœdere, bellum potius, quam pacem elegit. Alboin vero cum Abaribus, qui primum Huni, poſtea a Regis proprio nomine Abares appellati ſunt, fœdus perpetuum iniit, dehinc ad præparatum a Gepidis bellum profectus eſt. Qui cum adverſus eum e diverſo properarent, Abares ut cum Alboin ſtatuerant, eorum patriam invaſerunt. Triſtis ad Cunimundum nuncius veniens, invaſiſſe Abares ejus terminos edicit. Qui proſtratus animo, & utrinque in anguſtiis poſitus, hortatur tamen ſuos primum cum Longobardis confligere: Quos ſi ſuperare valerent, demum Hunnorum exercitum e patria pellerent. Committitur ergo prælium, pugnatumque eſt totis viribus. Longobardi victores effecti ſunt, tanta in Gepidos ira ſævientes, ut eos ad internecionem uſque delerent, atque ex copioſa multitudine, vix nuncius ſupereſſet. In eo prælio Alboin Cunimundum occidit, caputque illius ſublatum, ad bibendum ex eo poculum fecit, quod genus poculi apud eos* ſcala *dicitur, lingua vero latina patera vocitatur. Cujus filiam, nomine Roſimundam, cum magna ſimul multitudine diverſi ſexus & ætatis, duxit captivam. Quam, quia Clotſuinda obierat, in ſuam, ut poſt patuit, perniciem, duxit uxorem.*

5. ON

5. On Account of the Succours, which *Abari* lent *Alboin*, their *Can (in Menander, p. 130. D.)* boasts, that his Nation rooted out the *Gepidæ*: For when he demanded the City of *Sirmium* of the *Romans*, he made Use of the following Argument. *Se jure id facere, quia Gepidarum prius hæc insula fuit, quorum res & urbes justius Abares sibi vindicare possunt, qui eos devicerunt, quam Romani.* And, *p. 154. C. Dicebat enim & omnes Gepidas in suum jus, dominiumque venisse, quia eos vicerat.*

Dispersion of the Gepidæ.

6. In the Answer, which Emperor *Justin* then gave the *Abari*, we likewise find some Circumstances of the *Gepidæ*; from whence we may conclude, that, after the Overthrow, Part of them submitted to the Emperor, and Part remain'd with the *Abari*, *p. 155. C. Qui enim imperatoriam majestatem ante nos administravit, Gepidas, huc illuc dispersos, in unum congregavit, & illis regionem circa Sirmium, quam incolerent, distribuit. Deinde exorto inter ipsos & Longobardos bello, periculo suorum, ut par erat, participavit, & Romanorum manu & auxilio Gepidæ, qui sine ope nostra servi fuissent effecti, victoriam reportarunt. Deinde mala mente, & malo animo benefactoribus suis graves & molesti fuerunt, & pro beneficiis in eos collatis, insidias, in quo nulla venia digni sunt, nobis struxerunt, Romanis tamen minime visum est, afflictis eorum rebus insultare. Nec enim illis moris est, dignas pœnas peccatis exposcere, sed magis contemnere. Postea accidit, ut ab aliis funditus everterentur. Cum igitur non aliter se res habeant, si nos isto nomine dignos reprehensione censetis, cum eos, qui nostri optimo jure fuerunt, possideatis, a nobis eadem in vos retorquentur. Vos enim Oudisbadon *, nos Gepidas, & eos, qui ex his reliqui sunt, a vobis repetimus.* That some of the *Gepidæ* likewise march'd with the *Longobards* into *Italy*, we shall see below, by the Testimony of *Agnellus*.

7. In this Manner the Nation of the *Gepidæ* was dispers'd, and this gives us a fresh Instance, how easy a People, whose State is grounded merely on War, may be overthrown. That Constitution is more perfect and durable, where Religion, Polity, and Commerce induce every individual Person to take a Part in the Welfare of his Country.

* *Perhaps this is to be understood of* Asbadus *and his* Gepidæ, *who are mentioned,* XIII. 15. not. 3.

XXIII. A N-

XXIII. ANNOTATION.

Of the LONGOBARDS; *of their firſt Kings; and the Foundation of their Kingdom in* Italy.

I.

Original of the Longobards.

1. I HAVE admitted above, (XI. 49.) that the *Longobards*, who founded a new Kingdom in *Italy*, in the ſixth Century, were a Colony of thoſe, which are mentioned by *Tacitus*, *Strabo*, and *Ptolemy*, among the *Swabian* Nations. The Account we find of their Manners, and the Language they brought with them into *Italy*, confirm their being of *German* Extraction.

2. WE might expect a better Account than we have from *Paulus Diaconus*, who was himſelf of that Nation. He was firſt Deacon of the Church at *Aquileja*, or rather *Friuli*, and Chancellor of their laſt King, *Deſiderius*; but was taken Priſoner by *Charlemaign*, at the ſame Time with his Maſter, and reſided ſome Time at his Court, where he wrote his *Hiſtoria Epiſcoporum Metenſium*. He afterwards went into a Monaſtery at *Caſino*, in which he died, about the Year 799. In this Retirement, he compil'd his Treatiſe *de Geſtis Longobardorum*, which we juſtly allow valid, in thoſe Tranſactions which approach nearer to his Time.

3. BUT with Regard to the Original of his Country-men, and what happen'd to them before they came into *Italy*, *Paulus* had but poor Intelligence; notwithſtanding it is believed, that he had the Uſe of the *Hiſtoria Longobardorum*, written by *Secundus*, who liv'd at *Trent*, ſoon after the

the Invaſion of the *Longobards* *. In this, however, he deſerves our Approbation, that he ſuppoſes them to have come out of *Germania Magna* †, the common Country of ſo many other Nations, who overwhelmed the *Roman Empire*. *Ab hac ergo populoſa Germania, ſæpe innumerabiles captivorum turmæ deductæ meridianis populis pretio diſtrahuntur; multæ quoque ex ea, pro eo, quod tantos mortalium germinat, quantos alere vix ſufficit, ſæpe gentes egreſſæ ſunt, quæ nihilominus & partes Aſiæ, ſed maxime ſibi contiguam Europam, afflixerunt. Teſtantur hic ubique urbes erutæ, per totum Illyricum Galliamque. Sed maxime miſera Italia, quæ pene omnium illarum gentium eſt experta ſævitiam. Gothi ſiquidem, Vandalique, Rugi, Heruli, atque Turcilingi, nec non etiam aliæ feroces & barbaræ nationes e Germania prodierunt.* † c. 1.

4. In the following Chapter, he, in particular, remarks, that they came out of *Scandinavia*. *Pari etiam modo, & Winilorum, hoc eſt, Longobardorum gens, quæ poſtea in Italia feliciter regnavit, a Germanorum populis originem ducens, licet & aliæ cauſſæ egreſſionis eorum aſſeverentur, ab inſula, quæ Scandinavia dicitur adventavit, cujus etiam inſulæ Plinius Secundus, in libris, quos de natura rerum compoſuit, mentionem facit* ‡.

5. But he knows as little what to make of *Scandinavia* ‖, as *Fredegarius* *, who mentions this ſame Extraction. In general, the firſt Chapters of his Work *de Geſtis Longobardorum*, is ſo full of abſurd Fables, that they hardly merit our making great Enquiry into them. I ſhall leave this to *Mythologiſts*; and lay the Foundation of our Hiſtory on thoſe certain *Epochs*, from which we can relate their Migrations with Truth.

* MURATORIO *ſays, in his Preface to the new Edition*: Præ oculis etiam habuit Hiſtoriam Longobardicam, a Secundo Tridentino eodem ſeculo ſcriptam, quo in Italiam Longobardi eruperunt. Paulus *himſelf mentions this* Secundus, Lib. III. c. 28, *and* Lib. IV. c. 28.

‡ In ed. LINDENBROG. Originem ducens e Scandinavia Baltei, ſeu Baltici maris inſula, novarum ſedium quærendarum gratia, ob multitudinem profecta eſt, licet aliæ cauſæ egreſſiones ejus aſſeverentur.

‖ *We need but have Recourſe to the Deſcription he gives of it*: Hæc ergo inſula, ſicut retulerunt nobis, qui eam luſtraverunt, non tam in mari eſt poſita, quam marinis fluctibus, propter planitiem marginum, terras ambientium circumfuſa.

* *FREDEGARIUS, who made Uſe of the ſame Intelligences, that* Paulus Diaconus had, *ſays*, cap. 65. Longobardorum gens, priuſquam hoc nomen adſumeret, exientes de SCHATANAVIA, QUÆ EST INTER DANUBIUM ET MARE OCEANUM, cum uxoribus & liberis, mare tranſmeant.

II.

They approach the Danube. *Their King* Tato *defeats the* Heruli.

1. WE have no Certainty in the Hiſtory of *Paulus Diaconus*, till we come to the 19th Chapter; but from thence other ancient Hiſtorians, and particularly *Procopius*, come in to the Aſſiſtance of it. From this Time we may give an Account that may be depended on, of the Migrations of the *Longobards*; and, at the ſame Time, a Series of their Kings †. After *Odoacer*, King of *Italy*, had ſubdued the *Rugi*, who dwelt on the *Danube*, oppoſite to *Noricum* and *Pannonia*, the *Longobards* took Poſſeſſion of their Country, and ſo became Neighbours to thoſe two Provinces: *Tunc Longobardi de ſuis regionibus egreſſi, venerunt in Rugeland, quæ latino eloquio Rugorum patria dicitur, atque in ea, quia erat ſolo fertilis, aliquantis commorati ſunt annis.*

2. HERE they engaged in a War with the *Heruli*. Their King, *Tato*, beat *Rudolphus*, King of the *Heruli*, out of the Field, and carried off his Standard and Helm, as the moſt noble Part of the Booty *. *Paulus* writes: *cap.* 20. *Tato vero Rodulfi vexillum, quod* BANDUM *appellant, ejuſque galeam, quam in bello geſtare conſueverat, abſtulit: atque jam ex illo tempore* ITA OMNIS HERULORUM VIRTUS CONCIDIT, UT ULTRA SUPER SE REGEM NON HABERENT. Tho' the total Diſperſion of the *Heruli*, which is here boaſted of, muſt not be underſtood ſo punctually to the Letter. *See* XIII. 1, 2.

3. THIS Victory gave freſh Courage to the *Longobards*, as well as a greater Renown to their Arms. *Paulus* goes on: *Jam hinc Longobardi ditiores effecti, aucto de diverſis gentibus, quas ſuperaverant, exercitu, ultro cœperunt bella expetere.*

† *We find a Series of their Kings, in the* Prooemium Legum Longobardorum, *which however likewiſe differs from* Paulus Diaconus. Horatius Blancys, *in his new Edition of the Hiſtory of* Paulus Diaconus, *as alſo* Chriſt, *in his* Origines Longobardorum, *have diſcuſſed this Matter with great Learning. I ſhall here leave the moſt ancient Chiefs of the* Longobards *to the Obſcurity of their Times.* Tato, *and his Succeſſors, are the firſt who have preſerved their Memory, by the Concurrence of other ancient Hiſtorians, eſpecially* Procopius; *and, at the ſame Time, ſome of the moſt remarkable Occurrences of the Nation, on which we can ground the Chronology.*

* PROCOPIUS *and* Paulus Diaconus *both relate this Battle, but with different Circumſtances. According to the former,* (XI.25.*n.*1.) *we muſt place it about the 4th Year of the Reign of Emperor* Anaſtaſius.

Waccho,

III.

Waccho, or Vaces, *King of the* Longobards. *Is succeeded by his Son,* Waltharis.

1. *WACCHO*, or as *Procopius* calls him, *Vaces*, the Succeſſor of *Tato*, is ſomewhat better known. *Paulus Diaconus* ſays of him, *Lib.* I. *cap.* 21. *Aſt vero TATO poſt hæc de belli triumpho non diu lætatus eſt. Irruit namque ſuper eum Waccho, filius germani ſui, Zuchilonis, & eum ab hac luce privavit. Conflixit quoque adverſus Wacchonem Hildechis, filius Tatonis, ſed, ſuperante Wacchone devictus, ad Gepidas confugit, ibique profugus ad vitæ finem uſque permanſit. Quam ob cauſam Gepidi cum Longobardis ex tunc inimicitias contraxere.* *Hildechis* is the Prince whom *Procopius* ſometimes calls *Ildigiſal*, and ſometimes *Ildiſgus*, whoſe Adventures we have given an Account of XIII. 5, and 8 **.

2. *VACES*, according to *Procopius*, was yet living about the Year 539, and in Alliance with the Emperor *Juſtinian*. (XII. 17.) In this ſame Hiſtorian, *Audoin* is made King, about the Year 547, which may likewiſe be reconciled to the Computation given by *Paulus Diaconus*.

3. THIS latter Author gives us, *loc. cit.* an Account of his Wives and Children: *Habuit autem Waccho uxores tres, hoc eſt, primam Ranicundam, filiam Regis Turingorum. Deinde duxit Auſtrigoſam, filiam Regis Gepidorum, de qua habuit filias duas. Nomen unii Wiſegarda, quam tradidit in matrimonium Theodeberto, Regi Francorum. Secunda autem dicta eſt Walderada, quæ ſocieta eſt Cuſwald†, alio Regi Francorum, quam ipſe odio*

** *PAULUS calls him* filius Tatonis, PROCOPIUS nepos. *Lib.* III. *cap.* 35. Quo tempore Longobardis Vaces imperabat, nepotem *(fratres filium)* habebat, nomine Riſiulfum, quem lex ad regnum vocabat, poſtquam ex vita Vaces migraſſet. Vaces autem id provide curans, ut filio ſuo principatum relinqueret, Riſiulfum criminatus, abſque cauſa, exilio mulctavit. Statim ille ex patria ad Varnos cum paucis profugit, relictis ibi duobus filiis. Hos barbaros pecunia Vaces ad Riſiulfi cædem perpellit. Filiorum Riſiulfi alter morbo extinguitur: alter, cui nomen Ildiſgus, ad Sclavenos evadit. Haud multo poſt morbo Vaces obiit, ac Longobardorum principatus Valdalo obvenit, Vacis filio: cui admodum puero tutor adhibitus Auduinus regnum adminiſtrabat. Hinc multa auctus potentia, brevi ipſe regnum obtinuit, cum puerum repente morbus oppreſſiſſet.

† *I have already obſerved, that, in this Place,* Theodebald *is to be underſtood.* (XIII. 33.) Gregorius Turonenſis *mentions this Princeſs: but not her Father.*

habens uni ex ſuis, qui dicebatur Garipald ††, *in conjugium tradidit. Tertiam vero Waccho uxorem habuit, Herulorum Regis filiam, nomine Salingam. Ex ipſa natus eſt filius, quem Waltari appellavit, quique Wacchone, mortuo, ſuper Longobardos jam octavus regnavit. Hi omnes Lithingi* * *fuerunt, ſic enim apud eos quædam nobilis proſapia vocabatur.*

4. THE Son of *Waltharis* ſucceeded him on the Throne, under the Guardianſhip of *Audoin*. *Paulus Diaconus* ſays he was ſeven Years of Age; and with him concludes the firſt Race of the Kings of the *Longobards*, cap. 22. *Waltari ergo, cum per ſeptem annos regnum tenuiſſet, ab hac luce ſubtractus eſt. Poſt quem nonus Audoin regnum adeptus eſt, qui non multo poſt tempore Longobardos in Pannoniam adduxit.*

IV.

Audoin *King of the* Longobards.

Juſtinian *gives up one Part of* Pannonia *to him.*

1. *AUDOIN* is in particular memorable, for his having led the *Longobards* into *Pannonia*. *F. Pagius*, who places this Occurrence at the Beginning of *Juſtinian*'s Reign, and expreſsly in the Year 527, is the leſs to be credited, as, according to the Words of *Procopius*, *Audoin* was not then King. *Valeſius*, who places this Migration, in the Year 548, (XIII. 5.) comes nearer to the Point.

† Lib. 3. c. 38.

2. *PROCOPIUS* ſeems to be our ſureſt Guide†, and he ſays expreſsly, that the Emperor allowed the *Longobards* to come into *Pannonia*, after he had taken it from the *Oſtro-Goths*, that they might protect that Country againſt the *Gepidæ*, *Heruli*, and other foreign Nations. *Gepædes, qui olim urbem Sirmium, Daciamque omnem obtinuerunt, ut primum Juſtinianus Auguſtus ditioni Gothicæ regionem illam eripuit, agentes ibi Romanos abduxerunt in ſervitutem, & continenter progreſſi, vim vaſtitatemque Imperio Romano attulerunt. Quare Imperator illis in poſterum ſtipendia negavit, quæ jam inde olim a Romanis accipere conſueverant. Cum autem urbem Noricum** & Pannoniæ munitiones, aliaque loca, ac*

†† Duci Bojoariorum. (Ibid.)

* al. Adalingi, Adelingi.

** *The* Greek *Text, in* Procopius, *ſeems here to be corrupt. We find, in theſe Times, no City of this Name.* Grotius, *in his Tranſlation, uſes the Words* Urbs Norici. *Perhaps* Procopius *meant a whole Diſtrict of* Noricum Ripenſe.

pecuniam

pecuniam insuper maximam Justinianus Augustus Longobardis donasset, eam illi ob causam, patriis sedibus relictis, in adversa Istri fluminis ripa consederant, haud procul a Gepædibus. At ipsi quoque Dalmatiam & Illyricum ad limitem usque Epidamni pervagando, prædas abigebant, & captivos: quorum nonnullis fuga elapsis, ac reversis domum, Romanum hi barbari imperium obibant, tanquam Romanis conjuncti fœdere; ibique, si quos eorum, qui evaserant, agnoscerent, perinde ac sua mancipia fugitiva recipiebant, atque abstractos e parentum sinu domum reducebant, nemine repugnante.

3. HENCE we may account for *Audoin*'s being so firmly attached to the Emperor *Justinian*. It was he who gave him the *Thuringian* Princess, *Rodelinda*, a Daughter of King *Hermanfrid*, in Marriage. On the other Hand, the *Longobards* were almost continually at War with the *Gepidæ*. The Victory obtained by *Audoin*, in the Year 552, over *Thorisinus*, King of the *Gepidæ*, is particularly memorable. (XIII. 8.) He likewise sent some Auxiliaries to *Narses*, when he was making Preparations to attack the *Ostro-Goths*. (XIII. 15.) But *Narses* soon sent them back out of *Italy*, because of their Want of Discipline. (*Ibid.* 18.)

V.

Alboin *overthrows the Kingdom of the* Gepidæ, *and thereupon marches into* Italy.

1. *AUDOIN*'s Son and Successor, *Alboin*, makes a new *Epoch* in the History of this Nation. He vanquished the *Gepidæ*, (XIV. 3.) at the Beginning of *Justin*'s Reign, with the Assistance of the *Abari*. He thereupon marched into *Italy*, *Ann.* 568, (*Ibid.* 6.) and there laid the Foundation of the Kingdom of the *Longobards*.

Of his Murder.

2. *GREGORIUS*, *Marius*, *Paulus Diaconus*, and the *Autor Pontificalis Ravennatis*, agree, that he was murdered by the Procuration of his Queen *Rosemund*. They relate it, however, with different Circumstances; I shall therefore quote their several Accounts, one after the other. The Words of *Marius* are: *Albuenus, Rex Longobardorum, a suis, id est, Helmigis, cum reliquis, consentiente uxore sua, Verona interfectus est, & supra scriptus Helmigis cum antedicta uxore ipsius, quam sibi in matrimonium sociaverat, & omni thesauro, tam quod de Pannonia exhibuerat, quam quod*

quod de Italia congregaverat, cum parte exercitus Ravennæ se reipublicæ tradidit. GREGORIUS, Lib. IV. c. 35. says; *Mortua autem Chlotesinda, uxore Alboini, alium duxit conjugem: cujus patrem ante paucum tempus interfecerat. Qua de causa mulier in odio virum habens, locum observebatur, in quo posset injurius patris ulcisci. Unde factum est, ut, unum ex famulis concupiscens, virum veneno necaret.*

3. THE Relation of *Paulus Diaconus*, II. 28, has almost the Appearance of a Romance. *Causa autem interfectionis ejus hæc fuit. Cum in convivio, ultra quam oportuerat, apud Veronam lætus resideret, cum poculo, quod de capite Cunimundi Regis, sui soceri, fecerat, Reginæ ad bibendum vinum dari præcepit, atque eam, ut cum patre suo lætanter biberet, invitavit. Hoc ne cui videatur impossibile, veritatem in Christo loquor, ego hoc poculum vidi in die quodam festo, Ratchis principem, ut illud convivis suis ostentaret, manu tenentem. Igitur Rosemunda, ubi rem animadvertit, altum concipiens in corde dolorem, quem compescere non valens, mox in mariti necem, patris funus vindicatura, exarsit. Consiliumque mox cum Helmichis, qui Regis SCHILPOR, hoc est, collactaneus erat, ut Regem interficeret, iniit.* He afterwards relates how *Rosemund* fled to *Ravenna*, and was there murder'd; and that the *Exarch* sent the Princess *Albsuinda* to *Constantinople*; *cap.* 29. *Helmichis, extincto Alboin, regnum ejus invadere conatus est; sed minime potuit, quia Longobardi, nimium de morte illius dolentes, eum molirebantur extinguere. Statimque Rosemunda Longino Præfecto Ravennæ mandavit, ut citius navem dirigeret, quæ eos suscipere posset. Longinus tali nuncio lætus effectus, festinanter navem direxit, in quam Helmichis cum Rosemunda, jam sua conjuge, noctu fugientes ingressi sunt, auferentesque secum Albsuindam, Regis filiam, & omnem Longobardorum thesaurum, velocius Ravennam pervenerunt, &c.*

4. *AGNELLUS* relates the Murder something different from *Paulus*, and then goes on: *Voluerunt Longobardi hunc interimere homicidam, & Reginam cum eo, sed notum consilium, venit Veronam, donec furor populi conquiesceret. Sed jurgantes fortiter Longobardi contra eam, depopulato palatio, cum multitudine* Gevedorum, *& Langobardorum, mense Augusto Ravennam venit, & honorifice a Longino præfecto suscepta est, cum omni ope regia.* The Queen's Fate is likewise related differently by *Agnellus*, who then concludes: *Tunc Longinus Præfectus abstulit omnes Longobardorum thesauros, & cunctas opes regias, quas Rosemunda de Longobardorum regno attulerat, una cum Rosemundæ & Alboini Regis filia ad Justinum Imperatorem Constantinopolim transmisit, & gavisus est Imperator, & auxit Præfecto plurima.*

VI.

VI.

Kings of the Longobards, *to* Alboin.

CLAFO, see *n.* II.
Sixth King of the *Longobards*,
according to *Paulus Diaconus*.

TATO
approaches the *Danube*:
defeats the King of the *Heruli*, n. II.

Ildigisal, or *Hildechis*
lays Claim to the Kingdom, in
Oppofition to *Audoin*. *See n.* III.

Zaubilo.

WACCHO al. **VACES**, see *n.* III.
Conf. 1) *Ranicunda*, Daughter of a King
of the *Thuringians*,
2) *Austrigosa*, Daughter of a King
of the *Gepidæ*.
3) *Salinga*, a Daughter of a King of
the *Heruli*.

2.
Wisegardis,
Conf. *Theodebert*, King
of *Austrasia*.

2.
Waldrada,
betroth'd to *Theodebald*,
King of *Austrasia*:
married to *Garibald*,
Duke of *Bavaria*.

3.
WALTHARIUS,
King, under the Guardi-
anship of *Audoin*.

AUDOIN,
King of the *Longobards*, after the Death of *Waltharius*.
Justinian allows him one Part of
Pannonia. *See n.* IV.
Conf. *Rodelinda*, Daughter of *Hermanfrid*,
King of the *Thuringians*. *See* VI. *Ann.*

ALBOIN,
march'd into *Italy*, 563. murder'd, 574.
See n. V.
Conf. 1) *Clodosuint*, Daughter of *Clotarius* I.
King of the *Franks*.
2) *Rosemunda*, Daughter of *Cunimund*,
the last King of the *Gepidæ*.

Alhswinda
is carried to *Constantinople*.

XXIV. AN-

XXIV. ANNOTATION.

Of the Kingdom of the SUEVI, *in* Spain.

I.

HERMANARIC *founds a particular Kingdom in* Spain.

1. THE *Suevi*, who founded a particular Kingdom in *Spain*, are the very ſame, who, at the Beginning of the fifth Century, invaded *Gaul*, at the ſame Time with the *Vandals*, *Alani*, and *Burgundians*. (VIII. 15.) *Jerom* mentions, in particular, the *Quadi*, who perhaps were the moſt renown'd among them; (VIII. 16. *n.* 1) and likewiſe, in all Probability, many of the other *Swabian* Nations, who had extended themſelves, far and near in *Germania*, join'd them. It was a Cuſtom among the ancient *German* Nations, when they had no Wars, themſelves, for their young Men to follow the Standards of their Neighbours.

2. THE Diviſions, of thoſe Times, in the Empire, open'd a Paſſage, *A.* 409, for the *Vandals*, *Alani*, and *Swabians*, into *Spain*; where ſome Troops of the *Marcomanni*, who 'till then had been in the Service of *Honorius*, join'd them, and probably to the *Swabians* in particular, as being their ancient Country-men. (VIII. 30.) From this Year, the Beginning of the *Suevian* Dominion, in *Spain*, is dated.

3. THESE Nations came to an Agreement with the Emperor *Honorius*. The *Suevi*, and Part of the *Vandals*, had *Gallicia* aſſign'd them, for their Habitation; as the *Alani* had *Luſitania*, and the Territory of *Carthagena* *; and the *Vandali Silingi* the *Provincia Bœtica* (VIII. 33.)

* *In the preſent Diſtrict of* Valencia, *as* Franc. Diago, *in his* Annal. de Reyno de Valencia, L. V. c. 1 *and* 2, *obſerves.*

4. BUT

4. BUT these Nations did not remain long in Unity. *Hermanaric*, King of the *Suevi*, fell at Variance with *Gundaric*, King of the *Vandals*, and, at Length, oblig'd him to abandon *Gallicia*, (VIII. 47.) and retire to *Bætica*. In the Year 438, *Hermanaric* himself, on Account of his ill State of Health, resign'd his Kingdom to his Son *Rechila*, (IX. 20.) and died three Years afterwards.

5. IT is probable, that the *Swabians* were at first contented with a certain Portion of Land †, and lived as *Foederati*, as other *German* Nations, who had establish'd themselves in the *Roman* Provinces, had done. The ancient Inhabitants retain'd, for their Portion, the Cities, and, at the same Time, their own Constitution. In the same Light, we are to consider the Conventions, which *Hermanaric* frequently made with the ancient Inhabitants of *Gallicia*. After the *Roman* Empire was no longer in a Condition to protect their Dominions, the Provincials were oblig'd to shift for themselves, 'till, at Length, these foreign Guests made themselves Masters of the whole Country.

6. WHETHER these *Swabians* were yet, in general, *Pagans*, as is said of their next King, *Rechila*, or if they had not, in Part, already embraced the *Christian* Religion, is difficult to determine: Tho' the latter, at least with Regard to the *Marcomanni**, is not improbable.

II.

RECHILA.

King 441, *died* 448.

HIS Son *Rechila* extended the Power of the *Suevi*, in *Spain*, after the *Alani* were near exterminated, (VIII. 41.) and the *Vandals* gone over to *Africa*. In the Year 438, he defeated the *Roman* General, *Andevotus*, who offered to withstand him, on the River *Xenil*. In the Year 439, he took *Merida*, in *Lusitania*, and in 441, *Hispalis*, the Capital of *Bætica*; whereupon that District, as well as that of *Carthagena*, were obliged to submit to his Dominion. *Valentinian*, III, made indeed an Attempt, to

† *So* Orosius *writes, that they obtained their Habitations,* habita SORTE & DISTRIBUTA possessione. VIII. 33. n. 1.

* *I have observed, in the first Volume,* VII. 39. n. 1. *that the* Marcomanni *were acquainted with* Christianity, *even in the Time of* Ambrosius.

recover theſe Provinces, and ſent *Vitus*, *Magiſter utriuſque Militiæ*, in 446, into *Spain*. *Theodoric* I, King of the *Wiſi-Goths*, likewiſe furniſh'd him ſome Troops: But *Rechila* overcame the *Romans* and *Goths*, in a ſucceſsful Battle, and thereby gave his Arms a greater Luſtre. (X. 11.) This Victory affected the Inhabitants of *Spain* the more ſenſibly, as *Rechila* was then a *Pagan*. He died at *Merida*, *An.* 448 **.

III.

RECHIARIUS.

King A. 448, *'till* 456.

His Son *Rechiarius* had already embraced the *Catholick* Religion, and married a Daughter of *Theoderic* I. (X. 11.) He continued the Hoſtilities with the *Romans*, and plundered *Ilerda*, and ſome other Cities, in *Hiſpania Tarraconenſis*; but, in the Year 450, he made Peace with *Valentinian*, and left the *Romans* in the peaceable Poſſeſſion of ſome Provinces, which before had been obliged to truckle to the *Swabian* Arms. The Death of the Emperor, which enſued ſoon after, occaſioned ſo great Revolutions, that *Rechiarius* thereupon again fell into the Province of *Carthagena* †. On the other Hand, *Theoderic* II, King of the *Wiſi-Goths*, took the Part of *Avitus*, who had aſſumed the Imperial Dignity in *Gaul*, and made the *Campaign*, in Perſon, againſt the *Suevi*, of which I have taken Notice in the Hiſtory of the Kings of the *Wiſi-Goths*. *Rechiarius* was defeated, *An.* 456, and taken Priſoner in *Port a Port*, juſt as he was about to eſcape into *Africa*. *Theoderic* cauſed him to be miſerably put to Death, and obliged one Part of the *Swabians*, to acknowledge himſelf for their Sovereign.

IV.

Diviſion in the Swabian *Kingdom.* Remiſmund *re-unites them. He adheres to the* Arians.

1. This very King, *Theoderic* II, appointed *Agilulf*, of the Nation of the *Varni*, Lieutenant over the *Suevi*, whom he had made ſubject to him.

** Idat. Chron. Rechila, Rex Suevorum, Emeritæ, gentilis moritur, cui mox filius ſuus Catholicus, Rechiarius, ſuccedit in regnum.

† *See the* XI. *Ann.* p. 65. n. 4, *and* 5.

him. He indeed assumed the Title of King, (X. 12. *n.* 6.) but was taken Prisoner, and delivered into the Hands of the King of the *Goths*.

2. THE *Suevi* were even at Variance among themselves. Some chose *Frata*, and others *Masdras* for their King. The latter was succeeded by his Son, *Remismund*; but *Fraomarius*, the Son of *Frata*, disputed the Kingdom with him. (X. 24.)

3. BUT *Remismund* re-united the whole Nation of the *Suevi*, about the Year 465, and renewed the former Conventions with the ancient Inhabitants of *Gallicia*. (*Ibid.*) He likewise was reconciled to *Theoderic* *, King of the *Wisi-Goths*, and married a *Gothick* Lady: But this Marriage gave Occasion to his adhering to the *Arian* Sect **. He thereupon extended his Dominions in *Lusitania*. *Idatius*, in particular, mentions the two Cities, *Coimbra* and *Lisbon*, which, at that Time, fell into his Hands. (*Ibid.*)

4. UNDER *Remismund*, the History of the *Swabian* Kingdom falls, as it were, at once into Oblivion; the Chronicle of *Idatius* ceasing about the Year 470. We therefore are ignorant how long he reigned, and who was his Successor; and this Chasm swallows up a whole Century †. In this Time, the *Wisi-Goths* extended their Dominions in *Spain*, of which *Euricus* made the first Beginning: For when he declared against the Emperor *Anthemius*, he passed the *Pyrenæan* Mountains, and committed Hostilities as well against the *Suevi*, as against the *Romans* ††.

* IDAT. in Chron. Legatos Remismundus mittit ad Theodericum, qui similiter suos ad Remismundum remittit cum armorum adjectione, vel munerum, directa & conjuge, quam haberes.

** ISIDOR. Chron. Hujus tempore Alax (†), natione Galata, effectus apostata & Arianus, inter Suevos, Regis sui auxilio, fidei Catholicæ hostis emersit: cujus seductione Suevi, a fide Catholica recedentes, in Arianum dogma declinant.

(†) ap IDAT. *Ajax*.

†PAGIUS *says of this Matter*, ad ann. 560. n. 3. Remismundus, Suevorum in Hispania Rex, deceptus ab Atace, Arianus effectus est, & totam gentem Suevorum lethali hac tabe infecit. Hinc factum, ut successorum Remismundi nomina ab historicis memorata non fuerint. Duos tamen ultimos Arianos Suevorum Reges fuisse Hermenericum, & Recilanum, discimus ex actis S. Martyrum Vincentii Abbatis & Sociorum, qui Legione in Hispania passi sunt, quæ recitantur a Bollando ad d. XI. Martii, quo Legione coluntur. *But these Acts are liable to many Doubts.*

†† IDAT. Chron. Gothi —— Suevos deprædantur, pariter & Romanos ipsis in Lusitaniæ legionibus servientes.

V.

Theodemir, *King of the* Suevi, *returns to the Catholick Faith.*

THE Kingdom of the *Suevi* riſes, as it were, again out of its Obſcurity, upon *Ariamir*, or *Theodemir*'s returning to the *Catholick* Faith. The Name of this King is handed down to us in two different Manners. By *Iſidorus* *, and in the *Acta Concilii* at *Lugo*, of the Year 561 **, he is named *Theodemir*. On the other Hand, in the *Acta Concilii Bracarenſis* I, of the Year 561, he is named *Ariamir* †. We muſt therefore ſuppoſe, either that both Names belong to one and the ſame Perſon, or, according to the *Chronicon Irienenſe*, publiſhed by *Ferreras*, that there were two Kings at the ſame Time ††. *Gregorius Turonenſis*, who lived about this Time, calls him *Chararic* *.

* CHR. SUEV. Poſt multos deinde Reges regnum Suevorum ſuſcepit Theudemirus, qui fidem Catholicam adeptus, Arianæ impietatis errore deſtructo, Suevos unitati fidei reddit.

** *Act. Concilii ap. Lucum de An.* 569. *n.* 4. (*in* CARD. D'AGUIRRE *Concil. Hiſpan. T.* II. *p.* 300.) Tempore Suevorum ſub Era 607, die Kal. Jan. THEODOMIRUS, Princeps idem Suevorum, Concilium in civitate Luco fieri præcepit, ad confirmandam fidem catholicam, vel pro diverſis Eccleſiæ cauſis. Poſtquam peregerunt, quicquid ſe concilio ingerebat, direxit idem Rex epiſtolam ſuam ad Epiſcopos, qui ibi erant congregati, continentem hæc: Cupio, ſanctiſſimi Patres, ut provida utilitate decernatis in provincia regni noſtri: quia in tota Gallæciæ regione ſpatioſæ ſatis dioceſes a paucis Epiſcopis tenentur; ita ut aliquantæ eccleſiæ per ſingulos annos vix poſſint a ſuo Epiſcopo viſitari. Inſuper tantæ provinciæ unus tantummodo Metropolitanus Epiſcopus eſt, & de extremis quibuſque parochiis longum eſt ſingulis annis ad Concilium convenire.

† *Act. Concilii Bracarenſis I, de An.* 561. Ibid. *p.* 292. Cum Gallæciæ provinciæ Epiſcopi, Lucretius, Andreas, Martinus, Cottus, Ildaricus, Lucentius, Timotheus, Maliofus, ex præcepto præfati glorioſiſſimi ARIAMIRI Regis, in Metropolitana ejuſdem provinciæ Bracarenſis Eccleſia conveniſſent; conſidentibus ſimul Epiſcopis, præſentibus quoque presbyteris, adſtantibuſque miniſtris, vel univerſo clero, Lucretius memoratæ Metropolitanæ Eccleſiæ Epiſcopus dixit, &c.

†† Duo Reges dominabantur Gallæciæ, Mirus Lucum, & Ariomerus Rex Bracharam obtinebat: qui Ariomirus poſt tertium annum defunctus eſt: & Mirus Bracharam obtinuit, & fecit Concilium Bracharenſe ſecundum.

* De Miraculis S. Martini, *Lib.* I. *c.* 2, *and Lib.* IV. *c.* 7.

2. *MAR-*

2. *MARTIN*, Abbot of *Duma*, who was afterwards Archbiſhop of *Braga*, contributed greatly to the Converſion of *Theodemir*. (XIV. 16.)

3. *PAGIUS*, *ad An.* 560. *n.* 4, places the Beginning of *Theodemir*'s Reign in 557, or 558. Some Years ſince, his Tomb was ſuppoſed to have been diſcovered at *Braga*: But without ſufficient Conjectures *.

VI.

MIRO, *or* THEODEMIR II.

King, from 570, *'till* 583.

1. A SON of the former very much promoted the Converſion to the *Catholick* Faith, began by his Father, of which we find Evidences in the *Concilium Bracarenſe* II, which was held in the Year 572 **.

2. WHEN a War broke out, between *Leovigild*, King of the *Wiſi-Goths*, and his Son, *Hermenegild*, *Miro* took the Party of the Son; but *Leovigild* drove him to ſuch Streights, that he was obliged to abandon it, and acknowledge him his Sovereign. (XIV. 17.) He died about the Year 585. (*Ibid.* 23.)

* *The following is an Abſtract from the* Amſterdam-Gazet, *of* July, 1732, *in an Article from* Lisbon. On apprend de Braga, qu'en creuſant les fondemens de l'ancienne egliſe de St. Martin de Dume, qu'on a abbatuë pour en conſtruire une nouvelle, on avoit trouvé les ruines d'un ancien Edifice Romain, qu'on croit être celle d'un temple dedié a Jupiter, parce que parmi le grand nombre de colomnes, on y en a trouvé une ſur laquelle on voit en Caractere Romain l'Inſcription ſuivante: *Jovi Epulſori Armia Luſinna ex voto poſuit.* On ajoute, qu'on y a auſſi trouvé un Tombeau de marbre blanc, dans lequel il y avoit les Oſſemens d'un Corps humain, qu'on croit être d'un des Rois Sueves, qui ont regné en Portugal, & qui ont fait leur reſidence dans cette ville. Bien des gens ſont d'opinion, que ce pourroit bien être le Corps du Roi Theodemir, parceque ce Prince, qui mourut en 570, a fondé le Couvent de St. Martin de Dume. Comme les Gots, qui ont envahi ce royaume, ont detruit les Batimens des Romains, & que les Sarrazins, qui l'ont envahi enſuite, ont detruit ceux des Gots, on ne doit pas être ſurpris, ſi les ruines des Batimens de l'une & l'autre de ces deux Nations ſe trouvent confonduës enſemble.

** *Sp.* D'AUGUIRR, *T.* II. *p.* 316. Anno ſecundo Regis Mironis, die Kalenderum Juniarum, cum Gallæciæ provinciæ Epiſcopi, tam ex Bracarenſi quam ex Lucenſi Synodo, cum ſuis Metropolitanis, præcepto præfati Regis, ſimul etiam Metropolitani Bracarenſis Epiſcopi, conveniſſent.

3. I HAVE

XXIV. *Annotation.*

3. I HAVE already obſerved (XIV. 16.) that *Martin*, Biſhop of *Braga*, addreſſed a Book to this King, which we ſee in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*. *F. Mabillon* has diſcovered the Dedication, which I ſhall inſert, in this Place, from the *Spicilegium* of *F. D'Achery*, T. X.

Glorioſiſſimo ac tranquilliſſimo, & inſigni Catholicæ Fidei prædito pietate, MIRONI Regi, MARTINUS humilis Epiſcopus.

Non ignoro, CLEMENTISSIME REX, *flagrantiſſimam animi tui ſitim ſapientiæ inſatiabiliter poculis inhiare, eaque te ardenter, quibus mortalis ſcientiæ rivuli manant, fluenta requirere. Et ob hoc humilitatem meam ſæpius litteris admones, ut dignationi tuæ crebre aliquid per epiſtolam ſcribens, aut conſolationis aut exhortationis alicujus, & qualiacunque ſint adferam dictu *. Sed quamvis hoc a me exigat laudabile tuæ pietatis ſtudium, ſcito tamen tenuitatis meæ inſolentem continuo a cautis impingi proterviam, ſi Regalis reverentiæ gravitatem aut aſſiduis, aut vilibus, ut libet, dictis adjungam. Et ideo ne aut ego licentia piæ invitationis abuterer loquendo, aut veſtro magis deſidero obſiſterem reticendo, libellum hunc nulla ſophiſmatum oſtentatione politum, ſed planitie puræ ſimplicitatis excerptum, capacibus fidenter auribus obtuli recitandum. Quem non veſtræ ſpecialiter inſtituo poteſtati, cui naturalis ſapientiæ ſagacitas præſto eſt, ſed generaliter his conſcripſi, quos miniſteriis tuis adſtantes hæc convenit legere, intelligere & tenere. Titulis autem libelli eſt* FORMULA VITÆ HONESTÆ, *quem idcirco tali volui vocabulo ſuperſcribi, quia non illa ardua & perfecta, quæ a paucis & peregregiis Deicolis patrantur, inſtituit; ſed ea magis commonet, quæ & ſine Divinarum Scripturarum præceptis, naturali tantum humanæ intelligentiæ lege, etiam a laicis, recte honeſteque viventibus, valeant adimpleri.*

(dicta.)

VII.

End of the Swabian *Kingdom.* Leovigild, *King of the* Wiſi-Goths, *vanquiſhes the* Suevi.

(XIV. 23.)

1. *MIRO* was ſucceeded by his Son, *Euricus* or *Ebericus*. *Andeca* * rebelled againſt him, thruſt him into a Monaſtery, and aſſumed the Royal Dignity himſelf: But *Leovigild*, King of the *Wiſi-Goths*, fell upon him, and obliged him, in his Turn, to go into a Monaſtery likewiſe. (*An.* 585.)

* al. Andeca.

The

The Nation itſelf acknowledged the Conqueror for their King. One *Malaricus* * indeed rebelled, but was likewiſe ſuppreſſed. In this Manner, the Kingdom of the *Suevi* was united with that of the *Goths*, after it had ſubſiſted, (reckoning from the Year 409) 176 Years. (XIV. 23.)

* ſ. Amalaricus.

2. THERE remains nothing more, but that I add the Teſtimony of ſome Hiſtorians, concerning the Downfal of the Kingdom of the *Suevi*. *Gregorius Turonenſis*, who on Account of his being cotemporary, more particularly deſerves our Notice, ſays, *Lib.* V. *c.* 48, *Patrata quoque victoria, cognovit Mironem Regem contra ſe cum exercitu reſidere: Qua circumdato*, ſacramenta exigit, ſibi in poſterum fore fidelem. *Et ſic datis ſibi invicem muneribus, unuſquiſque ad propria eſt regreſſus. Sed Miro, poſtquam in patriam rediit, non multos poſt dies converſus ad lectulum, obiit: infirmatus enim ab aquis Hiſpaniæ fuerat malis, aëribuſque incommodis. Quo defuncto, filius ejus* EURICHUS *Leuvichildi Regis amicitias expediit:* datoque, *ut pater fecerat*, ſacramento, *regnum Gallicienſe ſuſcepit. Hoc vero anno cognatus ejus*, AUDICA, *qui ſororem illius deſponſatam habebat, cum exercitu venit: adprehenſumque clericum fuit, ac diaconatus ſive presbyterii ei imponi honorem jubet: ipſe vero accepta ſoceri ſui uxore Gallicienſe regnum obtinuit.* By this Relation, one would almoſt conclude, that *Miro*, and his Son *Euricus*, acknowledged *Leovigild* for their Sovereign.

3. *ISIDORUS*, in Chr. Suev. *Poſt Theudemirum Miro Suevorum Princeps efficitur, & regnavit annis* XIII. *Hic bellum ſecundo Regni ſui anno contra Roccones intulit: deinde in auxilium Liuvigildi, Gothorum regis, adverſus rebellum filium ad expugnandam Hiſpalim pergit, ibique vitæ terminum clauſit. Cui Eburicus, filius, in regnum ſuccedit: quem adoleſcentem Audica, aſſumpta tyrannide, regno privat, & monachum factum in monaſterio damnat, pro quo non dilata eſt ſententia. Mox enim Liuvigildus, Gothorum rex, Suevis bellum inferens, obtento eodem regno Audicam dejecit, atque detonſo eo, poſt regni honorem presbyterii officio conſecravit. Sic enim opportuit, ut, quod regi ſuo fecerat, rurſus idem ab alio congrua meriti viciſſitudine pateretur. Regnum autem Suevorum deletum in Gothos transfertur, quod manſit annis centum ſeptuaginta ſex.*

4. *JO. BICLARIENSES*, who lived at this Time, ad An. II. Mauritii (Chr. 583.) *His diebus Audeca in Galletia, Suevorum regnum cum tyrannide aſſumit, & Siſeguntiam, relictam Mironis Regis, in conjugium accepit. Eboricum regno privat: & monachum facit.* And in the following Year: *Leovigildus Rex Galletias vaſtat. Audecam Regem com-*

comprehenſum regno privat: Suevorum gentem, theſaurum, & patriam, ſuam in poteſtatem redegit, & Gothorum provinciam facit. As likewiſe farther: *Andeca vero regno privatus tondetur, & honore Presbyteri poſt regnum honoratur. Non dubium, quod in Eborico Regis filio, Rege ſuo fecerat, patitur, & exilio Pacenſi urbe relegatur. Maluricus in Galletia tyrannidem aſſumens, quaſi regnare vuli, qui ſtatim a ducibus Leovegildi oppreſſus, comprehenditur, & Leovegildo vinctus præſentatur.*

5. THE Name of the *Suevi* does indeed appear ſometime after this. In the *Acta Concilii Toletani* III, under *Recaredus*, they are yet particularly mentioned. (XIV. 23. *n.* 4.) *Enico* left the Country of the *Suevi* to his Son *Witza.* (XV. 26. *n.* 1.) At length, the Ravages of the *Saracens* put the *Goths* and *Suevi* entirely upon an Equality.

ANNO-

XXV. ANNOTATION.

Of the Devaſtation of the Kingdom of the WISI-GOTHS, *by the* SARACENS.

I.

The Imperfection of Hiſtory, in the Period of the Wiſi-Goths.

1. THE Revolution, which the *Saracens* occaſion'd in *Spain*, is memorable in all its Circumſtances. The *Goths* came out of the North, and, after many Viciſſitudes of Fortune, had eſtabliſhed a mighty Kingdom, when another Nation, from the *South*, approaches to deſtroy it: Juſt as when two Storms ariſe in the Air, one oppoſite to the other, and one diſperſes the other. The *Goths* had, at laſt, eſtabliſhed good Laws and Polity in *Spain*, and the Church flouriſh'd under the Protection of their Kings; and now the *Saracens* introduce a foreign Religion, Language, and Manners.

2. BUT this great Revolution has not hitherto been ſet in a true Light; and the whole *Gothick* Period, in the *Spaniſh* Hiſtory, is very imperfect; becauſe there are ſo few Writers and Records thereof remaining. Next to *Idatius*, the *Chronicon Gothorum, Suevorum & Vandalorum* of *Iſidorus*, Archbiſhop of *Seville* *, is the moſt conſiderable. *Johannis, Abbatis Biclarienſis, Chronicon* goes to the fourth Year of King *Reccaredus*, (*Chr.* 589.) in whoſe Reign he lived. *Julian*, Archbiſhop of *Toledo*, is of Service for the Hiſtory of King *Wamba*. *Iſidorus*, Biſhop of *Beja* †, continued the Hiſtory of the former *Iſidorus* to the Year 754, at which Time he likewiſe lived. Some, and even Cardinal *d'Aguirre*, mention

† *Pacenſis.*

* Fellicerius *queſtions whether the* Chronicon Gothorum, Vandalorum & Suevorum *was actually written by* Iſidorus. Antonius, in Bibl. Hiſp. Vet. p. 256. n. 117.

a certain Chronicle, with the Title of *Vulſæ Gothorum Regum Chronicon*: But *Nicolaus Antonius*, in his *Bibl. Hiſpan. Vet. Part* II. 272, obſerves, that this Name aroſe from a Miſtake, by a wrong reading of the Title, *Wiſi-Gothorum Regum Chronicon.*

3. THESE Authors, and more particularly *Iſidorus Pacenſis* have been made Uſe of by thoſe, who have attempted any Thing of this Nature, in more modern Times, in *Spain*; of which Number are the Author of the *Chronicon Alphonſi Regis*, and *Rodericus Ximenes*, Archbiſhop of *Toledo*, who lived about the Middle of the thirteenth Century; as likewiſe *Lucas*, Biſhop of *Tuy* †, who, pretty near about the ſame Time, compiled a Hiſtory of *Spain*, at the Deſire of Queen *Berengaria* of *Leon*, Conſort of *Alphonſus* IX.

† *Tudenſis.*

4. THE *Concilia Hiſpaniæ* are of a general Uſe to illuſtrate Circumſtances. The laſt we have, was held *An.* 694. But there are ſo many Things foiſted in, or corrupted, in the *Spaniſh* Hiſtory, that we cannot be too cautious, even in thoſe which are ſuppos'd to be good *.

5. THE more modern *Spaniſh* Hiſtorians have not ſufficiently ſupplied the Defects of their Predeceſſors, in this Point. As for *Julianus Caſtil*, who propoſed to write a particular Hiſtory of the Kings of the *Wiſi-Goths*, we have little to boaſt of, but his Intention. *Savedra* is more deſerving of our Thanks, tho' he is not quite diveſted of the ancient Prejudices. The work of *Peter de Alcazer* was never publiſh'd, and is only known by *Antonius*'s *Bibliotheca Hiſpana.*

6. MANY have been deceived by the ſuppoſed Hiſtory of King *Roderic*, publiſh'd by *Michael de Luna* **; with the Pretence that it was compiled by an *Arabian*, who was preſent in the Expeditions of the *Saracens*: But,

* *So* F. Pagius *himſelf ſays of* Rodericus Toletanus, ad An 711. n. 8. Hujus Præſulis Hiſtoriam Arabum, ſicut nonnulla alia in ejuſdem operibus, ab imperitis & iniquis emendatoribus corrupta fuiſſe, dubium non eſt.

** *The Title is:* La Verdadera Hiſtoria del Rey Don Rodrigo, en laqual ſe trata la cauſa principal de la perdida de Eſpanna, y la conquiſta, que della hizo Miramamolin Almançor: compueſta par el Sabio Alcayde Abulcacim Tarif Aben Tarique, de nation Arabe, y natural de la Arabia Petria. Traduida pour MIGUEL DE LUNA, vizino de Granada, interprete del Rey Don Phelippe, Saragoça 1603-4, *and at* Valenza 1606. *It is pretended, that the firſt Volume was written at* Bucara, An. Hegiræ. 140. (Chr. 761.) *and the other* An. Heg. 142. *It is likewiſe tranſlated into* French, *with the Title:* Hiſtoire de la Conquéte d' Eſpagne par les Maures.

in

in Reality, it is a *Romance*, as *Antonius, in Bibl. Hiſp. vet. T.* II. *p.* 237. has already ſhewn, and even the *Arabian* Original is no where to be found.

II.

Why the Account of Rodericus Toletanus, *and* Lucas Tudenſis, *is follow'd.*

1. THE Hiſtory of the two laſt Kings, *Witiza* and *Roderic*, is the moſt uncertain. Some pretend that *Roderic* was not elected King 'till after *Witiza*'s Death; others, that he dethron'd him, and caus'd his Eyes to be put out. *F. Pagius, ad An.* 710. *n.* 4, does not himſelf pretend to have made any certain Diſcovery.

2. THE leſs Reaſon we have to wonder, that more modern Hiſtorians relate the Invaſion of the *Saracens* in ſo different a Manner. However, as to the principal Circumſtances, I have followed the *Chronicon Alphonſi Regis*, *Rodericus Toletanus*, and *Lucas Tudenſis*, the rather, as *F. Pagius* aſſures us, that they agree with the Accounts he has found in ſome of the *Arabian* Writers. Theſe Hiſtorians agree in this, that the Sons of *Witiza*, tempted the *Saracens* to come to *Spain*. The two latter likewiſe mention a certain Count *Julian*, as the chief Inſtrument of this Treachery. I ſhall, however, only add here the Paſſages concerning the Overthrow of King *Roderic*. *Lucas Tudenſis* gives us an Account of it, *Lib.* III. *p.* 70. but acknowledges, that he himſelf did not know all the Circumſtances: *Porro rex Rodericus more ſolito prælio intentus cœpit acriter inſtare, ac propenſius in hoſtes ferire. Tandem vero inſtantibus barbaris Hiſpani milites cœperunt deficere, atque per longitudinem belli defatigati, quiſque locum hoſti dare. Terribiliter Gothi, qui erant ex parte Comitis, Juliani, irruebant ſuper Hiſpanos, & ad præliandum barbaros animabant. Rodericus autem, ubi ſe a ſuis vidit deſtitui, per aliquot dies terga præbens paulatim pugnando, ut credimus, occubuit*; ſed non ſcimus certum interitum ejus. *Regnavit annis ſeptem, menſibus ſex. Rudis tamen poſtea in civitate, Viſeo, inventa eſt lapidea ſepultura, in qua epitaphium eſt ſubſcriptum, ſcilicet: hic requieſcit Rodericus, Rex Gothorum.*

3. *RODERIC* of *Toledo* relates this Overthow, *cap* 20. *Rex autem Rodericus, audita ſtrage ſuorum, & provinciæ vaſtatione, Gothis omnibus congregatis, adventui Arabum ſe objecit, & ad incurſum eorum, ſtrenue properavit. Cumque veniſſent ad fluvium, qui Gaudalete dicitur, prope Aſſidonam quæ nunc Xerez dicitur, ex alia parte ſedit exercitus Africanus. Rex autem, Rodericus, cum corona aurea & veſtibus deauratis,*

tis, a duobus mulis in lecto eburneo ferebatur, ut Gothorum Regum dignitas exigebat. Et per octo dies continuos a Dominica in Dominicam dimicarunt, ita ut de Taric exercitu fere decem & ſex millia ceciderunt. Sed Juliano comite & Gothis, qui ſecum aderant, dure inſtantibus, franguntur acies Chriſtianorum, qui longa pace & abundantia deſides, imbelles & ignavi certaminis ſunt inventi, & objicibus terga dantes. Die Dominica, quinto idus menſis Xavel †, *anno Arabum XCIII æra DCCLII. Rex Rodericus, & Chriſtianus exercitus vincitur & fuga inutili perierunt.* He ſays farther: *Dum hoc agitur*, quid de Rege Roderico acciderit ignoratur. *Tamen corona, veſtes, & inſignia, & calciamenta auro & lapidibus adornata, & equus, qui Orelia dicebatur, in loco tremulo juxta fluvium ſine corpore ſunt inventa. Quid autem de corpore fuerit factum, penitus ignoratur, niſi quod modernis temporibus apud Viſeum, civitatem Portugalliæ, inſcriptus tumulus, invenitur: Hic jacet Rodericus, ultimus Rex Gothorum.* And, *cap.* 22, he ſays: *Rodericus a Juliano, ut creditur, interfectus.* *F. Pagius, ad An.* 711. *n.* 10, obſerves, that, according to the *Arabian* Accounts, which he had conſulted, *Roderic* was drowned in the River *Guadalete*.

† *Schawal.*

4. The *Chronicon Alphonſi Regis*, which is elder than the two former, agrees with them in this, that the Sons of *Witiza* enticed the *Saracens* to come to *Spain*; but without any Mention of the treacherous *Julian*: *n.* 9. *Vitizane defuncto, Rudericus a Gothis eligitur in Regem. Iſte vero in peccatis Wittizani ambulavit, & non ſolum zelo juſtitiæ armatus, huic ſceleri finem non impoſuit, ſed magis ampliavit. Filii vero Wittizani invidia ducti, eo, quod Rudericus regnum patris eorum acceperat, callide cogitantes, nuntios ad Africam mittunt, Saracenos in auxilium petunt, eoſque navibus advectos, Hiſpaniam intromittunt. Sed ipſi, qui patriæ excidium intulerunt, ſimul cum gente Saracenorum gladio perierunt. Itaque cum Rudericus ingreſſum eorum cognoviſſet, cum omni agmine Gothorum eis præliaturus occurrit; ſed dicente ſcriptura: In vanum currit, quem iniquitas præcedit. Sacerdotes vero vel ſuorum peccatorum mole oppreſſi, vel filiorum Witizani fraude detecti cum omni agmine Gothorum in fugam ſunt verſi, & gladio deleti. De Ruderico vero Rege nulli cognita manet cauſſa interitus ejus. Rude namque noſtris temporibus, cum Viſeo civitas, & ſuburbana ejus a nobis populata eſſent, in quadam Baſilica monumentum eſt inventum, ubi deſuper epitaphium ſculptum ſic dicitur: Hic requieſcit Rudericus, ultimus Rex Gothorum.*

III.

Falſe and ſuſpicious Circumſtances in the Vulgar Relation.

1. MOREOVER *Roderic*, and *Lucas* himſelf, allow, that they were not fully inform'd of the Matter; and it is perceptible enough, tho' they had not own'd it. They intermix Circumſtances that are notoriouſly falſe, and contradict themſelves. An Inſtance of this is the Story of King *Roderic*'s having deflower'd Count *Julian*'s Daughter, and thereby exaſperated her Father to ſuch a Degree, that he cultivated an Intelligence with the *Saracens*; tho' the former is at a Loſs to ſay, whether it was his Daughter or his Wife. *Michael de Luna*, even gives us the Letter, in which the abus'd *Cava* complains to her Father of the Injury done her; upon which *Marina* and *F. Orleans* improve. No Vouchers are requir'd of *Livy*, when he paints *Virginia*, with her Bridegroom and Father, in ſo lively Colours †. But in modern Hiſtory, the fineſt Strokes of Eloquence loſe their Luſtre, if they have not Truth for their Foundation.

† *Lib.* IV. 48.

2. THE Story of King *Roderic*'s Tomb, at *Viſeo*, in *Portugal*, has as little Grounds: As has likewiſe the Pretext which the two Hiſtorians make Uſe of, for the *Saracens* having ſo eaſily conquer'd *Spain*, that King *Witiza* razed the Walls of all the Cities, excepting *Toledo*, *Leon* and *Aſtorga* *: For, according to their own Relation, *Cordua*, *Merida*, *Hiſpalis*, *Oreola* †, *Leon*, *Saragoſſa*, and ſeveral other Cities were beſieg'd by the *Saracens* **. The Circumſtance, that the *Goths* ſuffer'd greatly, from the *Franks*, in *Gaul*, at the ſame Time that the *Saracens* played the Maſters ‖, does not agree with the Hiſtory of the *Franks*.

† *Oribuela.*

IV.

That the Saracens *did not firſt come into* Spain, *in the Reign of* Roderic.

1. I HAVE already ſhewn, in its proper Place, (XV. 26.) that the *Saracens*, in *Africa*, may, of themſelves, have grown deſirous to try their Fortune, in *Spain*; and we have hardly Occaſion to mention either the

* RODERICUS, *cap.* 16. Cum pro his inquitatibus timeret expelli, muros præcepit dirui civitatum cunctarum præter paucos. *Add.* LUCAS TUDENSIS, *p.* 69.

** *Among the more modern* Spaniſh *Hiſtorians*, PISA, in Antiqued. di Toledo, Lib. II. cap. 31. *has already obſerv'd the Perplexity of this Relation.*

‖ LUC. TUD. *p.* 70. Verum etiam Francorum armis ex parte Galliarum conſumti ſunt.

Ambition

Ambition of the Sons of *Witiza*, or the Diſaſter of *Julian*'s Daughter. In the *Chronicon Moiſſiacenſe*, we beſides find, that the *Saracens* invaded *Spain*, even in the Time of *Witiza*, *An.* 715. *His temporibus in Spania ſuper Gothos regnabat Witicha, qui regnavit annis* VII. *& menſes* III. *Iſte deditus feminis, exemplo ſua ſacerdotes ac populum luxurioſe vivere docuit, irritans furorem Domini. Sarraceni tunc in Spania ingrediuntur. Gothi ſuper ſe Rudericum Regem conſtituunt. Rudericus Rex cum magno exercitu Gothorum Sarracenis obviam it in prælio; ſed inito prælio Gothi debellati ſunt a Saracenis. Sicque regnum Gothorum in Spania finitur. Et infra duos annos Sarraceni pene totam Spaniam ſubjiciunt.* However, the Credit of this Chronicle is not always preferred before the vulgar Tradition of the *Spaniards*.

2. So much, in the mean Time, is certain, that it was not in *Roderic*'s Reign, that the *Saracens* came the firſt Time into *Spain*. *Lucas Tudenſis* obſerves, *p.* 68, that they were for trying their Fortune there, in the Time of King *Wamba*. In the Reign of King *Flavius Egica*, they were again apprehenſive of them. The *Jews*, in *Spain*, were accuſed of holding a Correſpondence with their Brethren in *Africa*, to the Prejudice of the Kingdom. The King himſelf complains of this, in the *Act. Concil. Toletani* XVII. which was held *An.* 694. *ap*, CARD. D'AGUIRRE, *T.* II. *p.* 753. *Pro nefandis denique Judæis intra fines regni noſtri degentibus ita præmittimus, &c. nuper manifeſtis confeſſionibus indubie pervenimus, hos in tranſmarinis partibus Hebræos alios conſuluiſſe, ut unanimiter contra genus Chriſtianum agerent &c.* And the *Patres Concilii* ſay of them, (p. 757.) *per alia ſua ſcelera non ſolum ſtatum Eccleſiæ perturbare maluerunt, verum etiam auſu tyrannico inferre conati ſunt ruinam patriæ, ac populo univerſo, &c.*

V.

That the Kingdom of the Wiſi-Goths *was not totally overthrown.*

I HAVE likewiſe obſerved, in its proper Place, that neither the Nation nor the Name of the *Goths*, were fully extirpated by the *Saracens*. Some modern Writers have formed a very confuſed Idea of this, as well as of the *Goths* themſelves: *Alphonſus Sanctius*, in Anacephalæoſi Rer. Hiſpanic. *Lib.* VII. *cap.* 5. ſays, that, in his Time, a Remnant of theſe *Goths*, of whom no one had 'till then the leaſt Knowledge, were caſually diſcovered, at ſome Miles Diſtance from *Salamanca*, between unpaſſable Mountains: But the whole Story is ſo abſurd, and the Deſcription given of this, as it were, conjur'd up Community, is ſo little conſiſtent with

with the *Goths*, that it would be unneceſſary to ſpend a Moment in the Refutation of them.

VI.

Alvarus Gomez's *Poetical Account of the Deſtruction of the Kingdom of the* Goths.

As Hiſtorians have ſucceeded ſo badly in their Accounts of the Invaſion of the *Saracens*, I ſhall ſubjoin a Paſſage from a Poet, who, in his Delivery, at leaſt, appears with a better Grace. *Alvarez Gomez, Profeſſor Rhetorices & Græcæ Linguæ*, at *Toledo*, has attempted it, in a Poem, in the following Manner *.

Non ſine ſingultu, & lachrimis urbs alma Toletum
Commemorare valet, quæ quondam ingentia facta
Magnanimi geſſere duces, gens inclyta Gotthi
Dira manus, metuenda Diis, metuenda profundo:
Ut Geticis olim deſcendunt mentibus: utque
Romulidæ ut victi, capta & capitolia, quamvis
Nullum regnandi finem cecinere Sybillæ.
Utque his perfectis Hiſpanas viſere terra:
Inſtituunt, ſedeſque ſuas hic figere curant:
Hic, ubi læta micat florenti gramine tellus,
Et munita Tagi cinguntur mœnia flexu,
Parva olim, remeans hac cum Gerione peremptor
Tranſiit Alcides, & prima exordia muris
Signavit, ſed nunc Hiſpana induſtria tantum
Non æquat cœlo, ſic Di volvere potentes.

Utque ubi Gothorum ſe gloria ſuſtulit, & jam
Clara magis nituit (ſunt ut mortalia cuncta)
Deciderit, preſſæque ſuo ſub pondere vires
Corruerint: Nam ſtare diu concedere nulli
Fata volunt: quoniam ſi ſe meminere caduca,
Officiumque tenent, æquo & moderamine durant:

Utque Rodericus ſumens Hiſpanica regna
Sorte gravi, inſanus, turpique libidine captus
Ardet amore Cabæ, lucemque, & numera regni
Contemnit forma ſi non potiatur amatæ:

* *This Paſſage is to be found in* Franc. de Pisa Hiſtor. di Toledo, *Lib.* II. *cap.* 27.

Atque

Atque hæc ipſa negat, donec vim paſſa, parenti
Cuncta ſuo exponit: (dirum depromere nomen
Tartarei monſtri, † Muſæ vetuere dolentes)
Percitus hic ira, rumoreque tactus amaro
Patrati ſceleris, vindictam pectore toto
Cogitat, & patriam convellere ſedibus imis
Vix ſatis eſſe ſibi (quanti eſt injuria) credit.

Ergo dum pœnas amenti a Principe ſumat
Non fas atque fidem curat, non numina Divum
In mentem redeunt, patriæ nec pignora charæ
Sed ferus, Heſperiæ cladem ſub corde volutans,
(Heu ſcelus) audaces Afros induxit Iberis
Proditor: huic vultur, nec non immania ſaxi
Pondera, & ardentes actæ per viſcera tedæ,
Et criſta erectus ſerpens, atque ore triſulco
Horrendum infrendens criſpata fronte Chelidrus,
Exiguæ pœnæ, majora intendite Erynnes!

Utque Afri ingreſſi vaſtarunt maxima regna,
Gens contempta prius, nullo nec in ordine pugnæ
Conſiliive loco dignanda: utque aſpera fata
Hos dominos dederint per longum tempus Iberis.
Ut noſtri interea paulatim aſſumere vires
Et revocare gradus, rurſuſque per oppida quondam
Rapta ſibi tentaſſe vias: & gloria rurſus
Perdita Gothorum priſca ad monumenta revixit.

Cum deſperatis rebus Deus optimus adſit,
Princeps Pelagius, divino numine tactus,
Ortus Toleti, Gotthorumque inclyta proles,
Impiger accurrit patriæ ſuccurrere lapſæ.
Cœlitus exhibitum credas, ad prælia natum,
Unus homo, qui nil cunctando reſtituit rem.
Sicque per ætates Hiſpanis gloria crevit,
Donec ſub Carolo, nec non utroque Philippo
Summa tenet, non viſa prius, faſtigia rerum.

XXVI. ANNOTATION.

Of the Eſtabliſhment of the Kingdom of the Wiſi-Goths: *Of their Laws: Of the* Officium Gothicum: *Of their Coins and Letters*, &c.

Ad XV. 29.

I.

Of the Kingdom of the WISI-GOTHS, *in general.*

I HAVE already, as the Courſe of this Hiſtory has required, touched on many Things, relating to the Growth and Eſtabliſhment of the Kingdom of the *Wiſi-Goths*, and ſhall add ſome Evidences to confirm what I have before ſaid, eſpecially with Regard to their Conſtitution and Church, of which the Laws of the *Wiſi-Goths*, and the *Officium Gothicum* are two remarkable Monuments. The Coins which are remaining of them, or are falſely attributed to them, likewiſe deſerve a more narrow Enquiry into, as do alſo the Remains of their Language, and the vulgar Tradition of their Letters.

1. THERE have been great Debates, concerning the Antiquity and Power of the Kingdom of the *Wiſi-Goths*, eſpecially, in the foregoing Century, on Occaſion of the warm Diſpute between *France* and *Spain*, in Point of Precedency, and principally between *Chiflet* and *Blondel* *. The *Spaniards* pretended to ground the Preference of their Kingdom, on the Antiquity and Power of that of the *Goths*.

2. SOME Writers pretend to give us the *Wiſi-Gothick* Arms. *Beuterus* divides it into 4 Quarters; the two Uppermoſt of which are charged with three *Chevrons* and a Crown, and the two Lowermoſt with two Lions. (VIII. 39. 11.) But, not to mention, that Heraldry is not ſo ancient,

* BLONDEL treats of this Matter at large, in the Aſſertio Geneal. Francicae cap. 12. p. 382. ſeq. under the Title: Regnum a Gothis in Hiſpania fundatum Francico antiquius dici non meretur, and cap. 13. p. 393. where it is ſaid: Gothici regni Francico robur par non fuit.

as far as regards the *Goths*, in particular, *Morales*, *Lib.* XIII. *cap.* 5. obſerves, that neither *Pelagius*, nor his Succeſſors, had any Arms till *Ferdinand*, King of *Leon*. *Chiflet* revived the Story of the Lions, in the *Wiſi-Gothick* Arms; but is refuted by *Blondel*, *l. c. p.* 361.

3. I HAVE already, in a proper Place, (XV. 29. 4.) given a juſt *Encomium* of *Peter Pantinus*'s Treatiſe, *de dignitatibus atq. officiis Regni ac Domus Regiæ Gothorum*; which is to be met with in *Hiſpan. Illuſtr.* T. II. *p.* 195. I ſhall here only repeat the Names of the Offices, which he there illuſtrates.

GOTHICARUM DIGNITATUM OFFICIORUMQUE INDEX.

Dux.
Comes.
Præpoſitus Comitis.
Vicarius Principis.
Comes Scanciarum.
Theſaurorum Comes.
Comes Patrimonii.
Comes Civitatis Toletanæ.
Comes Notariorum.
Comes Spathariorum.
Comes Cubiculi.
Comes Stabuli.
Comes Exercitus.
Procer.
Gardingus.
Thiuphadus.
Millenarii.
Quingentenarii.
Centenarii.
Decani.
ExercitusCompulſores
Annonarii.
Defenſores.
Pacis Aſſertores.
Numerarii & Villici.
Saio.
Servus Fiſcalis.

II.

Of the Laws of the WISI-GOTHS.

1. THERE is a Collection of the Laws of the *Wiſi-Goths* extant, of which I have often made Mention above. Theſe Laws were binding as well to the *Provincials* as the *Goths*; and the *Roman* Laws were thereby fully ſuppreſs'd. Lib. II. Tit. I. 9. *Alienæ gentis legibus ad exercitium utilitatis imbui & permittimus & optamus: ad negotiorum vero diſcuſſionem & reſultamus & prohibemus. Quamvis enim eloquiis polleant, tamen difficultatibus hærent: adeo cum ſufficiat ad juſtitiæ plenitudinem, & præſcrutatio rationum, & competentium ordo verborum, quæ codicis hujus ſeries agnoſcitur continere, nolumus ſive Romanis legibus, ſive alienis inſtitutionibus, a modo amplius convexari.*

2. AFTER the Inundation of the *Saracens*, theſe Laws, together with the Remainder of the *Chriſtians*, lay conceal'd in the Mountains; and with them they came to Light again. The moſt ancient Collection of the *Spaniſh* Laws, known by the Name of *Forum Judicum*, is collected from theſe

theſe *Gothick* Laws. A famous *Spaniſh* Lawyer † gives ſuch an *Encomium* of them, that the *Spaniſh Juriſprudence* need not be aſhamed of being derived from this Original.

3. MARIANA ſays, indeed, *Lib.* IX. *c.* 5. that the ancient *Gothick* Laws were aboliſhed, in *Catalonia*, in the Year 1060. *Hugo, a Pontifice Romano in Hiſpaniam legatus, Barcinone in Epiſcoporum & procerum conventu, Raymundi Barcinonenſis Comitis voluntate, Gothicas leges, quibus ante utebantur Catalauni, abrogavit, novaſque ſanxit, unde jura populis ad noſtram ætatem dantur.* *But Ant. Olibanus*, an experienc'd Lawyer, and *Senator Regius* at *Barcelona*, in his Treatiſe *de Jure Fiſci, cap.* I. *n.* 8. aſſures us, that theſe very New Laws, are taken from the *Gothick* Laws, with ſome few Additions only here and there. *Cum autem Uſatici Barcinonenſes, de quibus agimus, ſint ſumti ex legibus Gothicis, quæ in Curiis Comitis Barcinonæ, & aliis Curiis totius provinciæ obſervabantur &c. hinc efficitur, multa eſſe diſpoſita & ſancita jure Uſaticorum, vel Gothico, contra diſpoſitionem juris Romani.* He had before ſhew'd the Reaſons that induced Count *Berengarius* to make theſe new Laws. *Quod ſcilicet leges Gothicæ, quæ cum reliquiis Chriſtianorum in montibus & locis aſperis fuerunt aſſervatæ, ex illa infelici Saracenorum invaſione, & totius Hiſpaniæ occupatione, & uſque ad tempora huius Berengarii, in judiciis & curiis receptæ, non poterant in omnibus cauſis commode obſervari, & quod plura occurrerent negotia, quæ non erant in legibus Gothicis deciſa.*

Whether the SPANISH FIEFS *have their Riſe from the* GOTHS.

4. AMONG other Subjects, of which the *Gothick* Laws conſiſt, what I have ſaid of their *Militia* (XV. 29. *n.* 8. 9.) is particularly memorable. It ſeems very evident, that the Chiefs of the Nation held certain Lands, in Conſideration of which they were oblig'd to ſerve in the Wars; and that they, as well as the Kings themſelves, laid the ſame Obligation on other Perſons capable of going to the Wars, by a Grant of Lands, or certain Advantages ‡. Under the ſucceeding *Spaniſh* Kings, we find more particular Mention of Vaſſals and Feodal Services §: Whence, therefore, it is not improbable, that they were originally derived from the GOTHS.

† GREGOR. LOPEZ MADERA in his Excelencias de la Monarquia de Eſpanna pag. 61.

‡ Of the Vaſſals to the Kings, we likewiſe find ſome Footſteps in the *Concil. Tolet.* V. which was held Anno. 636. under King *Chintila.* The Contents of the 6th Canon are: *Ut* Regum fideles *a ſucceſſoribus Regni, a rerum jure non fraudentur, pro ſervitutis mercede.* Add. Conc. Tolet. VI. Can. 14.

§ IN particular, *Luis de Salazar*, in his *Advert. Hiſtor. &c.* p. 32. ſeq. and p. 262. takes Notice of ſeveral remarkable Things, which regard the Ancient *Spaniſh Feodal Tenures.*

III.

State of the Church, under the Wisi-Goths.

1. The Church in *Spain*, under the Protection of the Kings of the *Goths*, after they had embraced the *Catholic* Communion, was brought into excellent Order, of which, as well as of the Doctrine and Diſcipline of it, we find Tokens even in the Councils. Thoſe two excellent Men, *Garſias de Loayſa*, Arch-biſhop of *Toledo*, and Cardinal *d' Aguirre*, have greatly illuſtrated them, with their learned Obſervations. A learned *Engliſhman* ‖ has made particular Remarks on this Subject, which may give an Opportunity to new Enquiries.

2. As for their Form of Worſhip, we may have an Idea of it from the *Officium Gothicum*. The *Concilium Toletanum*, IV. which was held, Anno. 633. under King *Siſenandus*, decreed, that a Conformity of Worſhip ought to be obſerv'd in all the Churches †; and this produc'd the Form or Office call'd *Officium Gothicum*, and likewiſe *B. Iſidori* ‡, probably, becauſe this Prelat, who preſided at that Council, had, perhaps, the Reviſion of it. It is, in itſelf the more remarkable, as it contains many Cuſtoms and Forms, which had been in Uſe, in the *Spaniſh* Church, from the moſt early Times of *Chriſtianity*. See a farther Account in Cardinal *Bona Rer. Liturgic*: Lib. I. likewiſe in Cardinal *d' Aguirre*, *T.* III. *Concil. Hiſpan. p.* 258. But more circumſtantially from *Eugenius de Robles*, who himſelf officiated in a Chapple where theſe Rites were obſerved, as alſo from *Alvarez Gomez*, in the Life of Cardinal *Ximenes*. This famous Cardinal himſelf, preſerved the moſt laſting Monument of the *Officium Gothicum*, in cauſing the *Miſſal* and *Breviary* to be printed §: But the *En-*

‖ Michael Geddes Miſcellaneous Tracts. Vol. II. diſſ. 1. and Vol. III. diſſ. 1.

† Cau. 2. *Poſt rectæ fidei confeſſionem, quæ in Sancta Dei Eccleſia prædicatur, placuit, ut omnes ſacerdotes, qui Catholicæ fidei unitate complectimur, nihil ultra diverſum aut diſſennm in Eccleſiaſticis Sacramentis agamus; ne quælibet noſtra diverſitas apud ignotos, ſeu carnales, ſchiſmatis errorem videatur oſtendere, & multis exiſtat in ſcandalum varietas eccleſiarum. Unus igitur ordo orandi atque pſallendi nobis per omnem Hiſpaniam atque Galliam conſervetur, unus modus in Miſſarum ſolennitatibus, unus in Veſpertinis Matutiniſque oſficiis: nec diverſa ſit ultra in nobis Eccleſiaſtica conſuetudo, qui in una fide continemur & regno.*

‡ But it is likewiſe call'd Officium S. Juliani or S. Ildephonſi, of which ſee Antonius Bibl. Hiſp. Vet. P. I. p. 269.

§ The *Miſſal* was printed in the Year 1500. and the *Breviary* in 1502. at *Toledo*. *F. Mabillon* has likewiſe printed a *Gothick Miſſal: de Liturg. Gallican.* Lib. III. But it is according to the *Gallick* Form.

gliſh

gliſh Author I mention'd above doubts, whether it be faithfully handed down to us, juſt as it was contained in the moſt ancient Manuſcripts*.

When the OFFICIUM GOTHICUM *was aboliſh'd in* Arragon?

3. THE Revolutions, which befel the *Gothick* Kingdom, affected likewiſe the *Officium Gothicum*. The *Roman* Popes endeavour'd to introduce the *Roman* Rites in the Room of it. An Attempt was made even in the XI. Century, at the Council of *Jacca*, under King *Ramirus*, I. Anno. 1060. *Mariana* ſays of it, Lib. IX. p. 463 *Sacrorum ritus, qui temporum injuria depravati erant, reſtituti. Sacerdotum mores novis inſtitutis exculti, iiſque mandatum, ne alio more, quam Romano, precarentur.* In *Catalonia*, the ſame Attempt proved abortive: For when Cardinal *Hugo*, who was ſent by Pope *Alexander* II. to *Spain*, in the Year, 1064. inſiſted on it, in an Aſſembly of the States, at *Barcelona*; the Biſhops declin'd it, and rather choſe to ſend a Deputation to the *Council* of *Mantua*, to juſtify the Liturgy they had till then made Uſe of. *Mariana* ſays of it, loc. cit. *Is legatus, ut Gothica precandi ratio abrogaretur, quamvis magno conatu obtinere non potuit. Miſſi contra Mantuam in Gallia Ciſalpina, ubi de ſchiſmate conventus Epiſcoporum habiti ſunt, Epiſcopi tres, Munio Calagurritanus, Eximius Aucênſis, Fortunius Alavenſis, Gothicos libros, quos ſecum detulere, Pontifici & Patribus probarunt, quaſi orthodoxos, nullaque vitioſos parte.*

As alſo in CASTILLE *and* LEON.

4. IN *Caſtille*, Difficulties likewiſe aroſe, when *Alphonſus* VI. King of *Caſtille* and *Leon*, attempted to introduce the *Roman* Rites. The Circumſtances, which I mentioned of it, *XV.* 30. are grounded on the following Account of *Rodericus Toletanus*: Lib. VI. cap. 25. *Et quia adhuc littera Gothica & tranſlatio Pſalterii, & Officium Miſſæ inſtitutum ab Iſidoro & Leandro, Pontificibus, quod cum tranſlatione & littera dicitur Toletanum, per totam Hiſpaniam ſervabantur, ad inſtantiam uxoris ſuæ, Reginæ Conſtantiæ, quæ erat de partibus Galliarum, miſit Romam ad Gregorium Pa-*

* GEDDES Miſcellaneous Tracts &c Vol. III. p. 32. *In the beginning of the ſixteenth Century, the Mozarabic Liturgy was printed by the Cardinal* Zimenes. *But as we are certain of that Cardinals having made ſome Alterations in it, ſo there is great cauſe to ſuſpect him of having made more, and that among the reſt, he might change the forementioned form of conſecration for the* Roman. *And the thing that makes this more probable, is, the Copy which he had of the Mozarabic Liturgy being deſtroyed, and with it all the reſt, if there were any more at that time: there not being, that I can hear of, after much Enquiry, a Manuſcript Copy of the Mozarabic Liturgy any where to be met with.*

pam

pam ſeptimum, ut in Hiſpaniis, omiſſo Toletano, Romanum, ſeu Gallicanum officium, ſervaretur. He gives an Account, in the following Chapter, 26. how Pope *Gregory*, VII. ſent *Richard*, Abbot of *St. Victor*, at *Marſeilles*, as his Legat to *Caſtille*, to inſiſt on the *Roman* Rites being received, and how, when the People would not relinquiſh their ancient *Ceremonies*, the Deciſion of it was referr'd to the Combat, and the Trial by Fire. Theſe ſeem, indeed, to be in themſelves unuſual Methods: But the Ignorance of the Times had more than once introduced theſe Trials *, they thinking that they thereby ſubmitted the Matters in Debate to the *Judgment of God*. Now, tho' the Knight who defeuded the *Officium Gothicum* overthrew his Adverſary, and the Book is ſaid to have ſprung out of the Fire, yet the King forced the *Roman* Rites upon the People; as *Rodericus* farther informs us. *Verum, ante revocationem, clerus & populus totius Hiſpaniæ turbatur, eo quod Gallicanum officium ſuſcipere a legato & Principe cogebantur, & ſtatuto die, Rege, primate, legato, cleri & populi maxima multitudine congregatis, fuit diutius altercatum, clero, militia & populo firmiter reſiſtentibus, ne officium mutaretur, Rege a Regina ſuaſo contrariùm minis & terroribus intonante. Ad hoc ultimo res pervenit, militari pertinacia decernente, ut hæc diſſenſio duelli certamine ſedaretur. Cumque duo milites fuiſſent electi, unus a Rege, qui pro officio Gallicano, alter a militia & populis, qui pro Toletano pariter decertarent, miles Regis ilico victus fuit, populis exultantibus, quod victor erat miles officii Toletani. Sed Rex adeo fuit a Regina Conſtantia ſtimulatus, quod a propoſito non diſceſſit, duellum, indicans, jus non eſſe. Miles autem, qui pugnaverat pro officio Toletano, fuit de domo Matantia prope Piſoricam, cujus hodie genus extat. Cumque ſuper hoc magna ſeditio in militia & populo oriretur, demum placuit, ut liber officii Toletani, & liber officii Gallicani in magna ignis congerie ponerentur. Et indicto omnibus jejunio a primate, legato & clero, & oratione ab omnibus devote peracta, igne conſumitur liber officii Gallicani, & proſiliit ſuper omnes flammas incendii, cunctis videntibus & dominum laudantibus, liber officii Toletani illæſus omnino, a combuſtione incendii alienus. Sed cum Rex eſſet magnanimus, & ſuæ voluntatis pertinax executor, nec miraculo territus, nec ſupplicatione ſuaſus, voluit inclinari, ſed, mortis ſupplicia & direptionem minitans reſiſtentibus, præcepit, ut Gallicanum officium in omnibus regni ſui finibus ſervaretur. Et tunc, cunctis flentibus & dolentibus, implevit proverbium: Quo volunt Reges, vadunt leges. Et ex tunc Gallicanum officium*

* Cardinal *Bona* is almoſt angry at the Relation of *Rodericus*, that the *Officium Romanum* twice miſcarried, and is inclined to believe it a Fable.

tam

tam in Pſalterio, quam in aliis nunquam ante ſuſceptum, fuit in Hiſpaniis obſervatum, licet in aliquibus monaſteriis fuerit aliquanto tempore: cuſtoditum, & etiam tranſlatio Pſalterii in pluribus eccleſiis cathedralibus, & monaſteriis adhuc recitatur.

5. I AM uncertain whether *Mariana* had any Accounts beſides that of *Rodericus*. He mentions this Incident likewiſe, but with ſomewhat different Circumſtances, and, at leaſt, takes Care to deliver the *Roman* Rites from the Flames. p. 481. *Cum primum Toletum applicuit, priusquam legatus poteſtate ſe abdicaſſet communi conſenſu de Gothica precum ratione antiquanda actum: qua Hiſpani vulgo utebantur ab antiquiſſimis temporibus, præterea ex Iſidori, Ildefonſi & Juliani, quos in cælitum numero habent, coluntque, auctoritate. Tentatum id quidem aliquoties erat, neque tamen ſucceſſerat, quod vulgo homines, ſed & primores gentis antiquis ſtari mallent: nihilque tenacius inhæret, quam quod religionis ſpecie defenditur. Hoc tempore tanta a Primate & legato adhibita contentio eſt, ut, cum Regina eorum conatibus enixe faveret, tandem pervicerint. Singulari certamine homines militares, & in armis nutriti rem tantam dijudicari voluerunt. Die dicta duo milites, ab utraque parte delecti, in arenam deſcenderunt. Vicit, qui antiquum Hiſpanorum morem, & vetuſtiſſimam precandi rationem retinendam eſſe tutabatur, Joannes Ruizius, ex familia Matancia, quæ ad Piſoricam fluvium habitabat. & cujus poſteri ad noſtram ætatem ejus certaminis memoria illuſtres manent. Verum adverſæ partis ſtudia cum nihil eo caſu remitterent, neque victa vincerentur, viſum eſt controverſiam ignis judicio permittere: ſic ejus ſeculi mores erant, rudes & agreſtes, neque ſatis expenſi ad Chriſtianæ pietatis regulam. Rogo in platea accenſo, liber uterque, Romanus & Gothicus, in ignem projecti, & Romanus quidem continuo ex igne proſiluit. Id populus victoriam interpretabatur: nam liber alter ſub igne & flammis diu permanens illæſus inventus eſt. Rege arbitro populo nihilominus perſuaſum, utramque precandi rationem ſuperis placere: quando uterque liber ex incendio evaſiſſet incolumis: quodam temperamento eam controverſiam componendam videri: in antiquis urbis templis, quæ Mozarabum vulgo dicebantur, vetus precandi ratio retineretur. Quod hoc etiam tempore, ſtatis anni diebus, iis in templis factitari videmus. Præterea in templo maximo ſacellum extat, ubi ex Gothica precandi ratione, Franciſci Ximenii, Cardinalis, impenſis, (ne tantæ rei memoriam vetuſtas obrueret) ſacerdotes conſtituti ſacris dant operam. In reliquis templis, quæ denuo Toleti ſacrata erant, conſtitutum, ut ex Romano ritu rem divinam procurarent, & divinas laudes ſtatis diei temporibus decantarent.*

6. Ac-

6. ACCORDING to the Relation of *Mariana, Lib* IX. *cap.* 18. the Introduction of the *Roman* Service was eſtabliſhed at the *Council* of *Leon*, Anno. 1091. in that Kingdom likewiſe. *Neque catenus Bernardi conatus ſubſtiterunt, ſed Regem ſecutus in ulteriorem Caſtellam, Legione, urbe primaria, novum Epiſcoporum Concilium habet, anno ejus ſeculi nonageſimo primo, ut Lucas Tudenſis eſt autor. Affuit Raynerius, ex Cluniacenſi monacho preſbyter Cardinalis, ab Urbano Pontifice in Richardi, Abbatis Maſſilienſis, locum, ad Regem legatus. Utroque annitente, tum alia decreta promulgata diſciplinæ eccleſiaſticæ in mores revocandæ cauſa, quæ injuria temporum nimium laxata erat, tum illud conſtitutum: Gothicis litterarum characteribus, quas Ulfilas, Gothorum Epiſcopus, priuſquam venerint in Hiſpaniam, excogitarat, & invenerat primus, ne amplius uſus eſſet in publicis tabulis, ſed pro iis Gallicos characteres ſubſtitui.* This Relation is the more probable, if we conſider the Zeal of King *Alphonſus*, and of *Bernardus* Arch-biſhop of *Toledo*. The Acts of this Synod are loſt: *Rodericus* indeed, mentions them; but without taking Notice of the *Officium Romanum*, in particular. Lib. VI. cap. 30. *Interfuit etiam Renerius legatus, & Romanæ Eccleſiæ Cardinalis, ibidemque celebrato Concilio, cum Bernardo Toletano primate, multa de officiis eccleſiæ ſtatuerunt, & etiam de cætero, ut omnes Scriptores, omiſſa littera Toletana, quam Gulfilas, Gothorum Epiſcopus, adinvenit, Gallicis litteris uterentur.* LUCAS TUDENSIS is of a quite different Opinion; for he ſays, that at this Synod, the Church was directed to the Uſe of the *Officium B. Iſidori.* p. 101. *In prædicta vero ſynodo almi ſacerdotes de fide Catholica colloquentes ſtatuerunt, ut ſecundum regulam B. Iſidori, Hiſpalenſis Archiepiſcopi, eccleſiaſtica officia in Hiſpania regerentur. Statuerunt etiam, ut Scriptores de cætero Gallicam litteram ſcriberent, & prætermitterent Toletanam in officiis eccleſiaſticis, ut nulla eſſet diviſio inter miniſtros eccleſiæ Dei.*

Whence it had the Name of MOZARABICUM?

7. As therefore the *Chriſtians* in *Spain*, who had their own Kings, by degrees, conformed to the *Roman* Rites, and thoſe who lived among the *Saracens*, and were call'd *Mozarabes*, adher'd firmly to the *Officium Gothicum*, it was likewiſe thence call'd *Mozarabicum*; in the ſame Manner, as in more modern Times, it was call'd *Toletanum*, becauſe the Uſe of it was preſerved longeſt in that City.

IV.

Of the Coins of the WISI-GOTHS.

1. THE moſt compleat Collection of the Coins of the *Wiſi-Gothick* Kings, are owing to the Care of *Mahudel.* He begins with King *Theudis*, the Succeſſor of *Amalaric*, and goes as far as *Roderic*.

2. WE have, however, more ancient Accounts, that the Kings of the *Wiſi-Goths* cauſed Pieces of Gold to be coin'd: For *Avitus Viennenſis* lays it to the Charge of *Alaric*, II. as a Scandal, that he diminiſh'd the Standard of them. (*See the* XI. *Annotation, n.* 4.) A certain Man of Learning pretends to have ſeen a Coin of the firſt *Alaric*, who ſack'd *Rome*, but we need only read the Deſcription of it, to be convinced that it was ſpurious *.

Of the Spaniſh *Coins, which are generally attributed to the* WISI-GOTHS.

3. THERE are certain ancient Coins in *Spain*, with uncommon Letters, (whereof we find many Inſtances in *Laſtanoſa*,) which have given Occaſion to the Lovers of Antiquity, to form various Conjectures. Some, and principally *Antonius Auguſtinus*, are of Opinion, that they were coin'd in *Spain*, partly under the Dominion of the *Romans*, but in Part, perhaps ſooner; and the Letters found upon them were then in Uſe, in that Country. Others, and particularly *Olaus Wormius*, believe them to be *Gothick* Letters, and fancy they diſcover the ſame *Runen* in them, as they meet with in the Antiquities of *Denmark* and *Sweden* This Enquiry deſerves the rather to find Place here, as it may ſerve to illuſtrate what we have mention'd above, of the Manner of Writing among the *Wiſi-Goths.*

* PERINGSKIOLD. in not. ad Vit. Theoderici p. 263. *Porro felicibus auſpiciis Italiam adminiſtrante Alarico, in honorem Gothici ſui Regis nummum ſtari feriri curarunt Romani cives, qui parte anteriore Regis imaginem referebat, cum hac epigraphe:*

ALAREICO GOTHORUM MAXUMO.

Parte vero averſa Regem, pugilis inſtar depictum, adſtantemque ipſi leonem, ſublimius ſe attollentem, quem in inſignibus ſuis gerebat Alaricus, adpoſito lemmate:

HERCULEI ROMANO.

Id adeo genus nummos, reduces illa tempeſtate in patriam ſuam Gothi, veluti inſignia cimelia ſecum onuſti repertabant, quæ deinde pro itineris memoria, edoctæqæ ſub Regis hujus auſpiciis militiæ, ex collo ſuſpenſos circumgeſtare, quin & tumulo ſecum inferre volebant. Hujuſmodi nummum urnæ, una cum oſſium reliquiis, incluſum, ante hos ſeptendecim annos repererunt operarii quidam, dum in ſuburbio Holmenſi boreali collem ſepulcralem acquando horti cujuſdam pomoeria dilataturi erant.

Baron SPANHEIM's *Opinion of them.*

4. Ez. SPANHEIM, in ſome Meaſure, approves of both. He attributes ſome of theſe Coins to the *Ancient Spaniards*, and others to the *Goths*. His Words, *de uſu & præſtant. Numiſm.* T. I. p. 112. where he treats at large, *de Gothicis, aut Hiſpanicis nummis*, are: *Accedit, quæ de priſcis Gothorum aut Hiſpanorum litteris, non inutilis, aut injucunda ſeſe offert diſquiſitio. Quum enim plurimi nummi cum ænei, tum argentei, rudioris alias operis & ignotis ut plurimum litteris ſignati, occurrant, & in Hiſpania vel maxime; hinc non una de iis exſtat Antiquariorum ſententia. Antonius Auguſtinus, præter Runicos & Gothicos Hiſpaniæ nummos, aliquot ex iis veteri patriæ linguæ charactere exaratos credidit. Olaus Wormius diverſam ſententiam amplexus, eoſdem a Gothis in Hiſpania ſignatos, & clara litteraturæ Gothicæ vel Runicæ argumenta præferre exiſtimat. At rurſus viri docti, qui non ita pridem in illuſtrandis Nummis patriis verſati, Antonii Auguſtini frementes veſtigia, omnes id genus peregrinis aut barbaris litteris inſculptos, priſcis Hiſpanicis adnumerant. Unde quum apud Livium* argenti Oſcenſis, & ſignati Oſcenſis *ab Oſca, antiqua urbe Hiſpaniæ, denominati, mentionem non ſemel injectam reperiſſent; Nummos illos argenteos in Hiſpania obvios, in quibus paſſim eques cum jaculo decurrens cernitur, pro illo priſco* ſignato Oſcenſi *protulere. Rationes vero, quibus nituntur, petitæ aut numero, & multitudine nummorum, qui in Hiſpania effodiuntur; aut e characteribus ignotis; aut e communi illo in iis ſymbolo equitis decurrentis. Hæc autem, ut ingenue fatear, percuſſos quidem in Hiſpania nummos id genus, ſed non ab* Oſcenſibus *magis, quam a* Gotthis, *Hiſpaniæ per tot annos incolis, ſuadere mihi & evincere videntur. Potior illa auctoritas aliquanto, meo judicio, quam ex* Oſcæ *nummis, ſub Auguſto & Tiberio ſignatis, & ex Hiſpanico familiæ Afraniæ apud Fulvium Urſinum numiſmate oſtentant, cum eadem capitis imberbis, & decurrentis equitis in altera parte, effigie, & ignotarum in iisdem, ſeu Punicarum litterarum figura. Quod ipſum firmare videntur, quæ de non una litterarum forma apud Hiſpanos veteres priſci auctores tradidere; ex quorum numero Strabo, illos nec uno ſcribendi genere, nec una lingua uſos jam olim adſeruit. Si tamen meum qualecunque judicium liceat hic obiter interponere, aliquos ex iis ad Punicos veteris Hiſpaniæ nummos; pleroſque autem rudiores ad Gothicos ejuſdem tractus referre conſultius exiſtimarem. Neque enim ſoli Gaditani, aut vicini tractus nummi, Punicis accenſendi, ut ſtatuunt viri docti, quaſi Pœnorum in Hiſpania imperium, & lingua non ulterius ſeſe diffuderit. Utriuſque vero veſtigia non in Bætica ſolum, ſed Tarraconenſi*

nenſi etiam provincia obſervarunt eruditi, & vel una Cartago nova, Pæni Amilcaris in eadem opus, abunde comprobat. Gotthis vero adſcribendos pleroſque illos argenteos cum equite decurrente, aut geminis ſymbolis, potius quam antiquis Oſcenſibus, multa ſuadere mihi videntur. Talia nempe, diuturna Gothorum in Hiſpania ſedes, quæ litteras eorum & linguam in eandem, eamque nummorum id genus in illo tractu copiam, invexit, tum cum Gothicis aliis nummis Galliæ aut Italiæ conſenſus; plurimarum denique litterarum cum Runicis aut Gothicis adſinitas. Nec obſtare debet haud diſſimilis figuræ cum priſcis aliquot Hiſpaniæ nummis contemplatio, cum pateat ad inſtar bigatorum & denariorum veterum, aliorumque id genus priorum temporum, aureos & argenteos Gothorum nummos paſſim percuſſos.

Why they are rather to be attributed to the SPANIARDS?

5. BUT *Mahudel*, who has examin'd, with great Diligence, as well theſe Coins, as thoſe, which beyond all Doubt are of *Gothick* Original, leans wholly on the *Spaniſh* Side of the Queſtion. His Words are, in the Diſſertation Hiſtorique ſur les Monnoyes antiques d' Eſpagne p. 121. *A l'egard du ſentiment d' Olaus Wormius, pour lequel Mr. Spanheim ſemble ſe declarer, qui eſt, que ſe trouvant parmi les caracteres de ces monnoyes, que je qualifie Eſpagnoles, des lettres tout-à-fait ſemblables à celles, qui ſont dans les Alphabets Runiques & Gotiques, publiez par Ulfila, & par Edouard Bernard, il faut conclure, qu'elles ont eté frapées en Eſpagne par les Gots; ce ſentiment, dis-je, ne me paroit pas plus fondé, que les autres, non-ſeulement par les raiſons, que toutes celles de ces pieces, qui ſont d'argent, étant de même aloi, de même poids, de même fabrique, & avec des tetes, & des caracteres ſemblables à celles de deux deniers Conſulaires, l'un de la famille Domitia, & l'autre de l'Afrania; elles indiquent un tems anterieur a la venuë des Gots en Eſpagne; mais encore parce que la fabrique de leurs eſpeces, où du moins de celles, qu'on ſuppoſe, qu'ils ont frappees dans les autres pais, eſt tout-a-fait differente, & par le volume, & par le gout du deſſein, & de la graveure, qui eſt beaucoup plus groſſier. Comment d'ailleurs accorder avec cette opinion la quantité de ces pieces, qui ſe trouvent en cuivre dans le pais, en plus grande abondance, que d'aucune autre ſorte, chargees de figures, que les Colonies Romaines etablies en Eſpagne ont employées ſur leurs propres monnoyes, ſous les trois premiers Empereurs? Dira-t'on que dans le petit eſpace de tems, que les Gots auroient commencé à s'introduire dans cette province, ils y auroient plus laiſſés de leurs monumens, que les autres nations pendant cinque á ſix ſiecles entiers? Je dis dans un petit eſpace de tems, parceque leur monarchie n'y a pas plûtôt eu*

pris une forme, que ces Rois y ont fait battre des monnoyes en or, & en argent, avec leurs portraits, & leurs noms en caracteres Latins, d'un volume & d'un gout bien differens de celles, dont il s'agit ; auroient-ils eu dans un même état deux ſortes d'eſpeces, avec des differences ſi notables? où auroient-ils en ſi peu de tems changé totalement leurs caracteres? Mahudel himſelf has given ſuch an Illuſtration of theſe Coins, that we have not the leaſt Occaſion to have Recourſe to the Times of the *Goths* for them.

IV.

Remains of the GOTHICK LANGUAGE, *in the* SPANISH.

I HAVE already ſhewn, in a proper Place, (XV. 29.) that the *Wiſi-Goths* and *Swabians*, after they had ſettled in the *Roman* Provinces, by Degrees, took to the Language of the Country ; in the ſame Manner, as the *Burgundians*, and one Part of the *Franks*, had done in *Gaul*, and the *Longobards* in *Italy :* And this probably became more general, in the Time of *Reccaredus*, after the Difference of Religion ceas'd, and they were allowed to intermarry. (XV. 29. *n.* 6.) All public Acts, both Eccleſiaſtical and Civil, and particularly the Laws, were in the *Latin* Tongue; and, at Length, the Language of the Country, probably got the better in common Uſe : We are not therefore to wonder, if we find but ſmall Remains of the *German* Dialect. A *Spaniſh* Lawyer, *Andreas Poſa*, has made a Collection of them, in his Treatiſe, de la antigua lingua, &c. As incoherent as his Conceits are, they may not be altogether diſagreable to the Reader. He himſelf calls them *Paradoxon de priſca Hiſpanorum lingua*, and ſays, p. 59. *Quædam ſupereſt de Gotthica nunc dicamus lingua, cum de Romana, qua hodie per univerſam utimur Hiſpaniam, non eſt cur agamus pluribus. Dum illud interim admoneamus, vocabula,* lancea, *ſi credimus Varroni, de lingua Latina :* coſcolion, *nos gorgojo, ſi Plinio fidem habemus,* gurdus, *nos gordo, ut aſſerit Quintil. lib. I. Inſtit. Orat. de Hiſpanica (tu dic Cantabrica) eſſe farina.*

Gotthica igitur, quæ eſt Cimbrica lingua, quia una de 72. illis Babylonicæ confuſionis, vocabulis ſuis (ſicut & Cantrabrica) rerum arcana complectitur, unde fit, ut illa quidem ſententioſa : natio vero infœlici prognata ſolo ac cælo plane ſit barbara, & ſuperbe ſtupida, cujuſmodi cum nos aliquem inſimulare volumus, jam ab illorum denominatione vocamus Tocho, *a vocabulo* Duytſch.

De

DE Iſtius nationis vocibus adhuc nobis ſuperſunt, quæ ſequuntur, Rico, baluarte, eſtropear, blanco, botiller, eſcudilla, bordar, ganſo, vandera, bando, enpacar, pacar, eſcote, eſtandarte, quartago, flauta, franco, guardar, bala, Maſtil, rasparraton, albergar, eſgremir, guerra, eſcanciar, laud, boto, boſque, roſcin, carro, boya, bogar, caxa, quebrar, *& quæ alia ſuperiori libello recenſuimus.*

RAMIRUS, *nomen Cimbricum, ſignificat principem bene conſultum*, Veremundus, *eloquentem.* Fredericus *pacis amatorem.* Alonſus, *unde nos Alfonſus, Auguſti principis eſt omen, alons quaſi omnia ſint ſua.* Rodericus *a vocabulo* rotric, *equitatu ac peditatu pollentem.* Ferdinandus, *neque enim nos duplex u ſcribimus*, wernand, *manum tutelarem exprimit.* Thoriſmunus, *digna lingua, aut os, quod audias.* Wallia, *aggerem, nemus, ſtrenuum, inſinuat.*

HENRICUS, *principem indicat, qui jungit pariter, viribus ingenium, nos in noſtra vulgari exprimeremus mannoſo, Cimbri* hendich, behendich.

GUEVARA, *comitum de Oniate ſtemma illuſtre, boni patris, ſeu mavis compatris (quem nos compàdre) officium pollicetur.*

ALVAREZ, *multiplicem habet ſignificationem, tum quod ſit veridicus, quod procul a natali ſolo, quod capillitii albicantis.* Manricus, Guzmanus, *illud divitis, hoc probi viri indolem repræſentat.* Daſſa *olim magnatum ſtemma, nunc fere antiquatum, nutriam, amphibii generis animal, ſignificat.*

QUAS VOCES, neque multo plures, ut reor, Cimbricæ linguæ, mihi bene in illa verſato, annotaveris.

SED quis hoc crediderit, linguam Græcam, Latinæ matricem, (ſi Fabio Quintiliano credimus lib. 10.*) Cimbricæ iſtius, de qua verba facimus, in permultis admodum vocabulis eſſe filiam.* Patir, mitir, oinon, pir, thur, *unde Romani, a quibus nos, pater mater, vinum, &c.* Pater, *vater, muta in liquidam pro more commutata, ſatis emphatice inſinuat arbitrum, aut ſi mavis domitium vaſis, & receptaculi materni,* Muter, *quod ſemper in amore ſit anxie ſollicita, maternam exprimit charitatem.* Oinon, *quia Græci & Latini non ſcribunt (ut diximus) duplex upſilon, Cimbris conduplicatum, liquoris hujus beneficium anteponit, quaſi dicas medicinam ſanctam, quæ & noxium*

noxium quoque eradicet ac evellat humorem, wien *per jota*, wein *per diphtongum epſilon jota, utrumque tibi ſincopatum*, win, *unde nos vinum, deſcribit. Quæ conciſa de plusquam ducentis vocabulis, de induſtria brevitatis cauſa omiſſis, diſpunximus. Scio enim, doctiores illud facile admiſſuros, quod vocabula de illa potiſſimum ſunt lingua, in qua rei ſuæ arcanum, cur ita dicantur, complectuntur: ut Socrates apud Platonem diſſerit.*

XXVII. ANNO-

XXVII. ANNOTATION.

Of the Celtick Letters.

1. IT may be worth Enquiry, whether the *Ancient Celtæ* had not their own particular Letters, which were likewiſe in Uſe in *Gaul* and *Germania:* And whether the Ancient Letters, or as they were call'd *Runen*, of the *Franks* and *Anglo-Saxons*, had not their Riſe from them? That the *Celtick* Inhabitants of *Spain* had ſuch Letters, we may conclude from *Strabo* *, and is made the more probable by the Illuſtrations *Mahudel* has given us of the ancient *Spaniſh* Coins, as I mentioned above.

2. WE likewiſe find in *Italy*, ſome ancient Pieces, the Letters of which are unknown, particularly in *Sertorius Urſatus, in Monument. Patav. f.* 65. 131. 171. and 211. We likewiſe find ſome ſuch, among thoſe that are call'd *Etruſcan Monuments*, and paſs, among others, for Monuments of the ancient Inhabitants of *Toſcana*.

3. FRANCISCUS FABER, whom *Sertorius Urſatus* conſulted on that Head, has, with great Probability, conjectured, that theſe Fragments are Remains of the *Ciſalpine Gauls*, and that the Inſcriptions are *Celtick* Letters. The Subject, of it ſelf, deſerves, indeed, a farther Enquiry into: In the mean time, however, I will here inſert the Letter at large, as we find it in his Epiſtles, p. 112.

SERTORIO ORSATO, Patricio Patavino, Divi Marci Equiti nobiliſſimo,
FRANCISCUS FABER BREMONDANUS

S. P. D.

* L. III. p. 204. *Hi* (Turdetani) *omnium Hiſpanorum doctiſſimi judicantur, utunturque Grammatica, & antiquitatis monumenta habent conſcripta, ac poëmata, & metris incluſas leges, a ſex millibus, ut aiunt, annorum. Utuntur & reliqui Hiſpani Grammatica, non unius omnes generis: quippe ne eodem quidem ſermone.*

S. P. D.

" Librum tuum (Eques Illuſtriſſime) munus, quo me Patavii nuper
" totum devinxiſti, totum avidiſſimi luſtravi. Deus bone! quo ſtudio,
" qua pietatæ, & eruditione memoriæ tuæ Patriæ conſulis! Quæ via ad
" Immortalitatem rectior, quam a temporis edacitate tot illuſtria Monu-
" menta, Immortalitati vindicare! At quam attente Commentaria tua
" (queis vel Oedipus invideat) de illis perpenderim, ex eo ſcias, licet, quod
" quid de lapidibus, ignotis characteribus ſignatis, (quibus ideo nihil an-
" notaſti) ſententiam tibi aperire non reformidem, acrique judicio tuo ex-
" ponere. Hos igitur antiquiſſimorum Gallorum eſſe conjecto, qui Gal-
" liæ Ciſalpinæ nomen dedere. Et huc Biga barbaris notis circumſcripta,
" quam mihi dediſti, advehor, Diodoro Siculo annuente, ubi hæc de Gal-
" lis: In profectionibus, & pugnis Bigarum illis uſus, quæ aurigam, & eſ-
" ſedarium militem geſtant, & occurrentes in bello Equitibus Saunio (bar-
" baricum teli genus eſt) hoſtem petunt, tum ad gladii conflictum deſcen-
" dunt. Verum enimvero illa tuæ Bigæ inſervire, conſtanter exinde cen-
" ſeo, nec illam ullius aliarum Nationum eſſe, quæ rerum Provinciæ tuæ,
" immo totius Italiæ, unquam potitæ ſint, quod earum nullius ſint notæ
" inſcriptionis monumenti. Sed maxime non eſſe latinas nec puras, nec
" corruptas, (& hoc pace doctiſſimi viri, quem de monumento ovato con-
" ſuluiſti) mihi facile perſuaſit miles, qui cum auriga currui aſſidet: cum
" nuſquam in Latina Hiſtoria, genus illud vecturæ, apud Romanos, ad ali-
" um uſum adhibitum, quam ad Circenſes ludos repererim, & tunc ſolius
" aurigæ ductu. Nec eruditiſſimum Panvinum, in ſuo de illis ſpectaculis
" abſolutiſſimo opere, inde diſſentire certum habeo. Reliquum eſt, ut
" pro brevitate Epiſtolæ, proque tuo ingenio, omnium copaciſſimo, aliquid
" compendioſius addam de notis, quas Gallicas, vel potius Celticas (cujus
" vaſtiſſimi nominis Gallia, Germania, Hiſpania, Britannia & Illyricum
" ſunt ampliſſimæ partes) me conjectare aſſerui. Taciti enim figmentum
" de Germanis, Gallorum Germanis, eadem lingua ſacriſque utentibus,
" quos literarum expertos refert, a Clariſſimo Viro, Olao Wormio, explo-
" ſum non te latet, ſicut & barbaros Patavinorum monumentorum charac-
" teres haud multum ab antiquiſſimis Danicis abſimiles. Nec me Julii
" Cæſaris fugit auctoritas, quem Græcis Gallos ſcripſiſſe notis, immo &
" vocibus teſtem habeo: quod equidem Cindonactis probat monumentum,
" cujus Janus Gruterus (licet mendoſe) meminit, & Divioduni, apud quod
" effoſſum, adhuc ſtudioſe adſervari dicunt. Id etiam non obſcure confir-
" mant Inſcriptiones antiquiſſimæ, quæ, Bonaventura Caſtilionæo referente,

" jam

" jam tum ævo ſuo in Monte Sempronii viſebantur, iiſdem litteris exaratæ,
" voceſque barbaras exprimentes *. Verum Gallos antequam Phocenſes
" ad Maſſiliæ oram appellerent, Græciſque Inſtitutis illos imbuerent, gra-
" phica arte caruiſſe, vix crediderit, qui volumen Numiſmatum Incogni-
" torum nuper in Hiſpania typis excuſum viderit. Hæc enim in Celtibe-
" ricus Oppidis, (quæ Gallorum Celtarum Coloniæ fuere, priuſquam vel
" Punica, vel Romana ambitio illue penetraret) pleraque effoſſa, multaque
" litteris perquam ſimilibus, illis de quibus ſermo, ſignata viſuntur. Adde
" (quod, & forſan majoris ponderis,) in Oppido Geſſati, cui a Geſſatis Gal-
" lis appellatio, inter antiquiſſima rudera, laterem effoſſum iisdemmet cha-
" racteribus notum, quem C. V. Marcus Cremoſanus, antiquitatis cultor
" eximius, cœmentario, ne pars novi parietis eſſet e manibus eripuit, ac in
" ſuo inſtructiſſimo Muſæo locavit. Hæc ad te de Biga, deque cæteris
" Monumentis iiſdem litteris, quibus illa, notatis, ſcribere viſum fuit, cujus
" quidem meæ ſententiæ fundos tibi Auctores graviſſimos dedi. An vero
" in tantis tenebris Antiquitatis certi aliquid conjecerim in ea re, quæ ha-
" riolum potius, & Evandri Matrem deſiderat, quam Rhetorem & Gram-
" mattici criſim, tua erit exiſtimatio. Sed de his hactenus. Vale, Eques
" Illuſtriſſime, Patriæ tuæ decus, atque a me † Sororium tuum Illuſtriſſi-
" mum, præclarum Muſarum alumnum, ſalvere jube. Mediolani 16.
" Maii MDCLV.

* The Words of Bonav. Castilionibus, to which the Author refers, are in his Treatiſe, *de Gallorum Inſubrum antiquis ſedibus, (in Theſ. It. T. I. p.* 183.) *Redeo in Veterem Vallem, in qua, propter itineris anguſtias, plurima ex parte mons operarierum manu inciſus viſitur, maximum omnino Cæſarianæ munificentiæ teſtimonium, niſi in montis exciſi fornice inſculptæ ſaxo literæ, notis quidem Græcis, ſed quæ tamen in hanc uſque diem intelligi nequeant, Gallorum (ut reor) vel Germanorum opus eſſe indicarent. Quicquid ibi contineatur, quando inſpicientibus non ſit obvium, barbarum arbitror, fortaſſeque Burgundionum idiomate confectum.* And farther, *p.* 184. *Si qui ſunt, qui minus credant, gentes iſtas Græcis characteribus uſas fuiſſe, conferant ſe ad Commentaria Cæſar. Libro. I. & ibi aſpicient tabulas in caſtris Helvetiorum repertas, notis Græcanicis ſcriptas: quos tamen conſtabat, idiomate Græco non locutos, ſed, quo & hodie utuntur, Celtico, alioqui Caio Cæſari, qui Græcam æque ut Latinam linguam noverat, cum Helvetiis & Germanis opus interprete non fuiſſet.*

† Carolum de Doctoribus.

XXVIII. ANNOTATION

Of the Anglo-Saxon *Letters.*

1. AS I have taken it for granted, (XIV. 33.) that the *Anglo-Saxons* had their Letters (or *Runæ*) before they went over to *Britain*, it may be worth our while, to enquire more circumſtantially into that Matter, in this Place. When we conſider the Letters of the *Anglo-Saxons* and *Goths*, we may eaſily conceive, that other *German* Nations had alſo ſomething of that Nature.

The Teſtimony of HUMPHREY WANLEY.

2. *Mr.* HUMPHREY WANLEY's Teſtimony of the *Anglo-Saxon* Letters, is of the more Importance, as he had the greateſt Experience in theſe Antiquities. He writes, *in præf. ad Catalogum librorum Veterum Septentr. qui in Bibliothec. Angl. reperiuntur.* " Majores noſtros Jutas,
" Anglo-Saxoneſque, cum in Britanniam advenirent, literarum prorſus
" rudes, quod aliqui putant, fuiſſe, adeo non credo, ut illos ſecum Runas
" (ſ. Gothicas litteras) attuliſſe, mihi perſuaſum eſt, tum quod in anti-
" quis temporibus Septentrionales populi cis & ultra Mare Balticum
" Runis uſi ſunt; tum etiam quod in antiquiſſimis noſtris Codicibus non-
" nullæ Runæ Romanis literis commiſtæ cernuntur; tum denique quod
" *Thorn & Wen*, quæ Romanas literas amplexi, Anglo-Saxones retinue-
" runt, Nomine, Figura, & Poteſtate, puræ putæ Runæ ſunt. Quinimo
" tantum abeſt, ut Majores noſtri Septentrionales, cum in Britanniam pro-
" ficiſcerentur, Literarum rudes eſſent; ut, me judice, probabile potius ſit,
" Romanarum literarum illos, pariter ac barbaras alias gentes, jam tum no-
" titiam habuiſſe. Pariter, inquam, ac barbaras alias gentes, ſcilicet Fran-
" cos, Germanos, Lombardos, Vandalos, cæteroſque Gothorum populos,
" qui cum Romanis bello paceque res geſſerunt, ac in ſcribendo Romanis
" literis uſi ſunt. Valde igitur allucinati eſſe videntur, qui Saxones noſtros
" Romanarum literarum cognitionem ab Hibernis cepiſſe dicunt, quemad-
" modum vir ille doctus, Rodericus O Flaharty, in Ogygia ſua. Neque
" minus

" minus falluntur, qui illos a Britannis Romanorum literas didiciſſe con-
" tendunt, quæ aliquorum Cambro-Britannorum, qui docte ſcripſerunt,
" ſententia eſt. Cum contra vero maxime ſimile ſit, omnes tam Anglo-
" Saxones, quam Britannnos, & Hibernos, Romanorum literas a Romanis
" ipſis pariter accepiſſe. Verum hac de re ut aliis liberum judicium relin-
" quam, citra controverſiam eſt, cum fide Chriſtiana Majores noſtros Ro-
" manarum literarum ſcientiam & uſum accepiſſe. Auguſtinus, dictus
" Anglorum Apoſtolus, qui Evangelium apud eos prædicabat, multos (ut
" probabile eſt) ſecum attulit libros latine ſcriptos, ſpeciatim Gregorii Magni
" Papæ, qui illum in Angliam miſit, Paſtorale, quemadmodum videre eſt
" in Catalogi noſtri pag. 70. Idem Gregorius ad illum etiam miſit mag-
" nam librorum copiam, quorum duo, me judice, in Bibliothecis Bodleia-
" na, & C. C. C. C.* hodie ſuperſunt. Ab adventu igitur Auguſtini ſen-
" ſim inoleſcere apud Anglo-Saxones cœpit Romanarum literarum, & lite-
" raturæ uſus; adeo ut fere, quicquid ab iis Latinis Characteribus ſcrip-
" tum, aut ſculptum vidi, ab illo tempore ſcriptum ſculptumque eſſe con-
" ſtat. Etenim Clerus Anglicanus Romanæ literaturæ diligenter ſtudebat,
" clerique ſolius induſtriæ præcipue debetur, quod non tantum religio
" Chriſtiana, ſed humaniores literæ & ſcriptura ipſa ab Auguſtini tempo-
" ribus ad introitum Danorum florerent, & deinde quod ad Ælfredum
" Regem, Danis omnia vaſtantibus, penitus non perirent. In iis tempori-
" bus ſenſim exoleſcere cœpit Runarum in ſcribendo uſus &c.

And of Andrew Fountain.

3. *Sir* Andrew Fountain, *in Diſs. epiſtolar. de Numis Anglo-Saxonicis*, p. 163. has given us a more exact Account of the two-fold Manner of Writing among the *Anglo-Saxons.* " Verum & aliis multis nominibus
" magnus eſt veterum noſtrorum numiſmatum uſus, propter quem docti
" non tantum non aſpernari illa, ſed in pretio habere debent. Etenim
" primo inſcriptionibus ſuis, quæ antiquas literas ex Alphabeto Runico de-
" ſumtas oſtendunt, ad dignoſcendam Codicum in Anglia ſcriptorum ante
" nongentos annos antiquitatem quam maxime conducunt. Nam ante id
" tempus priſtinæ illæ literæ, tam in ſcribendis libris, quam in ſignandis
" numis majoribus noſtris in uſu erant, & Alphabeti illius antiqui, ſed mi-
" nus elegantis, pars fuerunt, quod, (ut ſcribit Ingulphus) Rex Ælfredus
" in novam & elegantiorem ſcribendi formam convertit, quæ, exeunte
nono

* f. Collegii Corporis Chriſti Cantabrigienſis.

" nono ſeculo, cum Rex ille principatum obtineret, Romanis literis in ve-
" tuſtarum loco ſubſtitutis, inoleſcére apud Anglos cœpit.

4. Of this more modern *Anglo-Saxon* Character, we find diverſe *Codices* in *Germany*, for which we are indebted to ſeveral Teachers of it, and in particular, to *Boniface* himſelf, who came out of *England*, and made Uſe of theſe *Codices*.

Harduin's *ſingular Opinion of the* Anglo-Saxon *Letters.*

5. F. Harduin, as it is cuſtomary with him, has a very odd Notion, (which could have entered into no Man's Brain but his own,) of the *Anglo-Saxon* Letters, of the Language itſelf, and of the Writings we have it. He will have it, in *Chronol. Veter Teſt. p.* 34, *and* 35. to be all Invention: But *Hickes*, in the Preface to his *Theſaurus*, p. 23. ſeq. has anſwered him at large.

XXIX. ANNOTATION.

Whether the Picts *were of* German *Extraction?*

1. I Took Notice (XIV. 32.) of the *Picts*, whoſe Original ſome will pretend to derive from the *Germans*. They were called *Picti*, becauſe it was a Cuſtom with them to paint their Bodies. *Julius Cæſar* ſays the ſame of the *Britons*, in general *: But of the *Picts* we find, in particular, that they imprinted all Manner of Figures on their Skins. Thus *Auſonius ſays of them*; Moſel. 67. - *Viridem diſtinguit glarea muſcum*
Nota Caledoniis talis pictura Britannis.

And Claudian:

- - - *Ferroque notatas*
Perlegit exanimes Picto moriente figuras.

Isidorus ſhews us their very Manner of performing it †. When the *Southern* Part of *Britain* came under the Dominion of the *Romans*, the *North-Britons* retained this Cuſtom, even to the *8th* Century; when, upon the Introduction of *Chriſtianity*, the Councils expreſſed their Zeal againſt it ‡.

* Caesar de Bel. Gall. V. 14. *Omnes vero ſe Britanni vitro inficiunt, quod cæruleum efficit colorem, atque hoc horribiliore ſunt in pugna adſpectu.* Mela Lib. III. cap. 6. ſays of them: *Incertum ob decorem, an quid aliud, ultro* (fortaſſe, vitro) *corpora inficiunt.*

† Isidorus Origin. IX. 2. *Scoti propria lingua nomen habent a picto corpore, eo, quod aculeis ferreis, cum atramento, variarum figurarum ſtigmate annotentur.*

‡ In Synodo, A. 787. Calchutæ celebr. Can 19. (Conc. Labb. T. VI. p. 1872. *thoſe who painted themſelves are cenſured:* " Annexuimus, ut unuſquiſque fidelis Chriſtianus a catholicis juris " exemplum accipiat: et ſi quid ex ritu paganorum remanſit, avellatur, contemnatur, abjiciatur. " Deus enim formavit hominem pulchrum in decore et ſpecie; pagani vero diabolico inſtinctu cica- " trices teterrimas ſuperinduxerunt, dicente Prudentio: Finxit et innocuam maculis ſordentibus hu- " mum. Domino enim videtur facere injuriam, qui creaturam fœdat et deturpat. Certe ſi pro " Deo aliquis hanc tincturæ injuriam ſuſtineret, magnam inde remunerationem acciperet. Sed quiſ- " quis ex ſuperſtitione gentilium id agit, non ei proficit ad ſalutem."

2. Of

2. Of theſe *Picts*, *Bede* ſays, *Hiſt. Eccles. Anglor. Lib.* I. *cap.* I. that they came originally from *Scythia* into *Ireland*. *Et cum plurimam inſulæ partem (incipientes ab Auſtro) poſſediſſent, contigit, gentem Pictorum de Scythia (ut perhibent) longis navibus non multis Oceanum ingreſſam, circumagente flatu ventorum, extra fines omnes Britanniæ Hiberniam perveniſſe.* And cap. 12. writing of *Britain*, he makes a Diſtinction between the Languages of the *Britons* and *Picts*. *Hæc in præſenti, juxta numerum librorum, quibus lex divina ſcripta eſt, quinque gentium linguis, unam eandemque ſummæ veritatis et veræ ſublimitatis ſcientiam ſcrutatur et confitetur; Anglorum videlicet, Brittonum, Scottorum, Pictorum et Latinorum, quæ meditatione ſcripturarum cæteris omnibus eſt facta communis.*

3. Bede's Opinion has met with the Approbation of ſeveral Men of Learning in *England*; and the more as *Tacitus*, in his Time, likewiſe conjectured, that the *Caledonians* came out of *Germany* *. *Stillingfleet*, in Origin. Brit. p. 446. pretends to bring the *Caledonians* from *Scandinavia*: And *Camden*, himſelf, who in another Place, will not wholly agree with *Bede*, p. 1468. ſays, the Language of the *Picts* was a Daughter of the *German*.

4. As a farther Proof of this, it will be proper to enquire, whether any of the *Northern* People, who are included in the general Name of *Scyths*, had likewiſe this Cuſtom. The *Agathyrſi* were principally noted for it, of whom *Virgil* ſays:

——— *Pictique Agathirſi.*

Solinus tells us, that they did it with a Sort of blue Stain: *Genolis Agathyrſi collimitantur cæruleo picti.* Tacitus *ſays, cap.* 43. *of the* Arii: *Cæterum Arii ſuper vires, quibus enumeratos paullo populos antecedunt, truces, inſitæ feritati arte ac tempore lenocinantur. Nigra ſcuta, tincta corpora, atras ad prælia noctes legunt. Ipſaque formidine atque umbra feralis exercitus terrorem inferunt, nullo hoſtium ſuſtinente novum, ac velut infernum aſpectum* ‡.

5.

* Vit. Agricol. 11. *Ceterum Britanniam qui mortales initio coluerint, indigenæ, an advecti, ut inter barbaros, parum compertum. Habitus corporum varii: atque ex eo argumenta. Nam rutilæ Caledoniam habitantium comæ, magni artus, Germanicam originem aſſeverant.*

† Add. Usser. Antiquit. Eccleſ. Brit. cap. 15.

* Of the Moſſyni, a Nation of *Cappadocia*, Plin. ſays, Hiſt. nat. VI. 4. *Moſſyni, notis ſignantes corpora.* Which *Mela, Lib.* I. *cap.* 19. has likewiſe obſerved. Not to mention, that in more mo-

dern

5. CAMBDEN is greatly of Opinion, that the *Picts* were one and the ſame Nation with the reſt of the *Britons*. A modern Author (Mr. *Thomas Innes*) † has undertaken to prove this more amply, and affirms, that the *Picts* were the ſame priſtine Inhabitants of *North-Britain*, whom we in particular meet with, in more ancient Writers, by the Name of *Caledonii* and *Victuriones*; as likewiſe, that their Language was a Dialect of the *Britiſh*, which as well as the *Iriſh* is deriv'd from the *Celtick*.

dern Times, the *Tanguſi*, a *Pagan* Nation in *Siberia*, had likewiſe ſome Remains of this Cuſtom, as *Yſbrand* tells us, in his Voyages,

† CRITICAL Eſſay on the ancient Inhabitants of the *Northern* Parts of *Britain*, &c. T. I. cap. 3. p. 42. ſq.

XXX.

XXX. ANNOTATION.

Of the Sarmatians *in general.*

I.

THE Name of *Sarmatia* and *Sarmatians*, occur ſo often in the Hiſtory of the *Germans*, that a farther Illuſtration of it, may give a particular Light to that Hiſtory; and that in more latter Times, when we find ſo many Countries poſſeſs'd by *Sarmatian* Nations. However, what we find of this Nation, in Antiquity, is ſo obſcure and uncertain, that I muſt be contented with barely hinting at ſome Particulars, which may be reduced to ſome greater Certainty than others.

1. ACCORDING to *Herodotus*, the *Sauromatæ* firſt dwelt in *Aſia*, between the *Caucaſus* and the *Tanais*. After they had paſſed this River, which the Ancients made the Confines of *Europe* and *Aſia*, they eſtabliſhed themſelves in that Country, which was inhabited by the *Scythians*, properly ſo called. Hence it is, that they themſelves are comprehended under the Name of *Scythians*, and are diſtinguiſhed by Geographers, by the Appellations of *European* and *Aſiatick Sarmatians*. By Degrees, they extended themſelves in *Europe*, till, at Length, all the Countries, from the *Tanais* to the *Viſtula*, was known by the Name of *Sarmatia Europæa*, which Confines *Mela*, and, after him, *Ptolemy* take Notice of.

The different Nations in Sarmatia-Europæa. Scythians, Sarmatians, Germans: *And likewiſe* Greek Colonies.

BUT we are not therefore to ſuppoſe, that all the Inhabitants of *Sarmatia-Europæa*, were *Sarmatians*. Some Nations remained there, who belonged to the *Scythians*, properly ſo called. Several *German* Nations dwelt among the *Scythians* and *Sarmatians*. In particular, the *Goths* were very buſy there, and brought the greater Part of the Inhabitants under their Dominion, inſomuch, that the principal Seat of the *Gothick* Power, in the fourth Century, was in theſe Parts. Even ſome *Grecian* Colonies ſtood their Ground,

Grouud, in the Midſt of theſe Savage Neighbours. The City of *Boryſthenes*, or *Olbia*, at the Mouth of the River of that Name, the Inhabitants of which are, by *Miletus*, accounted *Greeks*, was particularly famous *. *Dion Chryſoſtomus*, a famous Orator, in the Time of *Trajan*, mentions his Journy thither, and gives us the Oration, which he held there in the Temple of *Jupiter*. Who would believe that *Homer* and *Plato* were then read on the *Nieper*? We ſee, by the Oration I juſt mentioned, that this Colony had preſerved the Bent of the Nation, from which they were deſcended, even in this Point.

3. It is, however, difficult to trace out exactly the Habitations of theſe Nations. Ancient Geographers were not themſelves perfectly acquainted with this extenſive Tract of Land. As far as it reached, on the *Pontus Euxinus*, they give a pretty juſt Account of the Rivers, and the People who dwelt on the Banks of them: But they have the leſs Knowledge of the Inhabitants of the inward and *Northern* Parts; and, without any Scruple, deſcribe them to be *Monoculi*, *Cannibals*, and whatever an Imagination prone to Fables could invent. To this, we may add, that moſt of the *Sarmatian* Nations, in Conformity to their Manner of Life, had no certain or conſtant Habitation; they choſe rather to wander from Country to Country: And beſides, they were often at War with one another; and the Vanquiſhed knew how to throw off their Yoke, with as much Eaſe as it was laid upon them.

II.

Account of the Sarmatians *from* Herodotus.

1. Under this Obſcurity and Incertitude, it will be neceſſary for us to diſtinguiſh the Times. We muſt firſt conſider *Sarmatia* as deſcribed by *Herodotus*. I remember, indeed, that *Strabo* complains of him, and owns he would rather rely on *Homer* and *Heſiod*, tho' Poets, than on *Herodotus* †.

* From DION CHRYSOSTOMUS, we may learn the Situation of this City (in which Geographers vary) with the greateſt Certainty. In his Os Borysthen, p. 437. he ſays: *Civitas nomen quidem accepit a Boryſthene, propter fluminis pulchritudinem, magnitudinemque; adjacet autem Hypanidi.*

† *THE Words of* Strabo *are the more deſerving of a Place here, as they ſhew us, at the ſame Time, how the Countries about the* Tanais, *became, by degrees, known. He ſays,* Lib. IX. p. 508. "Vete-"res Græcorum ſcriptores univerſas gentes Septentrionales Scytharum et Celtoſcytharum nomine "affecerunt. Iis autem antiquiores ita diviſerunt eas, ut, qui ſupra Euxinum, Iſtrum et Adriam in-colerent,

His Relations have, however, the Preference of Antiquity. A proper Enquiry muſt diſtinguiſh Fables from Hiſtory, and Certainty from Probability.

2. HERODOTUS, Lib. IV. *cap.* 17. *& ſeq.* gives us the following Deſcription of *Sarmatia Europæa*. " Verum nos, quoad longiſſime rem " inveſtigare potuimus, omnem referemus. Ab emporio Boryſthenarum " (hoc enim ex maritimis totius Scythiæ eſt maxime medium) primi inco- " lunt Callipidæ, qui ſunt Græcoſcythæ, *id eſt, e Græcis facti Scythæ:* " ſuper hos aliud genus eorum, qui vocantur HALIZONES. Horum utri- " que cum in cæteris ſervant ritum Scytharum, tum in ſerendo, atque veſ- " cendo cæpe, allio, lente, milio. Supra HALIZONES autem incolunt Scy- " thæ aratores, qui non ad panem conficiendum ſerunt triticum, ſed ad il- " lum torrendum. Supra hos incolunt NEURI: quorum tractus, qui ad " aquilonem vergit, quantum nos ſcimus, deſertus eſt. Atque hæ quidem " nationes juxta flumen HYPANIN colunt, ac occidentalem partem Bo- " ryſthenis. Verum, tranſmiſſo Boryſthene, a mari prima eſt Hylæa: de- " hinc habitant Scythæ agricolæ, quos Græci, qui ſub Hypane incolunt, " Boryſthenitas appellant, ipſi vero ſe Olbiopolitas. Hi igitur agricolæ " Scythæ colunt eum quidem tractum, qui vergit ad auroram, trium die- " rum itinere, pertinentes ad flumen, nomine PANTICAPEM: eum vero, " qui ad ventum aquilonem, undecim dierum navigatione, Boryſthenem " verſus. Tractus autem qui ulterior eſt, in multum ſane ſpatii deſertus " eſt. Ultra quam ſolitudinem habitant Androphagi, *id eſt, virorum car-* " *ne veſcentes*, ſeparata natio, ac nequaquam Scythica. At ſupra hos de- " ſerta jam procul dubio omnia, nec ulla gens, quantum nos ſcimus. At " horum Scytharum, qui agricolæ ſunt, plagam, quæ ad auroram vergit, " tranſmiſſo flumine Panticape, Scythæ NOMADES, *id eſt, pecuarii*, inco-

" colerent, eos omnes Hyperboreos, Sauromatas, et Arimaſpos appellarent: qui trans mare Hyrca- " num, Sacas et Maſſagetas. Neque vero de iis quicquam potuerunt accurate ſcribere, quantum vis " Cyri adverſus Maſſagetas bellum narrarent. Sed neque de his quiſquam veritatem exacte perhi- " buit, neque de priſcis Perſarum, Medorum, Syrorum rebus, fidem admodum magnam invenerunt " ſcriptores: idque ob ipſorum ſimplicitatem, et fabulas edendi ſtudium. Cum enim viderent, in " honore eſſe eos, qui e profeſſo fabulas ſcriberent, exiſtimaverunt, ſuam quoque ſcriptionem lectori- " bus jucundam fore, ſi ſub narrationis veræ ſpecie ea dicerent, quæ neque vidiſſent neque audiviſ- " ſent, ſaltem ex iis, quibus cognita iſta eſſent, id unum ſpectantes, ut auditio amæna fieret atque ad- " mirabilis. Equidem facilius Heſiodo et Homero aliquis fidem adhibuerit, cum de heroibus verba " faciunt, itemque tragicis poetis: quam Cteſiæ, Herodoto, Hellanico, et eorum ſimilibus. Ple- " riſque etiam eorum, qui de Alexandro ſcripſerunt, credere non eſt ſatis tutum. Nam et iſti facile " verba dant, cum ob Alexandri gloriam, tum quod expeditio procul a nobis in extremos Aſiæ fines " facta fuit. Difficulter autem redarguuntur, quæ de longe diſſitis narrantur. Romanorum et Par- " thorum imperium magis aperuit rerum iſtarum cognitionem, quam ante tradita. Qui enim iſta " deſcripſerunt, cum gentes, cum res geſtas fidelius deſcripſerunt, quam priores: plenius enim perſpe- " xerunt.

" lunt,

" lunt, neque ſerentes quicquam, neque arantes. Nuda autem eſt arbori-
" bus omnis hæc plaga, præter Hylæum. NOMADES autem iſti incolunt
" tractum quatuordecim dierum longitudinis, auroram verſus, ad GER-
" RHUM uſque flumen. Trans Gerrhum autem ſunt ea, quæ vocantur
" regia, et Scythæ optimi pariter et plurimi, et qui ſuos ſervos eſſe cæteros
" Scythas arbitrantur: a meridie quidem ad TAURICAM regionem pertin-
" gentes: ab aurora vero ad foſſam quam dixerunt, iſti, qui a cæcis geniti
" fuerunt, Oryxam: et ad emporium paludis Mæotidis, quod vocatur
" CREMNI, *id eſt, prærupta:* quorum pars ad flumen Tanaim porrigitur.
" At quæ ſuperiora ſunt, ad ventum aquilonem, Scythis regiis, ea incolunt
" MELANCHLAENI, alia gens non Scythica. Et ſupra Melanchlænos pa-
" ludes ſunt, et deſerta hominibus regio, quantum noſcimus. Trans flu-
" men autem Tanaim non eſt regio Scythica, ſed prima LAXIORUM SAU-
" ROMATARUM, qui a receſſu Mæotidos paludis incipientes, incolunt
" tractum, qui ſpectat aquilonem, itinere dierum quindecim, vacuum
" prorſus arboribus tam agreſtibus quam fructiferis. Supra hos habitant
" (quæ ſecunda portio eſt) BUDINI, terram colentes totam omni arborum
" genere abundantem." By this Paſſage we ſee, that in the Time of *Herodotus*, the Country afterwards called *Sarmatia Europæa*, was not inhabited by *Sarmatians*, but by the *Scythians*, properly ſo called; and that they
" were two different Nations. The *Sarmatians* therefore extended them-
" ſelves in *Europe* after his Time; and, in Conſequence thereof, the Name of *Scythians* was obliged to give Way to theirs.

3. FOR the ſecond Period of the Situation of *Sarmatia*, we are indebted to *Ptolemy*'s Deſcription, of which, as far as regards *Sarmatia Europæa*, ſee above VI. 43. *n.* 3. Tho' the Nations there mentioned, did not conſtantly remain in the Habitations they then poſſeſſed; but were ſubject to great Revolutions, occaſioned firſt by the *Goths*, and afterwards by the *Hunns*. Whence *Sarmatia*, in the ſixth Century, and chiefly in the Reign of *Juſtinian*, differed greatly from what it was in *Ptolemy*'s Time.

III.

The Sarmatians *are deſcended from the* Medes, *and are different from the* Scythians.

1. As to the Orignal of the *Sarmatians*, *Pliny* calls them *Medorum Soboles*, and *Mela*, *habitu armiſque Parthis proximi*. Their Manners likewiſe ſhew

ſhew us, in Reality, ſome Signs, that render this Tradition of their Original the more probable. The Ancients indeed comprehend them under the Name of *Scythians*; but *Pliny*, at the ſame Time, obſerves, in expreſs Terms, that they were a different People from the *Scythians* properly ſo called *, which is likewiſe evident from *Herodotus*. Theſe Writers have not, however, deſcribed the *Sarmatians* ſo amply, that we can, from them, always diſtinguiſh, what Nations are to be accounted of their Race, and what not.

AMAZONES SARMATIDÆ.

2. ANTIQUITIES, at ſo great a Diſtance of Time, may eaſily give Occaſion to bold Conjectures. *Herodotus* gives us even an Account how the *Amazons* paſſed the *Tanais*, ſettled themſelves in *Aſia* among the *Sarmatians*, and, at Length, married with them †. But *Hercules* may have found it an eaſier Taſk, to rob their Queen of her Girdle, than it would be, in this Point, for Hiſtory to ſeparate the Truth from Fable.

IV.

The Mention that is made of the Sarmatians, *in the Hiſtories of the Kings of* Pontus, *and the* Parthians.

1. THE moſt ancient Account we find of the *Saracens* in *Aſia*, that can be depended on, is in the Hiſtory of their Neighbours, and firſt in that of the Kings of *Pontus*. The *Sarmatians* are mentioned among thoſe Nations, which King *Mithridates* drew over to his Party ‡.

2. TACITUS mentions them, in his Account of the War between *Artabanus*, King of the *Parthians*, and *Pharaſmanes* King of *Iberia*, in *Tiberius*'s Reign. The *Sarmatian* Nations were divided, ſome taking the Part of the *Parthians*, and others that of the King of *Iberia*. *Ann.* VI. 33. " Contra, Pharaſmanes adjungere Albanos, accipere Sarmatas; quorum " Sceptuchi utrimque donis acceptis, more gentico diverſa induere. Sed " Iberi locorum potentes, Caſpia via Sarmatam in Armenios raptim effun- " dunt. At qui Parthis adventabant, facile arcebantur: cum alios inceſ- " ſus hoſtis clauſiſſet; unum reliquum, mare inter et extremos Albanorum

* PLIN. IV. 25 *Scytharum nomen uſquequaque tranſit in Sarmatas atque Germanos. Nec aliis priſca illa duravit appellatio, quam qui extremi gentium harum, ignoti prope ceteris mortalibus degunt.*

† HEROD. IV. 110. 113. 114. STRABO likewiſe mentions the *Amazons* among the *Sarmatians*. Lib. 3. cap. 5. *Intus ſunt ad Caſpium ſinum Caſpii, et Amazones, ſed quas Sauromatides appellant.*

‡ JUSTIN. Lib. XXXVIII. cap. 3.

montes,

" montes æſtas impediret ; quia flatibus eteſiarum implentur vada ; hi-
" bernus Auſter revoluit fluctus, pulſoque introrſus freto, brevia litorum
" nudantur". In the following 34. *Chapter*, he gives an Account of the Battle which was fought between the two Kings. That Paſſage contains, at the ſame Time, ſome Circumſtances of the *Sarmatian* Manner of fighting. " Ceterum directa utrimque acie, Parthus imperium Orientis, clari-
" tudinem Arſacidarum, contraque ignobilem Iberum mercenario milite,
" differebat: Pharaſmanes, integros ſemet a Parthico dominatu ; quanto
" majora peterent, plus decoris victores, aut ſi terga darent, flagitii atque
" periculi laturos, ſimul horridam ſuorum aciem, picta auro Medorum ag-
" mina ; hinc viros, inde prædam oſtendere. Enimvero apud Sarmatas
" non una vox ducis: ſe quiſque ſtimulant, ne pugnam per ſagittas inirent,
" impetu et cominus præveniendum. Variæ hinc bellantium ſpecies, cum
" Parthus ſequi vel fugere pari arte ſuetus, diſtraheret turmas, ſpatium icti-
" bus quæreret: Sarmatæ omiſſo arcu, quo brevius valent, contis gladiiſ-
" que ruerent: modo equeſtris prælii more, frontis et tergi vices, aliquan-
" do, ut conſerta acies, corporibus et pulſu armorum pellerent, pellerentur".

3. Pliny likewiſe mentions them, on Occaſion of *Mithridates*, King of *Iberia*, who fled to them for Refuge, in the Reign of *Claudius*. He ſays, *Lib.* VI. 5. where he mentions the People of *Colchis*: " A tergo ejus
" Epageritæ, Sarmatarum populus, in Caucaſi jugis: poſt quem Sauro-
" matæ. Ad hos confugerat Mithridates, Claudio Principe *&c.*

V.

Coins of ſome of the Kings of the Sarmatians.

There are ſome Coins remaining of Kings, who bore the Name of *Sauromates* *, which were coined in the Reigns of *Trajan*, *Adrian*, and *Septimius Severus*. The Heads of the *Roman* Emperors, which are on one Side of them, ſufficiently prove, that theſe Princes acknowledged their Supremacy. *Ezech. Spanheim* ſuppoſes them to have been Kings of *Boſphorus* †; and in this I have followed him, *Vol.* I. *V.* 10. *n.* 10.

* That *Sauromates* was a proper Name, is plain from theſe Coins. *Ammianus Marcellinus* mentions a *Sauromates*, King of *Iberia*. We likewiſe meet with the ſame Name, here and there, in the *Themata Conſtantini Porphyrogeniti*.

† *SPANHEIM* treats of theſe Coins, *T.* I. *p.* 489. *ſeq.* and *T.* II. *p.* 576. *As does likewiſe* Hoym, in *Theſ. Britan. Vol.* II. *p.* 51. The latter even attempts to give us a Succeſſion of theſe Kings.

But

But *Vaillant* has examined this Matter more accurately. He imagines them to be Kings of a particular *Sarmatian* Nation; and diſtinguiſhes their Kingdom from that of *Boſphorus* ſo clearly, that he even obſerves the different *Epochs* of both *.

VI.

Of the Boſphorus Cimmerius; *where the* Sarmatians *ruled for a Time.*

1. On this Occaſion, I may properly ſpeak more amply of the *Boſphorus Cimmerius*, than I have hitherto done. I have, indeed, ſometimes mentioned it in the *Gothick* Hiſtory, particularly XIII. 7. but in the Hiſtory of the *Aſiatick Sarmatians*, it is of more Importance: *Boſphorus Cimmerius* is the *Streight*, thro' which the *Mæotick* Lake flows into the *Pontus Euxinus*, and is now called the *Streight* of *Caffa*, from the Haven of that Name. The adjacent Coaſt of *Aſia* was comprehended under the ſame Name, whence aroſe a particular Kingdom, in which two Cities were eſpecially famous; *Panticapæa*, in the *Peninſula* itſelf, and *Phanagora* in *Aſia*. *Strabo* aſſures us, that the Kings of this *Boſphorus*, ſometimes extended their Dominion as far as the *Tanais*, Lib. IX. p. 495. *Sæpe Boſphorani Reguli uſque ad Tanaim omnia obtinuerunt.*

2. The moſt ancient Kings are famous in the Hiſtory of the *Greeks*. *Monſieur de Boze* has carried on their Hiſtory till the Time when *Mithridates*, King of *Pontus*, made himſelf likewiſe Maſter of the *Boſphorus* †. This Kingdom had afterwards its own Kings again, of whom *Vaillant* has given us a Succeſſion. Theſe acknowledged, in ſome Meaſure, the Supremacy of the *Roman* Emperors, till the great Revolution enſued, in the Reign of *Valerian*, whence theſe Nations united with the *Goths* againſt the *Romans*. (*V.* 37. *n.* 1.)

3. In ſucceeding Times, the *Sarmatians* ruled in the *Boſphorus Cimmerius*. *Conſtant. Porphyrogenitus*, Them. P. II. cap. 53. relates the Differences, which the Kings of *Sarmatia*, who were likewiſe Maſters of this *Boſphorus*, had with the Inhabitants of the *Cherſoneſus Taurica*, (the pre-

* Vaillant in Hiſt. Reg. Parthor. T. II. p. 276. ſq.

† Memoir. de Literat. T. VI. p. 549. *Is Caſaubon* treated on this Subject before him, *in Not. ad Strab.* p. 310.

ſent

ſent (*Crim-Tartary*,) in the Reign of *Conſtantine* the *Great*, or of his Son *Conſtantius*, and concludes, *p.* 150. with theſe Words. *Atque ab eo tempore in poſterum Sauromatæ Boſpori imperium amiſerunt.*

VII.

Illuſtration of the Sarmatian *Hiſtories, from thoſe of the* Romans, *and* Germans.

SINCE we cannot bring the *Sarmatian* Hiſtory into any Connexion, it is of ſome Uſe, however, to ſet certain ſingle Circumſtances, of which we find many in the Courſe of the *Roman* and *German* Hiſtories, on a ſure Footing: I ſhall * take Notice of ſome, in this Place, in which as well the *Sarmatians* in general, as ſome *Sarmatian* Nations, in particular, are mentioned.

THE Wars in *Pontus* firſt gave the *Romans* a Knowledge of the *Sarmatians* in *Aſia*.. Thoſe of *Europe* became known to them from their Neighbourhood with *Illyricum*, and the *German* Nations. The moſt ancient Notice we have is in *Florus*, Lib. III. cap. 4. *Appius ad Sarmatas uſque pervenit.* In the Hiſtory of *Auguſtus*, the *Sarmatians* are ſeveral Times mentioned. FLORUS Lib. IV. cap. 12. *Sarmatæ patentibus campis inequitant: et hos per eundem Lentulum prohibere Danubio ſatis fuit.* DIO CASSIUS lib. 54. p. 534. *Poſt eum C. Lucius eadem de cauſa contra Sauromatas bellum gerens, victos trans Iſtrum repulit.*

AMONG the Coins of *Domitian*, is one with the Reverſe, *Victoria Sarmatica.* This refers to what I have hinted, *V.* 1. *n.* 2. of his Enterprize againſt the *Sarmatians.* *Suetonius* ſays of it: *Expeditiones partim ſponte ſuſcepit, partim neceſſario. Sponte in Cattos, neceſſario unam in Sarmatas, legione cum legato ſimul cæſa.* And farther: *De Sarmatis lauream modo Capitolino Jovi retulit.*

TRAJAN had ſeveral Concerns with the *Sarmatians*, not only in *Pannonia*, and when he reduced *Dacia* into a *Roman* Province; (*V.* 9.) but likewiſe in *Aſia*, on Occaſion of the *Parthian* War. He took a *Sarmatian* King into the Protection of the *Romans* (*V.* 9. *n.* 9.) who was proba-

* OPITIUS made the ſame Attempt: Var. Lect. c. 18.

bly

bly the ſame mentioned by *Pliny*, the younger, *Lib. X. ep.* 15. where he writes to the Emperor: *Rex Sauromates ſcripſit mihi, eſſe quædam, quæ deberes quam maturiſſime ſcire.*

M. AURELIUS had likewiſe, during the *Marcomann* War, Quarrels with ſome *Sarmatian* Nations. (*V.* 13. *ſeq.*) Whence his Coins bear the Title *de Sarmatis*, as he himſelf did that of *Sarmaticus*. (*Ibid.* 21. *n* 2. 3.)

MAXIMINUS is likewiſe big with the ſame Titles. (*V.* 30.)

GORDIANUS *Junior* is alſo extolled by *Capitolinus* as *Victor Sarmatarum (V.* 31. *n.* 1.)

CARUS valiantly repelled the *Sarmatians*, who invaded *Pannonia*, and threatned a Viſit to *Italy* it ſelf: Whence probably his Son, *Carinus*, took Occaſion to eſtabliſh the *Ludi Sarmatici*. To what I have obſerved of theſe Games, (*V.* 59. *n.* 2) we may add another Paſſage from *Vopiſcus*: *Memorabile maxime et Carini, et Numeriani hoc habuit imperium, quod ludos Romanos novis ornatos ſpectaculis dederunt.* Thoſe Games which had their Names from certain Nations, as the *Ludi Dacici*, *Gothici*, *&c.* conſiſted of ſuch Exerciſes as each Nation was famous for beyond others. The Conjecture of *Salmaſius* *, that the *Ludi Sarmatici* were chiefly eſteemed for a particular Dexterity in vaulting from one Horſe to another, ſeems to me very probable: This Kind of Horſemen were called by the Ancients, *Amphippi*. The *Sarmatians* were remarkably active at this Exerciſe, as is obſerved (*Vol. I. VI.* 55. *n.* 2.) from *Amm. Marcellinus*. We may, therefore, the ſooner believe what *Ælianus*, *in Tacticis*, *cap.* 37. ſays of them. *Uſus hujus formæ maximus eſt adverſus* BARBAROS AD ISTRUM, *quos et* AMPHIPPOS *dixere, ut qui ab aliis equis in alios tranſilire aſſueti ſint.* The like Games are deſcribed by MANILIUS Lib. V.

Nec non alterno deſultor ſidere dorſo
Quadrupedum, et ſtabiles poterit defigere plantas,
Per quos vadit equos.

DIOCLETIAN is called, in ancient Inſcriptions, *Sarmaticus Maximus* (*VI.* 10. *n.* 4.) He is partly indebted, for theſe Sur-names, to the Wars

* Ad VOPISC. p. 505.

which

which his Armies waged againſt the *Sarmatians* in *Aſia*, of which CONSTANTINUS PORPHYROG. Them. P. II. cap. 53. makes Mention.

CONSTANTINE, the GREAT, took up Arms againſt the *Sarmatians*, who croſſed the *Danube*, Anno 319. which War laſted three Years. *Zoſimus* calls them *Sarmatæ, ad Mæotidem Paludem habitantes*, and their King *Rauſimodus*: Whence the Title of *Sarmaticus*, which is given him in ſome ancient Inſcriptions, as alſo the Coins with the Reverſe: *Victoria Sarmatica*; and perhaps, likewiſe, the *Ludi Sarmatici*, which are mentioned in an ancient *Roman* Calendar, made about the Middle of the fourth Century. (*VI.* 25.)

Their Quarrels with Valentiniano I. *are hinted at* VII. 10. *and* 12.

UNDER *Valens*, as well the *Sarmatians* as the *Goths* were probably in Motion; whence they are mentioned in *Gratian*'s Hiſtory. Of this I have quoted ſome Paſſages, (*VII.* 27. *n.* 2. and 28. *n.* 3.) to which we may add the following from the *Panegyrick* of *Auſonius*: *Voca Germanicum deditione gentilium: Alemannicum traductione captorum*: VINCENDO ET IGNOSCENDO SARMATICUM.

THAT *Theodoſius* was ſucceſsful againſt the *Sarmatians*, is evident from the following Paſſage in *Symmachus*. Lib. X. epiſt. 68. *Dudum fando acceperat P. R. cæſorum funera Sarmatarum. At nunc confirmata eſt nuntiorum lætitia, ſpectaculo triumphali. Jam minores non ſumus vetuſtis exemplis. Vidimus, quæ acta miramur, catenatum agmen vinctæ gentis induci, illoſque jam pridem truces vultus miſero pallore mutatos. Stetit arenæ medio ſubjecta voluptati, quæ fuit ante formidini, aſſuetæ armis gentilibus manus gladiatoria inſtrumenta tenuerunt.*

AFTER the *Goths* extended their Dominion in *Sarmatia*, the *Sarmatians* are frequently mentioned in their Hiſtory, and perhaps they had their Part in the great Revolution, when, in the Reign of *Valens*, the *Hunns* almoſt overthrew the *Gothick* Empire. After this, Mention is made of *Sarmatian* Nations among others, who were in the Service of *Attila*, (*IX.* 25. *n.* 3.) whoſe Power had beſides its chief Seat, in *Sarmatia* and *Dacia*.

BUT, after *Attila*'s Death, they ſhook off the Yoke again. (*X.* 7.) And to this the two *Sarmatian* Kings, *Benga* and *Babai*, who, ſoon after *Attila*'s

la's Death, had to do with the *Oſtro-Goths*, in *Pannonia*, probably contributed. *(X. 11. n. 3.)*

VIII.

Of ſome ſingle Sarmatian *Nations.*

ANCIENT Geographers take Notice of many ſingle *Sarmatian* Nations, moſt of whom have appeared in the Courſe of the *German* Hiſtory. I will here only revive the Memory of thoſe, of whom we have the moſt Authentic Teſtimonies. At the ſame Time, it will appear, that ſome Nations are reckoned among the *Sarmatians*, who do not properly belong to them.

Sarmatæ Jazyges.

1. THE *Sarmatæ Jazyges* are the moſt renowned in *Roman* Hiſtory. They dwelt at firſt on the *Mæotic Lake* *. A Colony of them fought their Way thro' the *Getæ*, and gained a ſure Footing between the *Danube* and the *Theis*. Theſe are the ſame who were called *Jazyges Metanaſtæ*. Their Situation gave Occaſion to their being often engaged in Quarrels with the neighbouring *Germans*, and to their frequently ravaging the *Roman* Provinces, on the other Side of the *Danube*. In the Reign of *Tiberius*, they took Part with King *Vannius*. (IV. 31.) When the *Roman* Army in *Pannonia* and *Moeſia* declared for *Veſpaſian*, they drew the Chiefs of the *Jazygi* over to their Party. TACIT. Hiſt. III. 5. *Ne inermes provinciæ barbaris nationibus exponerentur, principes Sarmatarum Jazygum, penes quos civitatis regimen, in commilitium aſciti. Plebem quoque et vim equitum, qua ſola valent, offerebant.* They had a Share in the *Marcoman* War, (*V.* 13.) and their King, *Zanticus*, made a ſeparate Peace with the Emperor, *M. Antoninus*. (*Ib.* 20.) Their Name likewiſe appears again in the *Poliſh* Hiſtory, when they were vanquiſhed by that Nation.

Sarmatæ liberi, *and* limigantes.

2. THE *Sarmatæ liberi* † dwelt, in the Time of *Conſtantine*, the *Great*, between the *Theis* and the *Maros*, to the *Danube*. They were expelled

* PTOLEM. *Et per totum Mæotidos latus Jazyges.*

† EUSEBIUS calls them *Sarmatæ Arcaragantes* in Chron. ad An. 2350. *Sarmatæ limigantes dominos ſuos, qui nunc Arcaragantes vocantur, facta manu, in Romanum ſolum expulerunt.*

their

their Country by their own Servants, who were the *Sarmatæ limigantes.* (*VI.* 28. *n.* 6.) The Emperor *Conſtantius* reſtored them to their Country, and ordained one *Zizais* to be their King, on Condition that he ſhould acknowledge the Supremacy of the Empire. (*VI.* 55.) Whence he himſelf is ſtiled *Secundo-Sarmaticus.* (*Ib.* 56.) Theſe *Sarmatæ liberi* are the very ſame, who, in the Time of *Valentinian*, went over the *Danube*; but were valiantly repelled by *Theodoſius*, then *Dux Mœſiæ.* (*VII.* 10.)

3. The *Sarmatæ limigantes* had, indeed, another Habitation aſſigned them by *Conſtantius*; but, in the Year 359. rebelled againſt him likewiſe; whereupon they were defeated and totally diſperſed. (*VI.* 57.)

ROXOLANI.

4. The *Roxolani* dwelt, in the Time of *Strabo*, between the *Tanais* and the *Boryſthenes*, *p.* 306. *Roxolani maxime Septentrionales, qui campos inter Tanaim et Boryſthenem incolunt. - - An ſuper Roxolanos habitet aliquis, neſcimus. Roxolani etiam contra Mithridatis Eupatoris legatos pugnaverunt.* He there gives the following Account of their Arms: *Utuntur galeis de crudis boum tergoribus, ac thoracibus, pelas gerunt cratibus contextas: arma iis haſta, gladius, arcus.* *Tacitus* gives us a better Account thereof, when he relates their Invaſion of *Mœſiæ*, in the Time of *Otho*, and the Overthrow they ſuffered. *Hiſt. I.* 79. " Eo audentius Roxolani, " Sarmatica gens, priore hieme cæſis duabus cohortibus, magna ſpe ad " Mœſiam irruperant, novem millia equitum, ex ferocia et ſucceſſu, præ- " dæ magis, quam pugnæ intenta. Igitur vagos et incurioſos, tertia legio, " adjunctis auxiliis, repente invaſit. Apud Romanos omnia prœlio apta: " Sarmatæ diſperſi, aut cupidine prædæ graves onere ſarcinarum, et lubrico " itinerum ademta equorum pernicitate, velut vincti cædebantur. Nam- " que mirum dictu, ut ſi omnis Sarmatarum virtus velut extra ipſos, nihil " ad pedeſtrem pugnam tam ignavum; ubi per turmas advenere, vix ulla " acies obſtiterit. Sed tum humido die, et ſoluto gelu, neque conti, ne- " que gladii, quos prælongos utraque manu regunt, uſui, lapſantibus equis, " et cataphractarum pondere. Id principibus et nobiliſſimo cuique tegmen, ferreis laminis, aut præduro corio conſertum; ut adverſus ictus impenetrabile; ita impetu hoſtium provolutis inhabile ad reſurgendum. " Simul altitudine et mollitia nivis hauriebantur. Romanus miles facili " lorica, et miſſili pilo, aut lanceis aſſultans, ubi res poſceret levi gladio in- " ermem Sarmatam (neque enim defendi ſcuto mos eſt) cominus fodiebat;

" donec pauci, qui prælio ſuperfuerant, paludibus abderentur." They are more than once mentioned in the *Roman* Hiſtory, e. g. under *Adrian*, *(V.* 10.*)* in the *Marcoman* War, *(V.* 13.*)* in the Hiſtory of the *Goths*, *&c.*

Alani Sarmatæ.

5. Some Authors, and in particular, *Marcianus Heracleotes*, will have the *Alani*, by *Amm. Marcellinus* ſuppoſed to be the *Maſſagetæ* of the Ancients, to be likewiſe *Sarmatians.* As they came from the *Caucaſus*, and are therefore called *Caucaſigenæ*; this Opinion ſeems to have ſome Grounds. There Manner of Life, as deſcribed by *Amm. Marcellinus*, agrees likewiſe with the Ideas given us of the *Sarmatians. (VII.* 13. *n.* 2.*)* There were many Nations comprehended under this Name, as well in *Aſia* as in *Europe*, as I have already ſhewn. *(VII.* 13.*)* The *Alani Europæi*, according to the Teſtimony of *Marcianus*, dwelt in the Neighbourhood of Mount *Alanus*, where the *Boryſthenes* has its Source. I have mentioned them ſeveral times in the firſt Volume, and chiefly *(VII.* 13.*)* At that time, the *Alani* and *Goths* paſſed the *Danube*, into the *Roman* Territories. *(Ib.* 23. and 27.*)* Of theſe Latter, thoſe ſeem to have been who invaded *Gaul*, *(VIII.* 15.*)* and, in Part, advanced farther into *Spain*, where they joined the *Vandals*.

The Daci *and* Getæ *are different from the* Sarmatians.

6. Some have reckoned the *Daci* and *Getæ*, who were originally one Nation, likewiſe to the *Sarmatians* *. But *Tacitus* ſhews us the Difference †; as *Ptolemy* does yet more amply. How far Ancient *Dacia* extended, before *Trajan* reduced it to a Province, *Steph. Zamoſius*, in *Analect. Antiquitatum Daciæ, cap.* 2. has ſhewn us. The *Getæ* and *Sarmatians* were, however, intermixed. Thus *Ovid* got acquainted with both Nations, and their Language, while he was in Exile, in the City of *Tomis*, in the *Pontus*, as he himſelf bears Teſtimony:

Nam didici Getice, Sarmaticeque loqui.

* Particularly PASTORIUS in Orig. Sarm. p. 54.

† Germ. I. *A Sarmatis, Daciſque mutus metu aut montibus ſeparantur.* Add. OPITIUS Var. lect. c. 4.

Whether

Whether the Baſternæ *and* Carpi *are to be reckoned* Sarmatians.

7. The *Baſtarnæ* are likewiſe accounted by ſome to be *Sarmatians* *. Their Habitations border'd on the *Carpathian* Mountains, which therefore had the Name of *Alpes Baſtarnicæ*; But *Strabo* diſtinguiſhes theſe two Nations, and ſays, p. 306. *In mediterraneis Baſtarnæ ſunt Tyrigetis ac Germanis confines, ac fere ipſi quoque Germanici generis, in plures diviſi populos. Nam Atmoni nominantur alii, alii Sidones: Peucini, qui inſulam Iſtri Peucen occuparunt.* Tacitus reckons them among the *Germans*. Germ. 46. *Peucini, quos quidam Baſtarnas vocant, ſermone, cultu, ſede ac domiciliis, ut Germani agunt.* Pliny makes them one of the five principal Tribes of the *German* Nations *(l. 2. n. 4.)* and *Lib. IV. cap.* 13. he ſays: *Averſa Baſtarnæ tenent, aliique inde Germani.* They are mentioned in the Hiſtory of *Perſeus*, King of *Macedon*, who made Uſe of their Aſſiſtance againſt the *Romans*. PLUTARCHUS in Vit. Pauli Aemilii: *Venibant ei roganti Baſtarnæ, decem millia equitum, par numerus peditum, qui prolapſorum equitum vacuos rapiebant equos; omnes mercenarii homines, qui nec agriculturam, nec navicularium noſſent, nec pecore paſcendo vitam tolerare: verum unum opus, unam meditarentur artem, perpetuo prœliari et vincere acie hoſtem, proceris corporibus viri, mirabili exercitatione, grandiloqui, et mirifice adverſus hoſtes loquaces.* Appian mentions them, *Lib. de bellis Mithridaticis*, p. 365. among the Nations, who came to the Aſſiſtance of King *Mithridates*. They had a Share in the *Marcoman* War. *(V. 13. n. 1) Probus* vanquiſhed them, and tranſported them into *Thrace*. *(V. 55. n. 3.)* Whence, in ſucceeding Times, their Name, by Degrees, became obliterated. Probably the Remainder of them united with the *Goths*; and, if any of them did remain in their native Country, they lay concealed under the Name of *Polacrigi*, or *Parxmare*, which we find as well in the *Byzantine*, as the *Polish* Hiſtory.

8. The *Carpi*, who dwelt on the *Carpatian* Mountains, as their Name ſeems to imply, have as little Title to be reckoned among the *Sarmatians*. *Eutropius* diſtinguiſhes the *Carpi*, *Baſternæ*, and *Sarmatians*, when he writes of *Diocleſian* and *Maximian*: *Varia deinceps et ſimul et viritim bella geſſerunt, Carpis et Baſternis ſubactis, Sarmatis victis; quarum nationum ingentes captivorum copias in Romani finibus locaverunt.* In the Year 295. they ſubmitted entirely to the *Romans*; and were diſperſed, by *Diocletian*, throughout all *Pannonia*. *(VI. 9.)*

* PASTORIUS loc. cit. p. 49.

Whether

Whether the Lazi *are to be reckoned among the* Sarmatians?

9. THE *Sarmatian* Nations in *Asia*, are not easy to be distinguished by Name. *Pastorius* in *Origin. Sarmat. p.* 61. reckons among others the *Lazi*, a People in the Territory of *Colchis*, who were particularly famous under the Reign of *Justin* and *Justinian*: But this requires a farther Proof *.

IX.

The Manners of the Sarmatians: *Their Language.*

1 *GREEK* and *Roman* Writers speak of the *Sarmatians*, as of a distinct Nation, who were quite different from the *Germans*, both in Language and Manners. *Tacitus* says, *Germ.* 46. of the *Venedi*: *Hi tamen inter Germanos potius referuntur, quia et domos figunt, et scuta gestant, et pedum usu ac pernicitate gaudent, quæ omnia diversa Sarmatis sunt in plaustro equoque viventibus.* As likewise of the *Bastarnæ*: *Peucinorum, Venedorumque et Fennorum nationes Germanis an Sarmatis adscribam, dubito: quanquam Peucini, quos quidam Bastarnas vocant, sermone, cultu, sede ac domiciliis, ut Germani agunt.* And farther: *Procerum connubiis mixtis nonnihil in Sarmatarum habitum fœdantur.*

2. THEY do not, however, point out the *Sarmatians* so accurately, that we can from thence form a distinct *Idea*, what Nations are to be accounted of this Race. The Language of Nations is otherwise an almost incontestable Evidence, where their Original and Affinity are in Question: But we have hardly any Account of the *Sarmatian* Tongue. A Passage concerning it, in *Herodotus*, IV. 117. gives us little Light: *Sauromatæ putantur lingua Scythica solœcizare, quod eam ab initio non probe didicerint Amazones.*

* There is, indeed a Passage in *Herodotus*, *Lib. IV. p.* 244. *Trans flumen autem Tanaim non est regio Scythica, sed prima Laxiorum Sauromatarum.* But it is very uncertain, whether the *Laxii* were the *Lazii* in *Colchis*. *Ptolemy* distinguishes the *Colchi* and *Sarmatæ*, tho' *Sarmatians* may have dwelt in *Colchis*, of whom *Lucan* is to be understood. III. 270.

- - Sævisque adsinis Sarmata Moschis
Colcborum qua rura secat ditissima Phasis.

3. BESIDES

3. BESIDES this, ancient Writers give us ſufficiently to underſtand, that likewiſe thoſe Nations whom they comprehended under the common Name of *Sarmatians*, differed as much in their Language as in their Manners. What *Strabo* ſays of the City of *Dioſcurias*, in *Colchis*, may ſerve as an Inſtance. An incredible Number of Nations are mentioned, who were wont to trade thither, and had their different Languages, and yet they were chiefly *Sarmatians* *. *Amm. Marcellinus, Lib. XXII. cap.* 8. ſays of the *European Sarmatians, Circa hæc ſtagna ultima, extimaque, plures habitant gentes*; SERMONE, INSTITUTORUMQUE VARIETATE DISPARILES: *Jaxamatæ, et Mæotæ, et Jazyges, Roxolanique et Alani, et Melanchlenæ, et cum Gelonis Agathyrſi.*

POMP. MELA's *Deſcription of the* Sarmatians.

4. To trace, however, as far as poſſible thoſe Footſteps, by which we may diſtinguiſh the *Sarmatians*, I ſhall quote the principal Paſſages which we find in ancient Authors, of their Manners. *Mela* gives this Deſcription of them, in general; *Lib. III. c.* 4. *Sarmatia, intus, quam ad mare, latior, ab iis, quæ ſequuntur, Viſula amne diſcreta, qua retro abit, uſque ad Iſtrum flumen immittitur. Gens habitu armiſque Parthicæ proxima: verum ut cæli aſperioris, ita ingenii. Non ſe urbibus tenet, et ne ſtatis quidem ſedibus. Ut invitavere pabula, ut cedens et ſequens hoſtis exigit, ita res opeſque ſecum trahens, ſemper caſtra habitat; bellatrix, libera, indomita, et uſque eo immanis atque atrox, ut feminæ etiam cum viris bella ineant. Atque ut habiles ſint, natis ſtatim dextra aduritur mamma. Inde expedita in ictus manus, quæ exſeritur, virile fit pectus. Arcus tendere, equitare, venari, puellaria penſa ſunt: ferire hoſtem, adultarum ſtipendium eſt: adeo ut non percuſſiſſe pro flagitio habeatur, ſitque eis pœnæ virginitas.*

* He ſays, Lib. XI. p. 498. *Eadem Dioſcurias etiam initium eſt Iſthmi, Euxino et Caſpio mari interiecti, commune emporium gentium ſupra et in vicinia habitantium: aiunt quidam, eo convenire LXX; nonnulli etiam CCC gentes, quibus nulla rerum cura ſit, omnes diverſarum linguarum: quia ſparſim et ſine commerciis victitant ob inſolentiam et ſævitatem.* SARMATÆ SUNT PLERIQUE, *et* OMNES CAUCASII *etiam.* *Pliny* ſays the ſame, Lib. VI. cap. 5. *Reliqua, littora ferè nationes tenent, Melanchlæni, Coraxi urbe Colchorum Dioſcuriade, juxta fluvium Anthemunta, nunc deſerta: quondam adeo clara, ut Timoſthenes in eam CCC nationes, diſſentibus linguis, deſcendere prodiderit. Et poſtea a noſtris CXXX interpretibus negotia ibi geſta.*

Of

Of their Manner of Life.

5. All the Accounts we have of *Sarmatian* Nations agree in this, that they had no great Regard to Polity. Some of them had their Kings, of whom several are named in History: Others lived in an equal and free Community. They did not chuse to live in Cities; whithersoever they went, they carried their Families about with them, together with a few Stores in Waggons *. *Justin* says the same of the *Scythians*, in general. *Lib. II. cap. 2. Uxores liberosque secum in plaustris vehunt; quibus coitis imbrium, hiemisque causa tectis, pro domibus utuntur.* So likewise *Horace*, Lib. III. Od. 24.

Campestres melius Scythæ,
Quorum plaustra vagas rite trahunt domos.

For this Reason the *Sarmatians* were called *Hamaxobii*, as *Strabo*, who places them on the River *Bog*, says; *Lib. II. 1. Hujus flexum Buces amnis secat, Agathyrsi et Sauromatæ ambiunt; quia pro sedibus plaustra habent, dicti Hamaxobii.*

Of their Garb. Sarmatæ picti.

6. *Tacitus* observes of the *Sarmatians* in general, that, with Regard to their Cloathing and Manner of Dress, they differed entirely from the *Germans*, and rather agreed with the *Parthians*. Germ. 17. *Locupletissimi veste distinguuntur, non fluitante, sicut Sarmatæ et Parthi, sed stricta, et singulos artus exprimente*: Which likewise agrees with *Mela*'s Description, who calls them *habitu Parthis proximi*: And, of the *Parthians*, we know that they wore long Garments. *Justin* says of them, Lib. XII. *Vestis olim sui moris; postea quam accessere opes, ut Medis, pellucida ac fluida* †. They let their Hair and Beards grow, without trimming or shaving. *Ovid Trist. V. el.* 8. says.

Non coma, non ulla barba resecta manu.

And the Severity of the Weather taught them to wrap themselves up in Skins. Ovidius Trist. III. el. 10.

Pellibus et sutis arcent mala frigora braccis,
Oraque de toto corpore sola patent.

* Tacit. See above, Num. 1.

† We may form some Idea of the Garb of the *Parthians*, from some of *Augustus*'s Coins.

The

THE *Alani* had ſomething peculiar in the Ornaments of their Heads. *Iſidorus* ſays of them: *Perſæ brachia ac crura lineamentis, caput tiara tegunt: Eminent apicibus faſtigiatis Alani.* *Pliny* ſays indeed, likewiſe of the *Sarmatians*, that they were accuſtomed to paint their Bodies with all Manner of Figures, Lib. XXII. cap. 1. *Equidem et formæ gratia rituſque perpetui, in corporibus ſuis aliquas exterarum gentium uti herbis quibuſdam, adverto animum. Illinunt certe aliis aliæ faciem in populis Barbarorum feminæ, mareſque etiam apud Dacos, et Sarmatas corpora ſua inſcribunt:* But this is hardly to be underſtood of them all in general, but rather chiefly of the *Agathyrſi*, a Nation that dwelt in *Sarmatia* *.

Their DIET.

THEIR Diet was mean, and Millet their moſt dainty Food. They likewiſe eat the Milk of Mares, and even the Blood of Horſes. *Pliny*, Lib. XVIII. cap. 24. *Milio Campania præcipue gaudet, pultemque candidam ex eo facit. Fit et panis prædulcis. Sarmatarum quoque gentes hac pulte aluntur, et cruda etiam farina, equino lacte, vel ſanguine e cruris venis admixto.* MARTIAL therefore ſays, Lib. I. Spectac. Epigr. 3.

Venit et epoto Sarmata paſtus equo †.

Manner of breeding up their Children. Warlike Diſpoſition of the Sarmatian *Women.*

8. AN ancient *Greek* Poet ſays, of the *Scythians* in general, that they nurſed their Children with Mare's Milk ‡. Nothing could be ſo Savage, as the Manner of their breeding up their Daughters. They were not ſuffered to marry till they had killed an Enemy in the Field. So *Nic. Damaſcenus*

* SEE the foregoing XXIX Annotation.

† Add. LUCAN. III. 282. *Longaque Sarmatici ſolvens jejunia belli*
Maſſagetes, quo fugit, equo.

‡ ANTIPHANES ap. ATHEN. Deipnoſ. Lib. VI. p. 226.

Nonne putas, apprime ſapientes eſſe Scythas?
Qui ſtatim natis infantibus
Equorum lac præbent atque boum:
Nec faſcinatrices per Jovem nutrices adhibent,
Nec ullos liberis Pædagogos ſuis.
Præſtantiores quidem ii ſunt et circulatoribus,
Et iis, qui falſis menſuris merces vendunt ſuas.

tells us, in Exc. p. 516. *Sauromatæ uxoribus in omnibus obtemperant tanquam dominabas. Virginem non prius locant ad nuptias, quam hoſtem occiderit.* And likewiſe HERODOTUS IV. 117. *Quod ad conjugia pertinet, ita ab eis eſt inſtitutum. Nulla virgo nubit, priuſquam aliquem hoſtium interemerit: ideoque nonnullæ earum decedunt jam vetulæ, antequam nubant, quod legi ſatisfacere nequeant.* MELA Lib. III. cap. 4. *Ferire hoſtem adultarum ſtipendium eſt, adeo ut non percuſſiſſe pro flagitio habeatur, ſitque eis poena virginitas.* Such an Education may indeed be proper enough for Women, who are ſaid to be deſcended from *Amazons*, and were as arrant Soldiers as the Men; which latter, *Clemens Alexandrinus* ſays of the *Sarmatian* Women. Strom. Lib. IV. c. 8. p. 591. *Audio, mulieres quoque Sauromatidas non minus belligerare, quam viros; et alias Sacidas, quæ a tergo ſagittant ſimulantes fugere, æque ac viri.*

Of their Warfare Arms, &c.

9. WE have the beſt Account of their Warfare, and indeed it is very natural of a Nation, which were hardly acquainted with the Bleſſings of Peace *. They were in general reckoned good Horſemen. TACITUS Hiſt. I. 79. *Namque mirum dictu, ut ſi omnis Sarmatarum vis velut extra ipſos, nihil ad pedeſtrem pugnam tam ignavum, ubi per turmas advenere vix ulle acies obſtiterit.* Their Horſes were likewiſe fam'd for their being hardy and ſwift. *Pliny* ſays of them: Lib. VIII. cap. 65. *Sarmatæ longinqua itinera acturi inedia præparant eos, potum exiguum impertientes: atque ita per centena millia et quinquaginta continuo curſu euntibus inſident.* AMM. MARCELLINUS is ſomething more circumſtantial: (VI. 55. n. 1.) *Per ſpatia diſcurrunt ampliſſima, ſequentes alios, vel ipſi terga vertentes, inſidendo velocibus equis, et morigeris, trahenteſque ſingulos, interdum et binos, uti permutatio vires foveat jumentorum, vigorque otio integretur alterno.* This Swiftneſs procured them a particular Nick-Name with the Poets, as in LUCAN, III. 93.

Di melius, quod non Latias Eous in oras
Nunc furor incubuit; nec juncto SARMATA VELOX
Pannonio, Daciſque Getes admixtus.

* FLORUS de Sarmatis III. 12. *Tanta barbaries eſt, ut pacem non intelligant.*

WE

We find Accounts of various Arms which they made Uſe of. *Plin. Lib. VI. cap.* 65. mentions, in particular, the Bow *, the common Weapon of ſo many Nations. *Ovid* likewiſe mentions the ſame. Triſt. V. el. 7.

Sarmaticæ major Geticæque frequentia gentis
Per medias in equis itque reditque vias.
In quibus eſt nemo, qui non coryton et arcum,
Telaque vipereo lurida felle gerat.

We likewiſe find, among the *Romans*, a particular Kind of Bows, called *Arcus Sarmatici* †. From the before mentioned Paſſages of *Tacitus* ‡, we have a better Knowledge, as well of their Manner of fighting, as their Arms; and particularly the Cuſtom of their Cavalry, that they went to the Battle in compleat Curaſſes, as we find them repreſented in the *Columna Trajani*.

10. I have already obſerved, *(Vol. I. VI. 55. n. 1.)* from *Amm. Marcellinus*, that the *Sarmatians* and *Quadi* prepared their Armour in a ſingular Manner. This appears more plainly from a Paſſage of *Pauſanias*, *Lib. I. p.* 49. *ſeq.* where he deſcribes the Curioſities of the Temple of *Æſculapius*, at *Athens*. " Ibidem et alia complura, et Sarmatica dicata eſt lorica, " quam qui intuetur, nihilo quam Græcos ad artes excolendas barbaros mi- " nus ſolertes putabit. Nam Sarmatis nulla ſunt ferri metalla, neque ad " eos aliunde ferrum importatur. Sunt enim hi præ cunctis earum regi- " onum barbaris ab hominum commerciis alieniſſimi. Ob eam igitur " ferri penuriam, vimineis haſtarum cuſpidibus uti pro ferreis excogita- " runt. Arcus et ſagittas ex cornu habent, et earum item vimineas cuſpi- " des. Catenas vero in quemcunque aſſecuti fuerint, hoſtium injicientes, " averſis a curſu equis, laqueis implicatos ſubvertunt. Loricas hoc ferme " modo faciunt: magna equorum armenta habent. Neque enim in par- " tes terra deſcripta privatorum uſibus ſervit, aut quicquam præter agreſ- " tem ſiluam fert. Compaſcua igitur tota regio eſt, et incolæ Nomadæ " appellantur. Equis non ſolum ad belli munia utuntur, ſed ex eodem " pecore et hoſtias Diis ſuis cædunt, et ſibi cibum comparant. Ungulas " ubi legerint perpurgatas ac diſſectas, ad ſimilitudinem ſquamarum draco- " nis expoliunt. Quod ſi quis draconem non viderit, haud errarit, ſi opus

* De arcus Scythici forma Plin. IV. 24. et 26. Add. ſupr. p. 53. *Ann. IX.* 5.
† Claudius Imp. ap. Trebell. *Arcus Sarmaticos, et duo ſaga ad me velim mittas.*
‡ See above, IV. and VIII.

" illud

" illud ungulis confertum, pineæ nucis adhuc viridis torulis ſimile eſſe pu-
" tarit. Has itaque ſquamulas perforant, et equinis vel bubulis nervulis
" conſuunt. Inde ſibi loricas concinnant, quæ neque elegantia, neque fir-
" mitate, loricis Græcorum inferiores ſunt. Eæ namque tum cominus,
" tum ominus percuſſæ, ictus ſuſtinent. Nam linteæ loricæ haudqua-
" quam pugnantibus utiles, quod ferro vehementius immiſſo perviæ ſunt,
" ſed venatoribus certo præſidio ſunt. In illis namque leonum et pardo-
" rum dentes retunduntur."

11. If we take a View of all that is ſaid, by the Ancients, concerning the Arms uſed by the *Sarmatian* Nations, we ſee plainly, that, likewiſe in this Point, they did not altogether agree. *Tacitus* obſerves it as a Singularity in them, that they uſed no Shields *; but *Sidonius* extols their particular Expertneſs, in the Management of that defenſive Weapon, in the Battle. *Carm. VII.*

Junctus tibi vincitur illic
Curſu Herulus, Chunus jaculis, Francuſque natatu
Sauromates clypeo, Salius pede, falce Gelonus.

The Uſe of SLINGS.

12. It is likewiſe obſerved, as peculiar in them, that they uſed the *Sling* againſt their Enemies, as *Pauſanias* relates of them in the foregoing Paſſage. What this Author aſcribes to the *Sarmatians* in general, *Joſephus de Bel. Iud. L. V. c. 7.* mentions in particular of the *Alani* †: Tho' other Nations had this very Cuſtom. *Suidas* obſerves it of the *Parthians* †, who were therefore ſurnamed *Loriferi*; *Sozomenus*, Lib. VII. cap. 26. of the *Hunns.*

* Hiſt. I. *Levi gladio inermem Sarmatam, (neque enim defendi ſcuto mos eſt) cominus fodiebat.* Add inf. *Ann. XXXI. num.* 1.

† *Magna ergo facilitate, et ſine pugna rapinas exercentes, uſque ad Armeniam vaſtantes omnia proceſ. ſere. Ejus autem Teridates rex erat, qui cum illis obviam iviſſet pugnamque commiſiſſet, parum aberat, quin uivus in illo conflictu caperetur. Procul enim quidam, miſſo in eum laqueo, circumdatum tracturus erat, niſi celeriter gladio abſcidiſſet funem, et fugere occupaſſet.*

X.

The Religion of the Sarmatians.

1. WHAT we find of their Religion and Deities, is juſt as obſcure. And, in this Point likewiſe, Things are ſometimes attributed to the *Sarmatians*, which either belonged to the *Scythians*, properly ſo called, or were common to other Nations; who, as well as the *Sarmatians*, were included under the general Name of *Scythians*.

2. WHAT moſt deſerves our Notice, are the Words of *Clemens Alexandrinus*, where he attributes to them the Worſhip of Fire, a very conſiſtent Cuſtom for a Nation deſcended from the *Medes*. Coh. ad Gent. c. 5. p. 56. *Perſarum autem magi, multique ex his, qui Aſiam incolunt, et præterea Macedones, prout Diogenes in primo Perſicorum ſcribit, igni divinos honores tribuunt. Quid Sauromatas referam, quos Nymphodorus, in moribus barbarorum, narrat ignem venerari?*

3. THIS ſame Father ſays likewiſe, that they worſhipped a *Scymeter*. Ib. *Sauromatas autem, Scythiæ gentem, acinacem colere, refert Iceſius, in opere de Myſteriis.* Others ſays the ſame of the *Scythians* *, and the other Inhabitants of *Scythia Europæa*, in general. MELA Lib. II. cap. 1. *Mars omnium Deus. Ei pro ſimulacris enſes et tinctoria dedicant, homineſque pro victimis feriunt. Solinus* mentions it of the *Neuri*, a *Scythian* Nation, that dwelt on the *Boryſthenes: Populis iſtis Deus Mars eſt: pro ſimulacris enſes colunt. Arnobius* even diſtinguiſhes, in this Point, the *Scythians* and *Sarmatians*, Lib. *VI. adv. gentes*, where, at the ſame time, he touches on their Sacrifices. *Ridetis, temporibus priſcis Perſas fluvium coluiſſe, memorabilia ut indicant ſcripta, informem Arabas lapidem, acinacem Scythiæ nationes, Sarmatas Diis patriis equos immolaſſe.* And to this, perhaps, we may apply the conſecrated Sword of the Kings of the *Scyths*, of which *Attila* boaſts, *(IX. 23. n. 12.)*

Whether Diana *was worſhipped by the* Sarmatians?

4. A LEARNED Writer, who endeavours to do great Honour to the *Sarmatian* Antiquity †, reckons the *Diana Taurica*, among the *Sarma-*

* THERE is a Paſſage De Diis Scytharum, in HERODOTUS IV. 59 which, however, ſavours too much of the Fable.

† PASTORIUS in Origin. Sarmat. p. 24.

tian

tian Deities: But the *Tauro-Scythæ*, and the *Sarmatæ* were different People.

Or VENUS?

5. WITH as little Reaſon, he attributes the famous Temple of *Venus*, at *Phanagoria*, the Capital of *Boſphorus*, in *Aſia*, to the *Sarmatians*. The Goddeſs there worſhipped is known, among the moſt ancient of the *Græcian* Fables, by the Name of the *Deceitful*, and was not ſo famous for her Beauty, as her good Conduct in the War with the Giants *. Such a *Venus* would indeed have been a proper Goddeſs for the *Sarmatians*, whoſe Daughters had their Thoughts more employed on the Bow and Arrow, than on Beauty and Manners.

Or CASTOR *and* POLLUX?

6. ACCORDING to him, *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, who had their Temple at *Dioſcurias*, a famous City in *Colchis*, were likewiſe to be reckoned among their Deities: But there were ſo many Inhabitants, of different Nations, in this City †, that we do not ſo certainly know, whether the *Sarmatians* had any Share in this Worſhip.

Chriſtianity preached among the Sarmatians. St. Andrew *the Apoſtle of the* Scythians.

7. WE find ſome Marks of *Chriſtianity* having been early known among the *Saracens*. Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory mentions, of *St. Andrew*, that *Scythia* fell to his Lot, and that he preached the Goſpel about the Territories of the *Pontus Euxinus* ‡. Some of the ancient Fathers likewiſe take Notice of this People among the *Chriſtians*. *Tertullian* § mentions

* STRABO writes of the templum Veneris at Phanagoria, Lib. XI. p. 495. *Habet Phanagoria templum* VENERIS APATURI *inſigne. Nomen Deæ, a fabula ſumta occaſione, a dolo deducunt. Ibi locorum Venerem, cum eam gigantes adorirentur, Herculem acciviſſe, inque ſpelunca quadam abſcondidiſſe, deinde ſingulos gigantes excepiſſe, ei Herculi unum poſt alium per fraudem necandum præbuiſſe*

† SEE above, *in this Ann. VIII.* 9. *not.* †.

‡ NICEPH. II. 39. *Sorte quoque ei provincia ea obtigit, ut ad gentes mitteretur: in Cappadociam ſcilicet, Galatiam et Bithyniam, quibus ille peragratis ad eam quoque acceſſit, quæ Antropophagorum dicitur, et ad Scytharum ſolitudines, ad utrumque Pontum Euxinum &c.*

§ TERTULL. adv. Judæos: *Romani et incolæ, tunc et in Hieruſalem Judæi, et cæteræ gentes: ut jam Getulorum varietates, et Maurorum multi fines, Hiſpaniarum omnes termini, et Galliarum diverſæ nationes*

tions the *Sarmatians*, and *Prudentius* || the *Scythians* in general; and in particular the *Geloni*. But if ſome Seeds of the *Chriſtian* Doctrine were actually ſcattered among the *Sarmatians*, in all Appearance they were ſoon ſtifled again. At leaſt, the Fruits of it, did not aftewards appear among the *Sclavonian* Nations. However, *Czar*, *Peter*, I. when he inſtituted a famous Order of Knight-hood, renewed at the ſame Time, the Memory of this Apoſtle.

nationes, et Britannorum inacceſſa Romanis loca, Chriſto vero ſubdita; et SARMATARUM, *et Dacorum, et Germanorum, et Scytharum, et abditarum multarum gentium, et provinciarum et inſularum multarum nobis ignotarum, et quæ enumerare minus poſſumus. In quibus omnibus locis Chriſti nomen, qui jam venit, regnat.*

|| SEE VII. 39. n. 11.

XXXI.

XXXI. ANNOTATION.

Of the Sclavonian *Nations.*

IV.

THE foregoing Annotation I ſet apart for an Account of the *Sarmatians* in general; and, on that Occaſion, conſidered the Inhabitants of *Sarmatia Europæa*, according to their different Periods; that is, firſt, the *Scythians* properly ſo called, and afterwards the *Sarmatians*. In the ſixth Century, and chiefly in the Reign of *Juſtinian*, the Scene changed again. The *Venedi*, *Sclaveni* and *Antæ*, became ſo famous, by their Expeditions, and the Eſtabliſhment of New Kingdoms, that the Name of *Sarmatians* was thereupon almoſt extinct.

Venedi, Wenden.

1. THE Name of *Venedi*, *Winidæ* or *Wenden*, includes many ſingle Nations, and therefore the *Venedi* are reckoned among the principal Nations of *Sarmatia*. What *Tacitus*, *Germ.* 46. ſays of them, I may properly lay down here as a *Baſis*: *Peucinorum*, VENEDORUMQUE, *et Fennorum nationes Germanis an Sarmatis adſcribam, dubito: quamquam Peucini, quos quidam Baſtarnas vocant, ſermone, cultu, ſede, ac domiciliis, ut Germani agunt. Sordes omnium ac torpor. Procerum connubiis mixtis, nonnihil in Sarmatarum habitum fœdantur.* VENEDI *multum ex moribus traxerunt. Nam quidquid inter Peucinos Fennoſque ſiluarum ac montium erigitur, latrociniis pererrant. Hi tamen inter Germanos potius referuntur, quia et domus figunt, et ſcuta geſtant, et pedum uſu ac pernicitate gaudent, quæ omnia diverſa Sarmatis ſunt, in plauſtro equoque viventibus.* *Ptolemy* ſays likewiſe of them: *Incolunt Sarmatiam maximæ gentes:* VENEDÆ *apud omnem Venedicum Sinum* *. Indeed when *Tacitus* reckons the *Venedi* among

* *PTOLEMY* does not make the *Sinus Venedicus* ſignify the whole *Eaſt Sea*. *Cluverus, Germ. Antiq. Lib. III. cap.* 37. *fin.* makes it very probable, that the Coaſts between the *Viſtula* and the *Narva*, are to be thereby underſtood.

among the *Germans*, their very Language, which has no Manner of Affinity with the *German*, is a Contradiction to him. But whence it comes, that many confound the *Venedi* with the *Vandals*, I have ſhewn above, *Ann. VII. V.* 3.

The VENETI *are a quite different People from them.*

2. THE *Veneti* or *Heneti*, in *Paphlagonia*, of whom we find Mention ſo early as in *Homer* and *Herodotus*, have no Affinity with the *Venedi*. There is likewiſe an ancient, tho' a very uncertain Tradition *, that the former marched into *Italy*, after the Deſtruction of *Troy*, under the Conduct of *Antenor*.

As are likewiſe the HENIOCHI.

3. THE *Heniochi* †, a People of *Colchis*, who, beſides, are famous in the Fable of the *Argonauts*, have juſt as little Pretence to be reckoned among the *Venedi*.

The Sclaveni *and* Antæ *both belong to the principal Race of the* Venedi.

4. THE Names of *Sclaveni* and *Antæ* are firſt mentioned by *Jornandes* and *Procopius*. The former leads us into the right Way, when he ſays, that they are both deſcended from the *Venedi* ‡: And indeed, the Deſcription given us of them, by *Procopius*, approaches nearer to the *Venedi* of *Tacitus*, than to what we otherwiſe find mentioned in ancient Writers, of the *Sarmatians* properly ſo called. So likewiſe, in Aftertimes, the Names of *Venedi* and *Sclaveni*, are promiſcuouſly uſed for one and the ſame People, whoſe Language alone ſufficiently ſhews that they were of one Extraction.

* *STRABO* himſelf makes this very doubtful. p 212. *De Venetis duplex fertur ſententia. Quidam enim eos quoque Gallos faciunt, Gallorum Vinetorum, qui ad Oceanum habitant, gentiles: Alii e bello Trojano cum Antenore eo locorum evaſiſſe tradunt Venetorum Paphlagonum quoſdam.*

† PASTORIUS ſays, Orig. Sarm. p. 25. *Heniochi, qui an nomine iidem cum Henetis, non affirmem, genere utique non alios fuiſſe haud ambigo.* STRABO *and* PTOLEMY treat of them as two different Nations.

‡ JORNANDES ſays, cap. 23. of the Venedi: *Ab una ſtirpe exorti tria nunc nomina reddidere, i. e. Veneti, Antes, Sclavi* (VI. 43. n. 1.) He had before ſaid, *cap.* 5. *Introrſus illi Dacia eſt ad coronæ ſpeciem arduis Alpibus emunita: juxta quarum ſiniſtrum latus, quod in Aquilonem vergit, et ab ortu Viſtulæ fluminis, per immenſa ſpatia venit,* WINIDARUM *natio populoſa conſedit. Quorum nomina licet nunc per varias familias et loca mutentur, principaliter tamen Sclavini et Antes nominantur.*

II.

Habitation of the Sclavi *and* Antæ, *in* Sarmatia.

1. Procopius Lib. IV. de bell. Goth. c. 4. p. 573. gives us this Account of their Habitation: *Palus* (ſc. Mæotis) *autem in Ponti Euxini littus evoluitur. Qui illic habitant,* Cimmerii *dicti olim, jam vocantur Uturguri. Ulteriora ad Septentrionem habent Antarum populi infiniti.* This agrees very well for a Nation of the *Venedi*, to whom *Tacitus* allots almoſt the whole inner Parts of *Sarmatia*, between the *Fenni* and the *Peucini*. By another Paſſage from *Procopius*, we ſee, *p.* 377. that ſome Colonies of them then drew nearer to the *Dannbe*. *Diebus vero poſt viginti, quam Portum Urbemque cognominem obtinuerunt, advenere Martinus et Valerianus cum M D C. equitibus, quorum plerique Hunni erant, Sclaveni et Antæ, qui trans fluvium Iſtrum, non procul a ripa, ſedes patrias habebant.* This Migration gave Occaſion to the Wars with the *Romans*, which I ſhall juſt mention in the Sequel.

Their Hiſtory: They are vanquiſhed by the Goths.

2. The firſt Mention we find of them in Hiſtory, is interſperſed in that of the *Goths*, where they are reckoned among thoſe Nations who were conquered by *Hermanaric*, King of the *Goths*. *(VI. 43. n. 4.)*

Their Wars with Juſtinian: *Inroads into* Illyricum.

3. In the Hiſtory of *Juſtinian*, the *Sclaveni* and *Antæ* became more known; by their frequently croſſing the *Danube*, and plundering the Territories of *Illyricum*, as the *Sarmatians*, *Daci*, and *Goths* had, in more ancient Times, done. *(XIII. 9. et ſeq.) Juſtinian*, indeed, vanquiſhed the *Antæ*, and thence obtained the Name of *Anticus*. *(Ibid.)*

4. But the *Sclaveni* continued to infeſt *Illyricum* *. The Circumſtances and various Succeſs of the War, which *Juſtinian* waged with the *Goths*, and the then State of the Provinces of *Illyricum*, furniſhed them with Opportunities. The *Gepidæ*, in particular, lived in a good Intelligence with them, and ſuffered them from Time to Time, to croſs the *Da-*

* Beſides the Ravages mentioned XIII. 10 *Procopius* mentions another, *Lib. IV. cap.* 28. *p.* 367. This happened in the 17. Year of the *Gothick* War, which ended in the Spring of the Year 552.

nube

nube in their Territories. *(XIII. 4.)* After the Kingdom of the *Gepidæ* was deſtroyed, and the *Longobards* had abandoned *Pannonia*, to go into *Italy*, the *Abari* extended themſelves in *Pannonia*, and, on that Occaſion, had frequent Quarrels with the *Sclaveni*.

5. HOWEVER, the *Sclaveni* had then no firm Eſtabliſhment in *Illyricum*; but preſerved their Habitation, on the other Side of the *Danube*; as we may conclude by a Paſſage from *Menander*, *p.* 126. where he relates, that, in the Time of the Emperor *Tiberius*, the *Can* of the *Abari*, who then dwelt in *Pannonia*, made a Shew of paſſing the *Danube*, to viſit the *Sclaveni*. His Words are the more deſerving of a Place here, as they illuſtrate the State of the Provinces of *Illyricum*, at that Time, in general. " At barbarus, etſi nulla ei præbita eſſet occaſio aut cauſa, ne falſam qui-
" dem accuſationem in Romanos comminiſci dignatus, impudentiſſime,
" qui barbarorum mos eſt, fœdera, quæ cum Tiberio, initio ejus imperii,
" fecerat, rupit; et cum omni exercitu movens, inter Sirmium oppidum,
" (hoc ex inſidiis capere cogitabat,) et Singidonem caſtra ponit, et fluvium
" ponte jungere ſuſcipit. Cum autem timeret, ne a Romanis impediretur,
" qui, ut urbem cuſtodirent, in præſidiis erant, et illi in ſuſpicionem venie-
" bant, propterea quod multum uſum, vel ſcientiam navium fluminis ha-
" bebant, aliquandiu fallere noluit: ſed poſtremo eo decidit, ut rem aperte
" exequeretur, et multa vectoria, graviaque navigia in Iſtro, per ſuperiorem
" Pannoniam coëgit, ex quibus quæcunque nanciſci potuit, non quidem
" ad artis navium ædificandarum rationem, tamen naves ea magnitudine,
" ut ad bellum aptæ eſſent, extruxit, et eas hominibus armatis, et remigi-
" bus inſtruxit. Hi barbarum in morem, inconditis ictibus aquam verbe-
" rantes, crebros ſulcos in flumine excitabant; ita cum omnibus Abarorum
" copiis, per Sirmianam inſulam curſum tenuit, et ad Saum pervenit.
" Hoc conſpecto apparatu Romani, qui in urbibus in ea parte ſitis habita-
" bant, cum ſuis rebus a proditione timerent, vehementer ſunt perturbati.
" Erat Sethus Singidone præfectus. Is ad Chaganum miſit, qui ex ipſo
" quæreret, quoniam pax et amicitia illi cum Romanis eſſet, quid ſibi vel-
" let, quod ad Saum veniſſet, quem, ſi ponte jungere inconſulto Impera-
" tore tentaret, non negligeret. Ille non ut quicquam mali Romanis ma-
" chinaretur, pontem ſtruere ait, ſed ut contra Sclavinos expeditionem ſuſ-
" ciperet. Se, tranſmiſſo Sao, Romam iturum, inde ſibi in animo eſſe,
" multis ad trajectionem ab Imperatore Romanorum impetratis navibus,
" rurſus Iſtrum trajicere. Ille quidem antea in gratiam Romanorum Im-
" peratoris hæc fecerat, et multa Romanorum millia, qui ſervitutem apud

" Sclavinos ſerviebant, libertate donata, Romanis reſtituerat. Nunc vero " dicebat, ſe a Sclavinis injuria affectum, quia nollent tributum quotannis " conventum, et per eas partes indictum ſibi ſolvi, tum etiam, quia Abaro- " rum legatos, a ſe miſſos, ſuſtuliſſent, et eam eſſe cauſam, cur ad Saum " conſediſſet. Itaque Sethum excipere juſſit legatos, quos ad Imperato- " rem mittebat, qui peterent," *ut, ſibi in Sclavinos trajecturo, naves per Iſtrum præpararet.*

Inroads of the Sclaveni, *in the Time of* Mauritius.

6. And in this Condition, likewiſe, Matters remained, in the Reign of *Mauritius*, as is evident by the Hiſtory which *Theophilactus Simocatta* has left us of them. The *Sclaveni* ventured, from Time to Time, over the *Danube*, and even went again as far as the *Murilongi* *. The Emperor, on the other Hand, ſent an Army over the *Danube*, to viſit them in their own Territories †. And as this was the very Country, in which the *Getæ* had, in former Times, dwelt, the *Greek Hiſtorian* makes Uſe of their Name likewiſe for the *Sclaveni*. As far as his Hiſtory regards the Inroads of the *Sclaveni*, we may ſupply the Defects of it, from two Letters of Pope *Gregory*, the *Great*; from which it is evident, that ſome Parties of them made Incurſions as far as *Dalmatia*, and that *Italy* begun to be under Apprehenſions, on their Account. *Callinicus* had given the Pope an Account of ſome Advantages, which he had obtained over the *Sclaveni*: To which he anſwered; Lib. IX. ep. 9. *Inter hæc, quod mihi de Sclavis victorias nuntiaſtis, magna me lætitia relevatum eſſe cognoſcite.* And Lib. IX. ep. 36. Gregory writes to *Maximus*, Biſhop of *Salona*: *Et quidem de Sclavorum gente, quæ vobis valde imminet, et affligor vehementer et conturbor. Affligor in his, quæ jam in vobis patior, conturbor, quia per Hiſtriæ aditum jam ad Italiam intrare cœperunt.*

Heraclius *admits the* Servii *and* Croati *into* Dalmatia.

7. The Emperor *Heraclius* is the moſt memorable in this Hiſtory ‡. He gave up a Part of *Dalmatia*, which the *Abari* had laid totally waſte, to the *Servii* and *Croati*, two *Sclavonian* Nations, on Condition that they ſhould acknowledge the Supremacy of the *Roman* Empire, and embrace the *Chriſtian* Faith. *Conſtantinus Porphyrogenitus* therefore makes a Diſ-

* Theophyl. Simocatta. Lib. I. cap. 7. † Id. Lib. 6.

‡ It is, indeed, not altogether out of Doubt, whether this is to be underſtood of *Heraclius*, I. or of one of his Succeſſors, of the *Heraclian* Family. *See below, the Note to V. 2.*

tinction

tinction between the *Servii* and *Croati*, who were baptized, and the *Pagan* Inhabitants who remained behind, in *Croatia Magna*. The Hiſtory of the *Sclavonian* Nations, therefore divides itſelf into many Branches. But before I proceed, I ſhall juſt mention ſome Things, which we find related of the *Sclaveni* in general; which are applicable to every ſingle *Sclavonian* Nation, as ariſing from one common Antiquity.

III.

Manners of the Sclaveni *and* Antæ.

1. In Order to enable the Reader the better to know and diſtinguiſh, in general, the *Venedi* and *Sclaveni*, and the other Nations which deſcended from them, I ſhall here take Notice of ſome Paſſages, which we meet with in ancient Writers, concerning them all. We indeed find more ample Accounts afterwards of ſome ſingle *Sclavonian* Nations; eſpecially of thoſe, who extended themſelves in *Germania*: But for theſe ſhall poſtpone them, till the Continuation of the Hiſtory itſelf, will more and more diſcover them.

2. Of the *Venedi*, in general, we muſt be contented with what *Tacitus* obſerves of them. I have already given an Account of the *Sclaveni* and *Antæ*, from *Procopius. (XIII. 9.)* The Words of the *Græcian* Hiſtorian, deſerve to be here recapitulated. His Account differs in ſeveral Points, from the Manners of the *Sarmatians*, as related in the foregoing *Annotation*, particularly with Regard to their Religion and Warfare. Nor do we here find any Mention of the Waggons, which the *Sarmatians* made Uſe of, inſtead of Houſes and Tents. On the other Hand, their Dwellings, their Shields, and the Circumſtance of their being good Foot-Soldiers, agree with the *Venedi*, who are principally noted on theſe three Accounts, by *Tacitus*, and are thereby diſtinguiſhed from the *Sarmatians*, properly ſo called.

3. Procopius ſays, Lib. III. c. 4. of the *Sclaveni* and *Antæ*: " Et " vero hi populi, *Sclaveni*, inquam, et *Antæ*, non uni parent viro, ſed ab " antiquo in populari imperio vitam agunt *: ac propterea utilitates et " damna apud ipſos in commune vocari ſolent. Aliarum etiam rerum

* What *Procopius* here attributes to the *Sclaveni* in general, *Conſtantinus* obſerves of the *Croati* and *Servii*, in particular; Them. P II cap. 29. *Principes vero, ut aiunt, hæ gentes non habent, præter Zupanos ſenes, quemadmodum etiam reliqui Sclavorum populi.*

" fere

" fere omnium ratio ab utriſque barbaris ſervatur eadem, fuitque olim con-
" ſtituta. Unum enim Deum fulguris effectorem, Dominum hujus uni-
" verſitatis, ſolum, agnoſcunt, eique boves et cujuſque generis hoſtias im-
" molant. Fatum minime norunt, nedum illi in mortales aliquam vim
" attribuunt: at cum ſibi vel morbo correptis, vel prœlium ineuntibus, jam
" mortem admotam vident; Deo vovent, ſi evaſerint, continuo victimam
" pro ſalvato capite mactaturos: elapſi periculo, quod promiſere, ſacrifi-
" cant, eaque hoſtia vitam ſibi redemtam credunt. Præterea fluvios colunt,
" et Nymphas, et alia quædam numina: quibus omnibus operantur, et in-
" ter ſacrificia conjecturas faciunt divinationum *. In tuguriis habitant
" vilibus et rare ſparſis, atque habitationis locum ſubinde mutant. Cum
" pugnam invadunt, multi PEDIBUS TENDUNT IN HOSTEM, SCUTU-
" LA, ſpiculaque geſtantes manibus. LORICAM NON INDUUNT: qui-
" dam nec ſubuculam habent, nec pallium †: ſed cum femoralibus tan-
" tum, ad virilia uſque aptis, hoſti ſe offerunt ad certamen. Una eſt utriſ-
" que lingua admodum barbara, nec forma corporis inter ſe differunt.
" Sunt enim proceri omnes ac robuſtiſſimi. Colorem nec ſumme candi-
" dum habet cutis, nec flavum coma: neque is plane in nigrum deficit:
" ac ſubrufus eſt, et quidem omnibus. Vitam aeque ut Maſſagetæ, victu
" arido incultoque tolerant, toti, ſicut illi, ſordibus et illuvie ſemper obſiti.
" Ingenium ipſis nec malignum, nec fraudulentum, et cum ſimplicitate
" mores Hunnicos in multis retinent. Nomen etiam quondam Sclavenis
" Antiſque unum erat: utroſque enim appellavit Sporos antiquitas ob id
" opinor, quia σποραδες, hoc eſt, ſparſim et rare poſitis tabernaculis regio-
" nem obtinent: quo fit, ut magnum occupent ſpatium. Et vero ulteri-
" oris ripæ Iſtri partem maximam habent.

Mauritius's *Deſcription of the* Sclavi *and* Antæ.

4. IN the *Strateg. Mauritii, Lib. II. c.* 5. is particularly diſcuſs'd: *Quomodo ſit congrediendum cum Sclavis, et Antis, et ſimilibus.* I ſhall ſubjoin the Beginning of it, becauſe this Paſſage may contribute ſomething to a

* THE Account *Procopius* here gives us of the Deities of the *Sclaveni*, differs from what has been obſerved before, of the Religion of the *Sarmatians*. On the other Hand, it agrees with what more modern Hiſtorians relate of the *Paganiſm* of ſome *Sclavonian* Nations. Particularly *Jo. Laſicius*, in his Treatiſe, *de Diis Samogitarum, cæterorumque Sarmatarum*. The *Samojedes* are likewiſe ſaid to have had many Deities; but that they chiefly worſhipped a *God* of *Thunder*, whom they called *Percunos*.

† THE *Sclaveni* preſerved their own Garb. So *Fredegarius* ſays of the Ambaſſador, whom *Dagobert* ſent to their King, *Samo*. *Veſtes indutus ad inſtar Sclavinorum, cum ſuis ad conſpectum pervenit.* (XV. 5. n. 1.) GREGORIUS TURONENSIS names, *Opertorium altaris Sarmaticum*, p. 1195.

Knowledge

Knowledge of theſe People. " Sclavorum gentes et Antum una vivendi
" ratione, moribuſque ſimilibus utuntur, libertatem quoque colunt, nec
" ulla ratione ad ſerviendum vel parendum perſuadentur, maxime in regi-
" one propria fortes tolerantesque. Suſtinent facile frigus et calorem, et
" nuditatem corporum, et victus penuriam. Sunt quoque adverſus pere-
" grinos benigni, magnoque ſtudio ſervant incolumes ſalvoſque de uno lo-
" co, in alium deducunt, quo neceſſe habent, ut et, ſi per incuriam ejus,
" qui ſervare talem debet, accidat, ut damno peregrinus afficiatur, bellum
" ipſi inferat vicinus ejus, pietatem arbitratus, ſic ulciſci peregrinum. Qui
" ſunt in captivitate apud eos, non omni tempore, ut apud gentes alias, in
" ſervitute tenentur, ſed certum eis definitur tempus, in arbitrio eorum re-
" linquendo, ſi oblata mercede velint dein reverti ad ſuos, aut manere apud
" ipſos liberi et amici. Abundant copia brutorum omnis generis, et terræ
" naſcentium, quæ comportant in cumulum; præcipue vero milii, et pa-
" nici. Pudicitiæ ſervantes fœminæ eorum ſupra omnem modum erga
" maritos ſuos, adeo ut earum multæ virorum ſuorum mortem proprio
" interitu ſolari voluerint, ſeque ipſas ſuffocarint ultro, non ferentes vitam
" ſolitariam. In ſylvis autem et ad fluvios et paludes lacuſque aditu diffi-
" ciles habitant. Multifarios exitus faciunt ædium ſuarum, propter varia,
" quæ forte poſſunt accidere. Res ſuas neceſſarias recondunt ſub terra, ni-
" hil ſuperfluum palam poſſidentes, ſed viventes inſtar prædonum. In
" locis difficilibus, et anguſtis, et latebrarum plenis amant confligere cum
" hoſtibus *. Utuntur autem frequenter incurſionibus, et repentinis irrup-
" tionibus, et dolis, tempore nocturno diuturnoque multa variaque per lu-
" dibrium ſimulantes. Inter artes vero eorum eſt etiam, ſubire flumina.
" Plus enim, quam cæteri homines, et melius durant in aquis, adeo, ut
" ſæpe aliqui verſantes in propriis, cum ex improviſo invaduntur, per merſos
" in profundo aquæ calamos longos ad hoc factos, intuſque penitus excava-
" tos, et ab oris ipſorum pertinentes ad ſummitatem aquæ uſque, jacentes
" ſupini in profundo ſpiritum ducant, et ſic durent longo tempore, ut nulla
" amplius ſuſpicio ſit de iis. Sed et ſi accidat forte, ut calami exterius cer-
" nanter, nati putantur ab iis, qui rem hanc ignorant. Itaque illi, qui hoc
" noverunt, et calamum ex ſectione, aut poſitione dignoſcunt, vel compun-
" gunt ora ipſorum cum illis, vel avellunt eos, atque ſic ex aqua produ-
" cunt, dum manere diutius in aqua nequeunt. Armantur autem jaculis
" duobus quilibet, quidam vero ex ipſis etiam ſcutis, validis quidem, ſed
" quæ difficulter huc illucque poſſunt transferri. Utuntur quoque arcubus

* Procopius ſays of the *Antæ*, in particular, p. 5 7. *Peritia pugnandi in ſalebris anguſtiisque cunctos antecellunt hi barbari.*

" ligneis,

" ligneis, et ſagittis parvis, veneno illitis, quod eſt valde efficax, niſi theria-
" cæ potum ſumſerit, qui vulneratus eſt, vel alia præſidia adhibuerit, quæ
" norunt medici periti, aut vulnus ſtatim circumciderit, ne longius vene-
" num ſerpat, totumque corpus reliquum invadat. Neminem ferant im-
" perantem, ſeque mutuo proſequuntur odio. Sed neque ordinem nove-
" runt, nec conjunctim curant pugnare, vel in locis nudis planiſque ſe oſ-
" tendere.

Their Cruelty in War.

5. We ſee, by theſe Paſſages from the Ancients, that the *Sclavonians* were no otherwiſe known to the *Romans*, but by their Wars. But their Conduct in War was very far from that Decency which civiliz'd Nations obſerve even to their Enemies. *Tacitus* looks upon the Wars of the *Venedi*, to be no better, in general, than Ravaging and Murder. *Procopius*, here and there, complains of the Cruelties of the *Sclaveni*, in their Wars; *e. g. p.* 555. that they were wont to cut Thongs out of the Hides of their Priſoners. *Captumque Aſbadem tum quidem vivum ſervarunt; ſed poſtea conjectum in flammas combuſſerunt, deſectis prius loris ex dorſi illius pelle.* And likewiſe, p. 556. *Obvios autem non enſe, non haſta, non alio quoquam uſitato necis genere conficiebant, ſed depactis valide in terram ſudibus præacutis, miſerorum ſedes multa vi impingebant, et infixas inter nates palorum cuſpides adigentes ad uſque viſcera, illis vitam extorquebant. Præterea defoſſis humi lignis quatuor craſſioribus, alligabant hi barbari eorum, quos ceperant, manus ac pedes: deinde capita fuſtibus aſſidue tundendo, veluti canes aut ſerpentes, aliudve feræ genus, mactabant. Alios cum bobus et ovibus, quos in patriam abducere non poterant, in tuguria compactos, immiſericorditer truncabant. Ita Sclaveni illos, in quos incidebant, necare erant ſoliti.*

IV.

The ſeveral Kingdoms, which were eſtabliſhed by the Sclavonian *Nations.*

Their Migrations *to* Germany.

1. The Hiſtory of the *Sclaveni* branches out, at Length, into many particular Kingdoms, which appear in ſucceeding Times. We may reduce them, under the following Conſiderations. Some of theſe People went into *Germany*, others eſtabliſh'd themſelves in *Illirycum*, and the Remainder preſerved the Dominion, in *Sarmatia*. Of thoſe who came to *Germany*, I ſhall only mention thoſe Things which happened in the Time of the *Merowingian* Kings.

2. Accord-

2. ACCORDING to the Order of Time, I muſt firſt take Notice of thoſe *Sclaveni*, who gained a firm Footing on the Confines of *Pannonia* and *Noricum* *. Mention is made of them, in the Hiſtory of the *Franks*, ſo early as the Time of King *Dagobert*. (XV. 4.) Their Poſterity ſubſiſt to this Day in *Stiria*, *Carinthia* and *Carniola*; which Tract of Land is therefore called the *Windiſch-Mark*.

Of the SORBI *and the* BOHEMIANS.

3. THE *Serbi* or *Serabi* were likewiſe, ſo early as the Times of *Dagobert*, Neighbours of *Thuringia*; *(XV. 5. n. 3.)* perhaps they were the ſame *Wenden*, of whom Mention is made under his Son *Siegebert*. (*Ibid.* §. 8.)

4. A PARTICULAR Colony entered the Diſtrict of *Bojohemum*, and thence took the Name of *Bohemians*. Of this, there is a remarkable Paſſage in *Conſtantinus Porphyrogenitus*, *Them. P. II. c.* 32. from whence we may conclude, that the *Bohemians* belong to the Race of the *Sorbi*: *Sciendum eſt, Servios oriundos eſſe a Serviis non baptizatis, qui etiam albi cognominantur, et ulteriora Turciæ incolunt, in loco ab illis* BOICI *nuncupato, cui finitima Francia eſt, uti et magna Chrobatia baptiſmi expers, quæ etiam alba cognominatur. Illic igitur initio Servii hi habitabant etc.* The *Bohemian* Hiſtory itſelf gives us no Light into it, except that Tradition boaſts of a certain *Czechus*, who was the Leader of this Colony.

5. THE *Wenden* who dwelt in *Germany*, between the *Eaſt-Sea* and the *Elb*, will appear in the Sequel, under the Name of *Abotrites*, *Vilzi*, &c.

Kingdoms of Sclavonian Nations, *in* Illyricum.

1. AMONG the *Sclavonians*, who founded particular Kingdoms, in the Provinces of *Illyricum*, the *Bulgari*, *Chrobati* and *Servii*, are particularly noted.

BULGARIA *and* VLACHIA.

2. THE *Bulgari* were already known, in the Reign of *Anaſtaſius*, and are ſaid to have carried their Name with them from the River *Wolga*. In

* OF the *Sarmatians* who, according to *Jornandes*, immediately after *Attila*'s Death, ſettled in *Illyricum*, *ad caſtrum Martenam*, ſee *X. 7. n.* 6.

Time, they founded a mighty Kingdom on both Sides the *Danube*. On one Side, it comprehended a good Part of *Dacia*, and of the Country of the *Getæ*; and, on the other, the Province of *Myſia* *. The Name of *Bulgaria* now remains only by the latter. The former is called *Wallachia*, and is divided into two Parts, one of which preſerves that Name, and the other bears the Name of *Moldavia*, from the River *Moldau*, on the Confines of it. From hence it comes, that the *Sclavonian* Language has ſpread itſelf over all this Country. But the ancient Inhabitants, who went by the Name of *Vlahi*, ſpeak a Sort of *Latin*, ſuch as was formerly in Uſe in the *Roman* Provinces; and, indeed, they boaſt of being of *Roman* Extraction †. This is a ſtrange Revolution of the *Roman* Tongue, to be entirely loſt, in the Provinces of *Illyricum*, which were ſo long ſubject to the *Roman* Empire; and, on the contrary, to be preſerved on the other Side of the *Danube*.

Croatia *and* Sclavonia.

3. The *Chrobati* got a firm Footing in *Dalmatia*, in the Time of the Emperor *Heraclius*; and, by his Perſuaſion, embraced the *Chriſtian* Faith. Constant. Porphyrogenitus Them. II. cap. 31. *Chrobati, qui Dalmatiæ partes nunc inhabitant, a Chrobatis, baptiſmi expertibus, qui et albi appellantur, originem ducunt, qui ſane ultra Turciam, prope Franciam incolunt, et Sclavis contermini ſunt, non baptizatis Serviis: Atque hi ipſi Chrobati ad Romanorum Imperatorem Heraclium* ‡ *confugerant, antequam Servii confugiſſent ad eundem. Pulſis vero Romanis illis ab Abaribus tempore ejuſdem Romanorum Imperatoris Heraclii, deſolata eorum regio jacuit. Quapropter juſſu hujus Imperatoris iidem Chrobati, armis arreptis, Abares ex illis locis expulerunt, et in ipſorum terra, quam etiam hodie tenent, ſedes collocarunt. Heracliuſque Imperator Roma per legatum ſacerdotibus accerſitis, conſtitutoque ex ipſis Archiepiſcopo, Epiſcopo, Preſbyteris et Diaconis, Chrobatos baptizavit.*

* Their King, *Joannicius*, therefore, bears the Title: Rex Bulgariæ et Vlachiæ. v. litera ejus ad Innocentium III. ap. Raynaldum ad A. 1203. n. 20.

† Jo. Lucius de Regn. Dalmat. Lib. VI. cap. 5.

‡ *F. Banduri*, in not p. 89. 90. will indeed have it, that *Juſtinian*, II. the Son of *Conſtantin Pogonatus*, is here meant. In this, he follows *Lucius, L. I. cap.* 11. But the Paſſages from *Cedrenus* and *Zonaras*, to which they refer, are not ſo explicit, that we need, on their Account, deviate from *Conſtantine*.

4. By

4. By them, the Kingdom of *Croatia* was founded; and to them likewiſe is attributed, that which is, in particular, called *Sclavonia*, which extends itſelf between the two Rivers, *Savus* and *Dravus*.

Of the Servii. *Part of them are admitted into* Dalmatia.

5. The *Servii* are by ſo much the more memorable, among the *Sclavonians*, becauſe, as well the *Sorbi* and *Bohemians* in *Germany*, as the *Servii*, in *Dalmatia*, are deſcended from them. But whether theſe be the ſame *Serbi*, which *Pliny* and *Ptolemy* place in *Sarmatia Aſiatica*, or whence this Name otherways aroſe, is hitherto an Uncertainty. A Body of theſe *Servii* likewiſe applied themſelves to the Emperor *Heraclius*, who gave up to them certain Diſtricts in ancient *Dalmatia*, which had been laid waſte by the *Abari*, and prevailed on them to embrace the *Chriſtian* Faith *. *Conſtant. Porphyrogen.* gives us an Account of this Migration of the *Servii*, *P. II. cap.* 32. *Cumque ea, quæ nunc Serbia dicitur, et Pagania, quæque Zachlumorum terra vocatur, item Terbania, et Canalitarum regio, quæ Imperatoris Romanorum ditionis erant, propter Abarum excurſiones deſertæ eſſent, expulſis inde Romanis, qui nunc Dalmatiam atque Dyrrachium incolunt, regiones illas Serviis habitandas Imperator dedit, cui etiam ſubjecti erant, a quo etiam baptizati fuere per preſbyteros Roma accerſitos, et pietatis opera edocti, antiqua fide accepta.* F. Banduri, in not. ad libros Conſtantini Porphyrogeniti de Thematib. p. 109. has given us a Succeſſion of their Princes.

They there founded the Kingdoms of Servia, Rama, Boſnia *and* Raſcia.

The *Servii*, at firſt, acknowledged the Supremacy of the *Grecian* Empire; but, in Time, their Princes ſhook off the Yoke, and divided, in different Manners. Some, in particular, kept up the Title of *Servia*, others called themſelves Kings of *Boſnia* and *Rama*. The *Eaſtern* Part of *Servia* remained longeſt under the Dominion of the *Grecian* Emperors; but, at Length, likewiſe took the Form of a particular Kingdom, by the Name of *Raſcia*, from the River *Raſca*, which flows thro' it †.

* *F. BANDURI* adds. l. c. *Roma autem accerſitos ſacerdotes, qui Croatos baptizarunt, Latinus ritus ipſorum demonſtrat:* And conjectures, that this is the Origin of the Biſhoprick of Spalatro: Add. Lucius Lib. I. cap. 9. et. 11.

† LUCIUS Lib. V. cap. 3. p. 256.

Of

Of the new Kingdom of DALMATIA.

7. INTO ſo many different Parts, was the ancient *Roman* Province of *Dalmatia* divided, and but a ſmall Share of it retained its ancient Name: *F. Banduri* mentions theſe Revolutions, in not. ad Conſtant. Porphyrog. Them. p. 88. *Poſtmodum vero cum fere tota Dalmatia occupata eſſet a Slavis, in Sclavoniam, ſive Croatiam, Serviam, et ipſam Dalmatiam diſtincta fuit: poſterioribus autem temporibus Servia in Ramam, Raſciam, Boſniam, ipſamque Serviam diviſa fuit, quæ ſingulæ, diverſis tamen temporibus, regio nomine decoratæ fuerunt.*

VI.

Sclavonian Nations, *that remained in* Sarmatia.

HISTORY will, indeed, in the Sequel, by Degrees, make us more and more acquainted with thoſe Nations, who preſerved their Liberty and Dominion in *Sarmatia*. I muſt, however, juſt mention them here, that we may at once have a View of every Branch of the *Sclavonian* Race.

ORIGINAL of the POLES.

1. THE beſt Part of it is poſſeſſed by the *Poles*. We cannot ſo exactly determine, whence this Name aroſe *, nor when it ſeparated from the common Appellation of the *Sclavonians*. The firſt Mention we find of it, is in *Dithmarus*, Biſhop of *Merſeburg*, who wrote his Chronicle in the Reign of Emperor Henry, II.

2. WE are at as little Certainty, when the *Poles* took Poſſeſſion of this Country, which was before inhabited, on both Sides of the *Viſtula*, by various *German* Nations, eſpecially of the *Gothick* and *Suevian* Races. The *Poles* and *Bohemians* have a Tradition, that two valiant Brothers, *Lechus* and *Czechus*, were each of them at the Head of a new Colony, from which theſe two Nations were deſcended. (XV. 4.) This Tradition can, indeed, be ſupported by ſome Conjectures only. To which we muſt add the Teſtimony of *Conſtantine Porphyrogenitus*, of the Expedition of the *Bohemians*, mention'd above, *p.* 609. *num.* 4. But that it happen'd before the

* SOME pretend to derive it from the *Bulani*, a People of *Sarmatia*, who are placed by *Ptolemy* on the *Viſtula*: Others, from the *Sclavonian* Word *Pole*, which ſignifies an even Country, as *Poland* is.

Concluſion

End of the ſixth Century, we may conclude, becauſe we find the *Sorbi* and *Venedi*, in the Neighbourhood of the *Franks*, ſo early as the Reign of *Dagobert*, I. Finally, it is not improbable, but that this Country, when the *Sclavonians* firſt came into it, was not yet fully abandoned by the *German* Inhabitants *.

3. THE firſt Period of the *Poliſh* Hiſtory is therefore, for want of Ancient Accounts, very obſcure. What Tradition has propagated, is become the more precarious, as modern Authors have put every one their own Conſtruction upon it, as we find in the Accounts they give us of their Princes, *Piaſtus*, *Cracus*, *Premiſlaus*, *and Popielus*. So likewiſe, in the ancient *German* Hiſtorians, we find no Authentic Accounts of the *Poles* earlier than *Miceſlaus*, I. who lived in the Time of *Otto*, I. and, in the Year 965. married the *Bohemian* Princeſs, *Dombrowa*, on which Occaſion he embraced the *Chriſtian* Faith.

4. THE Manner the *Poles* have of wearing their Hair, is perhaps one of the moſt ancient Tokens of their Origin. We find, ſo early as the fifth Century, that ſome Nations, who were comprehended under the Name of *Scythians*, had the very ſame Cuſtom †.

Of what Extraction the Lithuanians *are to be reckoned?*

5. THE *Lithuanians* are likewiſe probably deſcended from a Nation, which had long inhabited *Sarmatia*, but however, are not of *Sclavonian* Race; for the *Lettian* Language does not agree with that of the latter. On the other Hand, the Inhabitants of *Lithuania* and *Samogithia* had many Things in common, as well in their Manners as Language, with their Neighbours in *Pruſſia* and *Livonia* ‡. The *Lithuanians* can give us no Light, nor indeed do they know, whether to look for their Anceſtors among the *Heruli* or the *Alani* §. They are at leaſt, either of them, more proba-

* IN particular, MART. HANCKIUS de Sileſiorum Rebus, p. 18. §. 37. pretends to affirm of *Sileſia*, that the Deſcendants of the *Lygii* and *Quadi* conſtantly remained in that Country.

† PRISC. in Exc. Legat. p. 59. C. *Hic præ ſe ferebat, Scytham, qui opibus circumfluebat. Erat enim bene et eleganter veſtitus*, CAPITE IN ROTUNDUM RASO.

‡ HARTKNOCH. *Alt and Neues Preuſſen*, p. 56. and 108. OL. HERMELINUS in Origin. Livon. p. 45.

§ *F. WIIUK Koialowicz*, who has written the beſt Hiſtory of the *Lithuanians*, has Recourſe to the *Heruli* and *Alani*, to find out the Anceſtors of his Country-Men. *Ad eos igitur magis animus ac fides propendent, qui unam aliquam Herulorum tribum, Alanos olim dictam, exiſtimant: ſedemque ejus (in ea Lituaniæ ora, quæ Samogitiæ propior Nemeno ſeu Chrono, Vilia ſeu Neride, et Duna fluviis intercipitur) Alaniam primum, poſterioribus vero annis, Littalaniam, et Lituaniam, a Principe ſuo Littalano ſeu Littuone juniore nuncupatum.*

ble,

ble, than to pretend, with *Michalus*, the moſt ancient of their Hiſtorians, that they were a Colony from *Italy* *. He appeals, indeed, to the many *Latin* Words which are intermixed with their Language; but they may have come at theſe by ſome other Means †.

Of the RUSSIANS.

6. THE *Ruſſians* have likewiſe produced many ſeperate Nations. The Name of *Ruſſi* or *Roſſi*, became firſt known in the IX. Century. The *Byzantine* Hiſtorians call them, in general, *gentes Sythicæ*; but *Cedrenus*, in particular, ſays, that they dwelt originally towards the *North* of Mount *Taurus* ‡. After they had extended themſelves on the *Pontus Euxinus*, they infeſted this Sea, as much as the *Gothick* Nations had done before them. The *Byzantine* Hiſtorians relate of them, that, as early as the Reign of Emperor *Michael Balbus*, about the Year 851. they came with a Fleet as far as *Conſtantinople* §: But what Sort of a Fleet this was, we may judge from another Paſſage of *Cedrenus* ‖.

* V. FRAGMENTA MICHALONIS LITUANI p. 246. *Nos Lituani ex Italico ſanguine oriundi ſumus. Quod ita eſſe liquet ex ſermone noſtro ſemilatino, et ex ritibus Romanorum vetuſtis, qui non ita pridem deſiere apud nos, videlicet ex crematis humanis cadaveribus, auguriis, auſpiciis, aliiſque ſuperſtitionibus, adhuc in quibuſdam locis durantibus, maxime cultu Æſculapii, qui ſub eadem, qua olim Romam ab Epidauro commigraverat, ſerpentis ſpecie colitur, et in veneratione habetur. Coluntur et ſacri penates, manes, lares, lemures, montes, ſpecus, lacus, luci. Sed nec admodum diu ſacer ille perpetuuſque, qui cremandis victimis, Romanorum Hebræorumque more, fovebatur, extinctus eſt per baptiſmatis undam ugnis, id eſt, ignis, etc.*

† *F. KOIALOWICZ*, whom I quoted above, forms, p. 9. another Opinion, by what Means theſe *Latin* Words were introduced into the *Litthuanian* Tongue: *Latinæ vero Græcæque linguæ veſtigia, quæ inter hos populos hæſerunt, ab ipſiſmet indigenis illata ſunt. Poſt plures illi annos, per Italiam aut Thraciam in caſtris exactos, cum majore identidem numero domos repeterent, ultra opulentas prædas, exteræ linguæ uſum ad ſuos reportabant.* It is plain, by the Teſtimony of *Priſcus*, IX. 23. not. †. that the Foreign Nations, who waged War in *Illyricum*, were very deſirous of learning ſomething of the *Latin* Tongue.

‡ CEDRENUS T. II. p. 551. *Interim quidquid eſt intra Euxinum pontum maritimarum regionum Roſſica incurſionibus vexabat atque vaſtabat claſſis. Roſſi gens eſt Scythica,* AD SEPTENTRIONALEM INCOLENS TAURUM, *fera, atque immanis. Hi cum ipſam Conſtantinopolim in grave conjeciſſent periculum, paulo poſt Dei iram experti, domum reverſi ſunt: legatiſque in urbem miſſis, divinum baptiſmum efflagitarunt, impetraruntque.* He here means the Converſion of the *Ruſſians*, which enſued in the Time of *Baſilius*.

§ V. ANNALES SYMEONIS LOGOTHETÆ in MICHAEL. c. 38. p. 445. *Anno Imperii Michaelis decimo, Ruſſi, cum in Hierum penetraſſent, multas cædes fecerunt etc.* The Continuator CONSTANTINI PORPHYROGENITI mentions this ſame Occurrence, p. 121. as does likewiſe *Cedrenus*, whoſe Words I have quoted above.

‖ CEDREN. p. 578. *Proinde ejus gentis Regulus Bladimerus, --ad arma vocatis ſubditis, quotquot bello habiles erant, copiisque auxiliaribus adſcitis haud exiguis, a nationibus, quæ Oceani inſulas Septentrionales inhabitabant, collecta ad hominum centum millium multitudine, eam uſitatis apud ipſos navigiis, (lintres nos vocamus, unica arbore cavata factos) imponit, et adverſus urbem tendit.*

The

The Ruſſians *were originally a Nation diſtinct from the* Roxolani *and* Sclavi.

7. We may therefore conclude, even from theſe *Migrations*, that the *Ruſſians* are a dfferent Nation from the *Roxolani*, tho' they came into the ſame Country, where the latter had before dwelt. They are, likewiſe, with Regard to their Original, to be diſtinguiſhed from the *Sclavi*; and *Conſtantinus Porphyrogenitus, Them. Lib. II. cap.* 9. obſerves the Difference between their two Languages. Be that however as it will, the modern *Ruſſian* Language is look'd upon to be a Dialect of the *Sclavonian*: But this Affinity may have ariſen, after they had ſettled among the *Sclaveni*, and the two Nations had frequent Wars with one another, concerning their Poſſeſſions.

8. Constantinus Porphyrogenitus, *loc. cit.* gives us a circumſtantial Account of the Nature of their Navigation on the *Nieſter* and *Pontus Euxinus*, and obſerves, at the ſame Time, ſomething of their *Pagan* Worſhip. *Hoc autem tranſmiſſo loco ad S. Gregorii inſulam appellunt, ubi propter ingentem quercum ſacrificia obeunt, viventeſque aves immolant etc.*

Several Nations of the Ruſſians. *Whether the* Muſcovites *took their Name from the* Moſchi?

9. Some of theſe *Ruſſian* Nations came, in proceſs of Time, into *Poland* and *Lithuania*. Others remained under the Dominion of their own Princes, who long reſided at *Kiow*, on the *Nieper*: But, in After-Times, they removed their Reſidence to the City of *Muſcow*, on the River of that Name; and the whole Kingdom, with the Nation itſelf, took their Name from thence.

10. I shall leave it undetermined, whether this Name be derived from the *Moſchi*, a Nation of whom the moſt ancient Hiſtorians and Geographers make Mention. *Herodotus* takes Notice of them, *Lib. III. c.* 94. among thoſe Nations who were ſubject to the *Perſian* Monarchy; and, *Lib. VII. cap.* 77. among thoſe, who compoſed the Army of *Xerxes*. Their Situation, as laid down by *Strabo*, agrees very well with this Suppoſition *. Mount *Caucaſus*, which borders the whole Diſtrict, from the

* Strabo ſays, Lib. XI. p. 497. *Diſtinguit verſus meridiem Albaniam, et Iberiam a Sarmatarum planitie, verſus ſeptentrionem diſſita.* This ſame Author looks upon the *Moſchici montes*, to be a ſeparated Part of the great Mountains called *Taurus*. *Ibid.*

Pontus

Pontus Euxinus to the *Caſpian Sea*, divided the *Moſchi* from the *Sarmatians*. The latter inhabited the Countries towards the *North*, and the former towards the *South*, to Mount *Taurus*. In this Diſtrict, which was therefore called *Moſchica*, dwelt, in the Time of *Strabo*, the *Colchi*, *Iberi*, and *Armenii* *.

II. The *Moſchi* were afterwards known in *Europe*, and in the Service of the *Roman* Emperors. *Sidonius*, in his Account of the Army which *Majorianus* led into *Gaul*, (*X.* 15) mentions, among other *Northern* Nations, that were in it, likwiſe the *Sarmatians* and the *Moſchi*:

_ _ _ _ Sarmata, Moſchus
Poſt aquilas venere tuas. Tibi militat omnis
Caucaſus, et Scythicæ potor Tanaiticus undæ †.

VII.

Of the Sclavonian *Language, and its ſeveral Dialects.*

I. The *Sclavonian* Tongue, of which *Procopius* ſpeaks ſo contemptibly, extended itſelf far and near, and, in many Provinces of *Illyricum*, even got the better of the *Roman*. Perhaps, it has no where remained in that Purity in which it was originally ſpoken. The *Sclavonian* Nations diſperſed themſelves greatly, and borrowed many Words from other Nations, which, with the Difference of Pronunciation, formed as many Dialects as they conſiſted of Nations. Tho' it is ſaid, that in thoſe Countries, which had the leaſt Community with Foreigners, it has been preſerved the moſt pure, as is boaſted by ſome of *Boſnia* ‡, and by others of the Countries on the *Boryſthenes* §. The *Sclavonian* Nations, who ſettled in *Illyricum*, introduced their Language there; and, by that Means, it made its Way even to the *Turks*.

* Strabo Lib. XI. p. 498. "Supra dicta flumina in Moſchica regione ſitum eſt Leucotheæ templum, a Phrixo conditum, ibique oraculum ejus, ubi aries non immolatur: id opulentum pridem noſtra ætate ſpoliavit Pharnaces, ac paulo poſt compilavit Mithridates Pergamenus. *And farther*, Quantus antiquitus ſplendor ejus fuerit regionis fabulæ oſtendunt, Jaſonis expeditionem ſub involucro proponentes, qui uſque ad Mediam proceſſerit, ac antea etiam Phrixi. *And again:* Moſchica, - - tripartita eſt, partem ejus Colchi, Iberes aliam, aliam Armeni tenent."

† In Proceſs of Time, the *Sarmatians* went over the *Caucaſus*; whence *Lucan* calls them Neighbours of the *Moſchi*, in *Colchis*. See the Paſſage above, p. 590. not. *.

‡ Mauro Orbini ſays this to their Honour, Regno degli Slavi, p. 377. "Fra tutti i popoli della lingua Slava, coſtoro hanno la piu terſa, et la piu elegante lingua; et ſi gloriano, ch'eſſi ſoli hoggidi mantengono la purita della lingua Slava."

§ See KOHLII Introd. in Hiſtoriam et Rem literariam Sclavorum p. 10.

2. In

2. In *Germany*, it has indeed chiefly remained, in vulgar Uſe, in *Bohemia* and *Moravia*. The Remains of the *Venedi*, in *Luſatia*, *Stiria*, *Carinthia* and *Carniola*, have likewiſe preſerved their Mother-Tongue.

3. In *Sarmatia* itſelf, it has raiſed itſelf to the higheſt Pitch: But of all the Tongues, which are derived from the *Sclavonian*, the *Poliſh* has hitherto been the moſt cultivated: And this, with the *Ruſſian*, which is ſpoken in the moſt diſtant Provinces of that Monarchy, have extended themſelves the fartheſt.

VIII.

Of the Sclavonian *Letters.* Literæ Cyrillitanæ, Glogoliticæ, etc.

1. The *Sclavonian* Language has its own Letters, of three different Kinds. One is called the *Cyrillitan* Character, from the Inventer of it, St. *Cyrillus*, who, with his Brother *Methodius*, converted the *Moravians*, and ſome other *Sclavonian* Nations. He introduced Divine Worſhip in their Language, and tranſlated the *Holy Scripture* into it, which obliged him previouſly to reduce it to certain Letters, and it is plain, at firſt View, that he borrowed them from the *Greek*. There was afterwards a ſmaller Character introduced, which was more convenient for common Uſe. This was called *Glogoliticus*, and was particularly in Eſteem, in *Dalmatia*, *Carniola*, and *Iſtria*.

Whether St. Jerom *was the Inventer of the* Sclavonian *Letters?*

2. The third Alphabet differs almoſt wholly from the two former *, and is generally aſcribed to St. *Jerom*: And the common Tradition was, that this famous Father, who was born at *Stridon*, in *Illyricum*, tranſlated the Bible into the *Sclavonian* Tongue; but this is as falſe † as the Pretence on which it is grounded, that the Inhabitants of *Illyricum* ſpoke originally

* We have a Repreſentation of the different Alphabets uſed in the *Sclavonian* Tongue, in P. Banduri in not. ad Constant. Them. p. 118. and 119.

† F. Banduri ſays, l. c. p. 117. "Quid vero ipſe de S. Hieronymi alphabetho, et verſione S. "Scripturæ ab ipſo, ut aiunt, in Sclavonicam linguam facta, ſentiam, libenter fatebor. Nullibi in "operibus D. Hieronymi nequidem veſtigium reperi linguæ Slavonicæ: quam quidem ſi calluiſſet, "in explanandis Scripturis, et pluries cum ne nominibus Hebraicis agit, ea procul dubio uſus eſſet. "Ubi vero D. Hieronymus Patrium Sermonem appellat, aut Noſtratum Linguam: id de "lingua latina, quæ tunc per univerſum Romanum orbem in uſu erat, intelligendum eſſe, nemo "eruditus ignorat."

the *Sclavonian* Tongue *. This Alphabet was perhaps firſt in Uſe with the *Croatians* and *Servians*.

3. The *Muſcovite* Letters are taken from the *Cyrillitan* Character.

4. OTHER *Sclavonian* Nations have borrowed their Letters from the *Latin* Alphabet, as in particular the *Poles* and *Bohemians*: And the ſame has likewiſe been introduced among the remaining *Venedi* in *Germany*; and even among thoſe of *Carinthia*, and *Carniola*, where, in former Times, the ancient Character was in Uſe.

* BANDURI p. 67. *Quod vero ait Maurus Orbini, Raguſinus, Abbas Melitenſis, in opere, cui titulus:* Il Regno degli Slavi, p. 173. *In Illyrico, antequam a Slavis occupatum eſſet, Slava lingua ſemper Illyrici populos uſos fuiſſe, mihi quidem non probatur, quippe S. Hieronymi teſtimonium, quod profert, non de alia lingua, quam de Latina intelligendum eſt.*

XXXII.

XXXII. ANNOTATION.

Of the Hunns, *particularly the* Abari, &c.

I.

AS in the Hiſtory itſelf, ſo likewiſe here, the *Hunns* follow properly after the *Sclavonian* Nations: But I ſhall only, in a few Words, obſerve, what is neceſſary to connect thoſe ſingle Paſſages, which I have already, here and there, introduced concerning them.

1. AFTER the *Hunns* broke into *Europe*, they were diſtinguiſhed, in the ſame Manner as the *Scyths* and *Sarmatians*, into *Aſiatick* and *Europæan*. Thoſe of *Europe* were particularly famous under *Attila* *. His Hiſtory, I have already given in its proper Place, *(IX. 22. ſeq.)* Only the Circumſtance §. 33. of his Expedition againſt the *Alani*, on the *Loire*, and the Overthrow of *Thoriſmund* is not out of Doubt. In this, I followed *Jornandes*: But ſome learned *French* Hiſtorians have oppoſed ſo many Difficulties to his Relation, that it is hardly poſſible to defend it †.

II.

Manners of the Hunns. *Their Way of Fighting: Their Garb*, &c.

1. I HAVE already given an Account of the Manners and Cuſtoms of the *Hunns*, from *Amm. Marcellinus* (VII. 4.) and ſhall here only add two Articles.

* I QUOTED *(IX. 23. n. 2.) Juvencus Cælius Callanus*'s Treatiſe *de Vita Attilæ*. We have ſince that a new Edition of it, and the Letter which *Monſieur Garelli* has added to this new Edition, gives it a particular Preference to the former.

† SEE Hiſtoire de Languedoc T. I. p. 194. and not. 52. Likewiſe Hiſt. de l'Etabliſſem. de la Monarch. Franc. T. I. p. 500. ſeq.

2. THEIR

2. THEIR Manner of making War is deſcribed by MAURICIUS in Strateg. c. 3. p. 26. quomodo congrediendum ſit cum Scythis, h. e. Abaribus atque Turcis, ſimilibuſque populis *.

3. OF their Garb, and Manner of wearing their Hair, we have a Paſſage in *Procopii Anecd. cap.* 7. where he gives an Account of the Differences which the *factio Veneta* excited in *Conſtantinople. Factioſi ſtatim comere cæſariem, ac novo quodam, et Romanis alieno cultu recidere: nam mento et alis intonſis, quæ Perſarum more prolixe lubebat promittere, ſinciput capillitio ad tempora uſque nudarunt, coma ad occipitium permiſſa, ut Maſſagetæ ſolent, nulla lege diffluere; quare et hunc habitum Hunnicum appellavere* †. *Omnes ſibi curarunt veſtes arte laboratas, iiſque quam pro dignitate ſplendidioribus amiciebantur, quas iniquis ſibi prædis poterant comparare. Veſtis manicæ ad volam ſtrictiſſime coibant; inde vero ad humeros, in miram amplitudinem diffundebantur. Cum autem in theatro vel circo intenta manu vociferarentur, vel alios, ut fit, incitarent, ea potiſſimum veſtimenti pars exerebatur, ut bardis opinionem afferrent, tam plena, fortique ſe eſſe corporis habitudine, ut illo egeret veſtium amictu; neque viderunt tumida et inani veſte tanto magis ſui prodere corporis pudendam tenuitatem. Humeralia, tibialia, et pleraque calceamentorum genera, Hunnorum ad ritus, nomenque uſurparunt.*

III.

Several Nations of the Hunns; Abari, Hungarians, *&c.*

1. I SHALL not, in this Place, pretend to give an exact Account of all the ſingle Nations, which are comprehended under the Name of *Hunns.* The *Utriguri* and *Cutriguri* are treated of in the Hiſtory of *Juſtinian.* XIII. 7.

2. OF the new Colonies, which came, from Time to Time, out of *Aſia* into *Europe*, the *Abari* were particularly noted, in the Reign of *Juſtinian:* And of theſe I have treated, *XIV.* 4. and 5.

* ADD VULCANIUS in not. ad AGATH. p. 180.

† THE *Saracens* likewiſe wore their Hair in the ſame Manner. THEODORUS MOPSUESTENUS obſerves, on the Words of JEREMIAH, c. 10. ſuper omnem attonſum circa faciem ſuam, as follows: *Comam ad occipitium promittentes Saraceni, partem ſolummodo tondent, quæ fronti imminet; hos hodie Gentiles appellamus.* Vid. ALEMAN. not. ad Anecd. p. 107.

3. I LIKE-

3. I LIKEWISE there mentioned the Ambaſſy which they ſent to the Emperor *Juſtin* the *Younger*, at his Acceſſion to the Imperial Crown. This Circumſtance is illuſtrated by *Corippus*, who gives an Account of their Audience, III. 231.

" Ut lætus princeps ſolium conſcendit in altum
" Membraque purpurea præcelſus veſte locavit,
" Legatos Avarum juſſos intrare magiſter
" Ante fores primus divinæ nunciat aulæ,
" Orantes ſeſe veſtigia ſacra videre
" Clementis domini: quos voce et mente benignus
" Imperat admitti. Miratur barbara pubes
" Ingreſſus primos, immenſaque atria luſtrans
" Ingentes adſtare viros ſcuta aurea cernunt:
" Pilaque ſuſpiciunt alto ſplendentia ferro
" Aurea, et auratos conos, chriſtaſque rubentes:
" Horreſcunt lanceas, ſævaſque inſtare ſecures:
" Cæteraque egregiæ ſpectant miracula pompæ,
" Et credunt aliud Romana palatia cœlum.
" Spectari gaudent, hilareſque intrare videri
" Non ſecus Hircanæ quoties ſpectacula tygres
" Dat populis nova Roma ſuis, ductore magiſtro,
" Non ſolita feritate fremunt, ſed margine toto
" Intrantes plenum populorum millia circum
" Suſpiciunt, magnoque metu miteſcere diſcunt:
" Deponunt rabiem, gaudent fera vincla ſubire,
" Per medios intrare locos, ipſamque ſuperbæ
" Quod ſpectentur amant caveam, turbaſque faventes
" Luſtrant, et proni ſolium regnantis adorant.
" Verum ut contracto patuerunt intima velo
" Oſtia, et aurati micuerunt atria tecti,
" Cæſareumque caput diademate fulgere ſacro
" Ter gazis ſuſpexit Abar, ter poplite flexo
" Pronus adoravit, terræque adfixus inhæſit.
" Hunc Avares alii ſimili terrore ſecuti
" In facies cecidere ſuas, ſtratoſque tapetas
" Fronte terunt, longiſque implent ſpacioſa capillis
" Atria, et Auguſtam membris immanibus aulam.

" Ut clemens princeps legatos ſurgere juſſit,
" Officia ſtratos juſſu monituque jubentis
" Erexere viros: Quod poſcitis, ore ſereno
" Clementer regnator ait, memorate, docete,
" Et veſtri regis, quæ ſit legatio, ferte.

Corippus makes the Ambaſſador talk very big:

" Crudus et aſper Avar dictis ſic cœpit acerbis:
" Rex Avarum, Cagan, debellans intima mundi,
" Famoſos ſtravit magna virtute tyrannos,
" Innumeros populos, et fortia regna ſubegit.
" Cujus Threicium potis eſt exercitus Hebrum
" Exhauſto ſiccare lacu, fluviumque bibendo
" Nudare, et nondum potu ſatiatus abire.
" Quem Perſæ timuere feri, genibuſque minantis
" Admovere manus, pacem meruere precando.
" Ni fieret, fruſtra celſis Babylonia muris
" Cincta foret, dominos humeris nunc ferre parata.
" Rupimus Euphratem, gelidos ſuperavimus amnes,
" Hybernaſque nives, curſus, qua frenet aquarum
" Frigus, et omnigenis fit durior unda metallis.

We ſee, at the ſame Time, that the *Abari* had not then paſſed the *Danube*.

" Nunc ripas Scythici victor rex contigit Iſtri,
" Denſaque per latos figens tentoria campos,
" Ad tua nos princeps hæc ſplendida mœnia miſit.
" Annua prælargi patris ſolatia veſtri
" Sumere tempus adeſt. Sanctus quæ præbuit ille,
" Vos etiam præbere decet, ſi fœdera pacis
" Intemerata tibi, ſi mavis pacta manere,
" Debita quærenti tranſmittite munera regi.

The Anſwer which he puts in the Emperor's Mouth, is of the ſame Strain. He reproaches them, that they fled out of *Aſia*. V. 319.

" Quid profugos laudas famaque attollis inani
" Extorrem populum? quæ fortia regna ſubegit?
" Effera gens Avarum proprias defendere terras
" Non potuit, ſedeſque ſuas fugitiva reliquit.
" Tu velut ignarus falſis rumoribus audes
" Vana loqui, turpique dolo nova ſomnia fingis.
" Quod tibi nunc viſum eſt veſtro adſignare labori,
" Militibus noſtris ludo ſolet eſſe diurno.

He

He gives them but little Hopes of the Subſidies they demanded:

" Ergo ſigna meis Cagan contraria ſignis
" Ferre parat, lituoſque mihi, campumque minatur
" Gens Avarum, ni pacta damus? Terrore putatis
" Id noſtrum feciſſe patrem, miſeratus egenis
" Et profugis, quod dona dedit? Pietate regendi
" Hoc facimus, gratiſque dari proviſa jubemus.
" Noſtra manus larga eſt, non prodiga, perdere neſcit,
" Jure ſuas diſpenſat opes quo continet orbem.
" Sponte damus dignis, indignis ſponte negamus.
" Tu numeros numeris, et vires viribus audes
" Exæquare meis?

He, at laſt, threatens them:

" Ite, licet, campos, acies et caſtra parate,
" Signorumque Duces certos ſperate meorum."

4. But the *Abari*, at leaſt, ſupported their haughty Propoſition better than *Juſtin* his Anſwer. They aſſiſted the *Longobards* to deſtroy the Kingdom of the *Gepidæ*, and when the latter afterwards marched into *Italy*, they extended themſelves, in their Room, in *Pannonia*. (*XIV*. 4.) After this, they are frequently mentioned in the Hiſtories of the *Græcian* Emperors, of the *Franks*, *Longobards* and *Sclavi*.

5. Their Garb and Dreſs was the ſame with the other *Hunns*, excepting that they breeded their Hair into ſeveral Treſſes, which made a very odd Figure. Hist. Miscella Lib. XVI. ad A. 31. Juſtiniani: *Eodem anno ingreſſa eſt gens Byzantium inopinata eorum, qui dicuntur Avares, et tota civitas cucurrit ad viſionem eorum, tanquam qui nuſquam viderint hujuſmodi gentem. Habebant enim retrorſum comas prolixas valde, atque perplexas, junctas prandeis, reliquis vero veſtitus illorum ſimilis erat cæterorum Hunnorum* *. *Iſti fugientes ex regione ſua venerunt in partes Scythiæ, ac Myſiæ, et direxerunt ad Iuſtinianum legatos petentes, ut reciperentur. Coriptus*, therefore, ſays, Lib. I. *Colubrimodis Abarum gens nexa capillis.*

6. I have obſerved, VII. 4. that the *Hunns* paid a Sort of Divine Adoration to the Sword: Perhaps, becauſe Power was the Rule of all their Actions, as it is likewiſe with other Nations, who do not juſt worſhip the Sword. This is illuſtrated by the Paſſage of *Menander*'s, where, *p*. 128. *B*.

* Suidas voc. Βυλγαροι. *Hi Abarum habitum, quo valde delectabantur, ſuo mutarunt, eoque ad hoc uſque tempus utuntur.*

he

he gives an Account, how the *Chan* of the *Abari* (for ſo they called their Kings) ſwore to the Treaty with the Inhabitants of *Singedon*. *Itaque confeſtim Abarico ritu jusjurandum ad hunc modum præſtitit. Enſe educto & in altum ſublato, ſibi et Abarorum genti dira eſt imprecatus, ſi quid mali comminiſceretur Romanis in eo, quod pontem ſuper Sao flumine facere ſuſceperat, ut ipſe et univerſa gens, ad internecionem uſque periret, cælum ex alto ſuper ipſis, et* IGNIS DEUS, *qui in cælo eſt, rueret, ſilvæ et montes caſu et ruina illos obtererent, Saus fluvius ſuperſcaturiens eos ſubmergeret. Hæc ubi Barbarus emiſit, nunc ego, inquit, jusjurandum Romanorum jurare volo. Tum quæſivit ex ipſis, quid eſſet, quod ſanctum, quod religioſum ducerent, per quod jurantes, ſi fallerent, Dei iram minime evitaturos crederent. Qui in Singidone urbe ſummam ſacrorum poteſtatem habebat, ſtatim ſancta biblia, quæ in medio continebant ſacro ſancta evangelia, protulit. Et ille quidem occultans, ea, quæ mente voluebat, multo cum tremore et magna cum reverentia præ ſe ferens ea ſuſcipere, procedit e cathedra, tum alacri et promto animo in genua provolutus, Juro, inquit, ſecundum proferentem in verba, quæ habentur in ſacris Dei chartis, me in nullo eorum, quæ prolata ſunt, mentiri et fallere.*

7. PART of the *Hunns* embraced the *Chriſtian* Faith, ſo early as the Time of Emperor *Heraclius*. Vid. NICEPHORUS PATRIARCHA in Brev. Hiſtor. p. 9. *Poſt hæc aliquanto temporis elapſo, Hunnorum Rex cum procerum ſuorum ac ſatellitum ſtipatu Byzantium pervenit, et ab Imperatore Chriſtianis ſacris initiari ſe petiit. Quo libenter excepto, Hunnorum Principes a Romanis Principibus, et illorum conjuges ab horum conjugibus, de ſacro fonte ſuſcepti ſunt. Inde illos omnes divinis miniſteriis initiatos donis regiis ac dignitatibus affecit. Quippe Duci ipſi Patriciatus honorem detulit, et in Hunnorum regionem humaniſſime dimiſit.*

8. THEIR Arms, and Manner of making War, are deſcribed by *Mauricius*, in the Place above quoted; and he pretends they were the moſt valiant People among the *Hunns*. De tympanis Abarorum conf. SUIDAS voc. ἐπιδουπησαι.

9. ACCORDING to ancient Writers, the *Hunns*, and in particular the *Abari*, had no Knowledge of Writing or Letters *. Tho' *Hickes* gives us a *Hunnick* Alphabet.

* MENANDER, indeed mentions the *Literæ Scythicæ*, when he gives an Account of the Ambaſſy, which the *Turks* ſent to the Emperor *Juſtinian* (XIV 2. n. 2) But as the Name of *Scyths* is taken in ſo extenſive a Senſe, by the *Grecian* Writers, it is difficult to diſtinguiſh what Language or Letter is to be here underſtood.

IV.

IV.

Origin of the Hungarians.

The *Abari* ſtood their Ground in *Pannonia*, till *Charlemaign* vanquiſhed them in ſeveral Campaigns. After this, the Name of *Hungarians* became known. Some learned Men are of Opinion, that this Name is a Compound of *Hunni Abari*; but it is more Ancient, for *Menander*, p. 100. and 109. mentions the *Ongori*, and *Jornandes* the *Ongari*, which probably is the ſame Name, as *Ungari* or *Hungari*.

XXXIII. ANNOTATION.

A farther Account of the Kings of the Wiſi-Goths, *in* Spain, *from the* Spaniſh Councils.

IN the XXVI. Annotation, I treated of the Conſtitution of the Kingdom of the *Wiſi-Goths*, in *Spain*, and, on that Occaſion, obſerved, that there were many Things to be found, in the ancient *Spaniſh* Councils, which might be of Service, to give us a more exact Knowledge of theſe Matters. A learned *Spaniſh* Canon, *Gaſp. Cardillus Villalpandeus*, has already diſcuſs'd this Matter, in his *Commentarius rerum præcipuarum, quæ in Conciliis Toletanis continentur.* As a Specimen, I will here ſubjoin thoſe Chapters, in which he has collected ſuch Paſſages, as have Regard to the Kings of the *Wiſi-Goths.*

Quanti fecerint reges Gothi concilia, atque epiſcopos? (cap. 31.)

Jam vero quanta autoritate concilia Toletana prædita fuerint, quantique illa fecerint reges Gothi, licet multis variiſque argumentis convinci poſſit, his monſtratur maxime, quæ ex eorundem conciliorum monumentis eruuntur.

Unum eſt, quod cap. 10. concilium octavum legem tulerit, ad reprimendam principum atque regum ſuorum cupiditatem. Præterea etiam ad calcem conc. 4.

Alterum eſt, quod reges petere ſoliti ſint, ut leges a ſe latas ſynodus corrigat. Facit hoc ERVIGIUS rex, in oratione, quam habet ad conc. 12. Tolet. his verbis: *Hoc generaliter obſecro, ut, quicquid juſtitiæ videatur contrarium, humanitatis veſtræ judicio corrigatur.*

Tertium

Tertium sumitur ex modo, quo se concilio reges insinuare solebant, atque in medium ejus prodire. ERVIGIUS ad conc. 12. ita loquitur: *Venerabilem paternitatis vestræ cætum, cum lachrimarum effusione conveni.* Et paulo ante ait concilium: *Adfuit coram nobis clementissimus princeps humanitatis gratia plenus, qui nostro se cætui reclivem exhibens, ac devotum, imprimis omnium sacerdotum se commisit precibus adjuvandum.* Initio conc. 8. *Cum unusquisque sedes debitas occupasset, adest serenissimus princeps pia religione plenissimus, qui se nostro cætui reddens acclivem, ut eum omnipotenti Deo precibus commendaremus, adstans, dulcifluis nos, ut filios, cohortatus est verbis.*

Initio conc. 4. *Rex coram sacerdotibus Dei humi prostratus, cum lachrimis et gemitibus pro se interveniendum Domino postulavit.*

In conc. 15. *Rex in medio pontificum positus humique prostratus, sacerdotum Dei se commendavit orationibus.*

Egica rex in eodem conc. sic loquitur patribus: *Vobis coram positus vestris precibus supernam mihi clementiam suffragari efflagitans, universitatem sanctitudinis vestræ christiana mentis devotione convenio.*

In conc. 16. *Princeps nostro sese cætui intulit, et glorioſi capitis verticem cernuo voto reclinans, nostris se Domino precibus commendavit.*
In oratione regis ad conc. 13. *Sanctissimi, et religiosa pietate excolendi pontifices, et divini cultus instantissimi sectatores.*
In conc. 22. *Flavius Ervigius rex sanctissimis, atque reverendissimis patribus.*
In conc. 15. *Sublimissimi patres, et cæleſti jure mihi venerandi pontifices.*
In conc. 16. *Novit, beatissimi patres, serenitatis vestræ glorioſa sublimitas,*
Hæc autem in medium produxi, ut intelligant omnes, quanti facere debeant patres, præsertim in concilio positos.

De ratione elegendi reges Gothos. (cap. 32.)

A multis dubitari video, utrum successione an electione potius regnum Gothorum olim traderetur, neque de ea re inter scriptores satis convenit: qui si accurate, et diligenter Toletana concilia evoluissent, facile quidem hac dubitatione liberarentur. Illa etenim aperte testantur, Gothorum regnum non successione accipi, sed electione potius deferri consueviſſe. Præsertim conc. 5. cap. 3. cum ita inquit:

Quoniam ſunt inconſideratæ quorundam mentes, et ſe minime capientes: quos neque origo ornat, nec virtus decorat, qui paſſim putant licenterque, ad regiæ majeſtatis pervenire faſtigia, hujus rei cauſa, noſtra omnium, cum invocatione divina, profertur ſententia, ut ſi quis talia meditatus fuerit, neque electio omnium præficit, neque Gothorum gentis nobilitas ad hunc apicem trahit, ſit conſortio catholicorum privatus, et divino anathemate condemnatus.

Objectio. Sed quid dicemus de Ervigio rege, rogabit fortaſſe quiſpiam? hunc enim Vamba ſucceſſorem fecit ſibi, cap. 1. conc 12. his verbis: *Idem Vamba dum inevitabili neceſſitudinis teneretur eventu, ſuſcepto religonis debito cultu etc. Hunc inclitum dominum noſtrum Ervigium*, non Eringium, ut legitur in his conciliis, quæ paſſim circumferuntur, et admonui ſuperius, *poſt ſe prælegit regnaturum.*

Et paulo inferius eodem capite inquit ſancta ſynodus: *Hunc Ervigium divinum judicium in regno prælegit, et deceſſor princeps ſibi inſtituit ſucceſſorem.*

Solvitur:

Sic interroganti, in hunc ego modum reſponderem:. Vambam regem dum viveret, pertæſum vitæ prioris, regno ſe abdicaſſe, *et religionis vota adſtrinxiſſe.* Quod inſinuatur his verbis, cap. 1. conc. 12. *Rex Vamba ſuſcepto religionis debito cultu, et venerabili tonſuræ ſacræ ſignaculo etc.* Atque optaſſe, ut Ervigius rex fieret, eundemque nominaſſe regem Gothorum, ſibique ſucceſſorem, ea lege, et conditione, ut id factum ab his, quorum interat regem creare, probaretur, confirmareturque. Huc enim ſpectat, quod loco citato, patres in concilio poſiti teſtantur:

Vidimus, et pariter patulo alternæ viſionis intuitu prælucente proſpeximus, hujus præmiſſi ordinis ſcripturas: id eſt notitiam manu ſeniorum palatii roboratam: coram quibus antecedens princeps, et religionis cultum et tonſuræ ſacræ adeptus eſt venerabile ſignum, ſcripturam quoque definitionis ab eodem editam, ubi glorioſum dominum noſtrum Ervigium poſt ſe fieri regem exoptat.

Subjungit concilium:

Quibus omnibus approbatis, atque perlectis dignum ſane noſtro cætui viſum eſt, ut prædictis definitionibus ſcripturarum noſtrorum omnium confirmatio apponatur, ut qui ante tempora in occultis judiciis præſcitus eſt regnaturus,

nunc

nunc manifeſto in tempore generaliter omnium ſacerdotum habeatur definitionibus conſecratus.

Conſtat igitur ex ſuperioribus, reges Gothorum non ſucceſſione ſolere, ſed electione creari; Vambamque regem non ſimpliciter ſucceſſorem ſibi feciſſe, ſed ea tantum lege, modo ab illis probaretur, quorum ex officio intererat regem creare.

Quorum calculis reges Gothorum crearentur? (cap. 33.)

Non eſt obſcurum, a quibus Gothorum reges olim crearentur, ſi eadem ipſa concilia conſulamus. Eligebantur enim a proceribus regni, ſive illi ex ordine eſſent ſacerdotali, quales ætate illa erant epiſcopi, ſive ex ſæcularibus profaniſque hominibus. Nam epiſcopi, eo tempore, et jure quidem, inter magnates, principeſque viros numerabantur, ad quos quia olim pertinebat creare reges, ne omnino eorum hac parte majeſtas aboleretur, ſed perſtaret adhuc ejus veſtigium aliquod, ubi ex Sarracenis recuperari cœpit Hiſpania a Pelagio principe, qui genus ducebat ex Gothis, factum eſſe arbitror, ut epiſcopi omnes regum conſiliari efficerentur, et referrentur inter principes viros. *Porque agora ſellaman de el eſtado y conſejo de los Reyes, y como Grandes ſe hallam en las cortes que ſe hazen de Grandes, y como tales tienen otras preeminencias en la corte, y fuera della.*

Cap. 3. conc. 5. ſeveriſſima adverſus eos profertur ſententia, qui ad apicem regni adſpirant, cum non fuerint omnium electione regno præfecti, dum autem omnium mentionem concilium facit, eos ſignificat procul dubio, qui præſentes tunc temporis aderant in concilio, cum decretum hujuſmodi conderetur: epiſcopos videlicet atque illuſtres viros. Hæc etiam ſententia plane convincitur eo argumento, quia Ervigium, quem ſucceſſorem ſibi Vamba nominaverat, epiſcopi et palatini, nobileſque Gothi probaverunt cap. 1. conc. 12.

Sed id apertius conſtat cap. 10. conc. 8. his verbis: *Ab hinc ergo deinceps ita erunt in regni gloriam præficiendi rectores, ut, aut in urbe regia, aut in loco, ubi princeps deceſſerit, cum pontificum majorumque palatii omnimodo eligantur aſſenſu, non forinſecus, cœtu aut conſpiratione paucorum, aut ruſticarum plebium ſeditioſo tumultu.*

Ex

Ex qua gente rex Gothorum acciperetur? (cap. 34.)

Quanquam rex Gothorum, principum virorum electione, atque ſuffragiis regno præficeretur, non poterat profecto, ſine diſcrimine undecunque aſſumi, atque evehi ad faſtigium tantæ dignitatis; quinimo ex nobilibus gentis Gothicæ neceſſario aſſumendus erat. Hinc procul dubio refelli poſſit publicus error aſſerentium, Vambam regem, ex media fece vulgi ad regni apicem fuiſſe evectum. Nullam etenim hujus rei, quæ fide digna ſit, hiſtoriam citare nobis vulgus poſſit. Imo vero concilia ipſa Toletana nobilem virum appellant Vambam, multo antequam rex crearetur: quem modo Vambam, modo Vuambam, modo etiam Vuambanem appellant. Et hujuſmodi electio Gothorum legibus, de creando rege, quæ conciliis inſertæ ſunt, plane adverſatur. Cap. namque 3. conc. 5. catholicorum conſortio privatur, et divino anathemate condemnatur, qui contenderit ad apicem regni, niſi omnium electio eundem præfecerit, et nobilitas gentis Gothorum traxerit. Cap. vero 17. conc. 6. id ipſum planius efficit, cum ait Synodus:

Rege defuncto nullus tyrannica præſumtione regnum aſſumat: nullus ſub religionis habitu detonſus, aut turpiter decalvatus, aut ſervilem originem trahens, aut extraneæ gentis homo, niſi genere cognitus et moribus dignus promoveatur ad apicem regni.

Hinc ego factum puto, ut decerneretur in concilio, ne qui ex ſervili conditione originem trahunt, cum nobilibus gentis Gothicæ conjugio permiſcerentur. Alias enim accideret aliquando, ut, qui ex ſervis originem ducit, Gothorum rex efficeretur. Legimus enim in hunc modum cap. 13. conc. 9.

Sicut legum reverenda ſanctio cenſuit, ita ſervari totius generis nobilitas debet, ut in nullo aliena cammixtio maculet, quod generoſitas propria decoravit. Unde cunctis eccleſiarum libertis, tam viris, quam fæminis, eorumque propagini interdicitur judicio generali, ne deinceps connubii cauſa Romanis ingenuis, copulentur. Addit concilium, *quod ſi hoc factum quandoque patuerit, permixtione tali genita proles, nunquam merebitur jus debitæ dignitatis.*

Cæterum, quæ diximus omnia, atque inſuper quo loco eligendus ſit rex, apertiſſime decreta reperimus cap. 10. conc. 8. his verbis, quæ etiam citavi proximo capite: *Abhinc ergo deinceps ita erunt in regni gloriam præficiendi rectores, ut, aut in urbe regia,* (regiam autem urbem appellat ſynodus, Toletum,

letum, quoniam eam sibi rex ad vitam delegerat,) *aut in loco, ubi princeps decesserit, cum pontificum, majorumque palatii omnimodo eligantur assensu:* subiungit, *non forinsecus cœtu, aut conspiratione paucorum, aut rusticarum plebium seditioso tumultu.* Aliquando enim, par est credere, id fuisse a plebe tentatum per tumultum, ut, quem probaret, ad regni apicem evehere studeret. Cum enim Concil. dicat *non forinsecus* etc. ex solis nobilibus gentis Gothicæ assumendum esse regem significat.

De unctione regum Gothorum. (cap. 34.)

Creatus rex Gothorum pontificum judicio, et nobilium virorum calculis, inungebatur ab episcopis, et consecrabatur Deo: ut intelligant omnes, antiquis temporibus reges Hispanorum inungi solere, et posse id modo, jure suo, petere atque usurpare, si velint. Cap. 1. conc. 12. *Vamba Ervigium post se regnaturum præelegit, et sacerdotali benedictione ungendum curavit.*

Paulo inferius Vamba rex instruxit Julianum, Toletanæ sedis episcopum, illumque admonuit, ut ungeret Ervigium, successorem in regno, atque omni diligentia unctionis celebritas fieret. Adhuc paulo inferius, *nostrorum omnium*, inquit synodus, *confirmatio apponatur*, etc. *ut generaliter omnium sacerdotum habeatur definitionibus consecratus.* Hinc colligo, neque sine ratione, ut mihi videtur, consecrationem atque unctionem regum Hispanorum, ab episcopo Toletano, tanquam a primate, fieri consuevisse. Sed adjuvabatur a cæteris episcopis, qui præsentes aderant: atque illi operam impendebant. Alioqui neque Vamba commisisset hanc curam Juliano, episcopo Toletano: neque in eam rem cæteri episcopi incumberent; ut omnium esset Ervigius episcoporum manibus consecratus.

Quoniam vero rex Gothorum ungebatur, Christum eum appellant conc. quasi unctum Domini dixeris. Sic enim legimus in præfatione concil. 6. *Anno prædicti principis et triumphatoris Christi secundo.*

Quid reges populo cum juramento promitterent, quid contra populus regi? et quod regum Toletana concilia mentionem inserant? (cap. 36.)

Non ante regnare incipiebat Gothus, quam in manu eorum, a quibus creatus fuerat rex, cum juramento promitteret, se servaturum, quæ sunt decreta cap. 10. conc. 8. quod constat his verbis: *Non prius apicem regni quisquam percipiat, quam si illa per omnia suppleturum jurisjurandi taxatione definiat.*

Sed

Sed quæ ſunt illa, dicet fortaſſe quiſpiam? profecto quæ eodem ipſo capite, hac ſerie verborum continentur:

Erunt catholicæ fidei aſſertores, eamque ab hac, quæ imminet Judæorum perfidia, et cunctarum hæreſium injuria defendentes. Erunt actibus judices et vita modeſti. Erunt in proviſionibus rerum parci, plus quam extenti: ut nulla vi aut factione ſcripturarum, vel definitionum qualiumcunque contractus a ſubditis, vel exigant, vel exigendos intendant. Erunt in conquiſitis oblatione gratiſſima rebus non proſpectantes proprii jura commodi, ſed conſulentes patriæ atque genti.

Hæc ſunt, quæ juraturos reges decernit concilium loco citato. Quæ omnia digniſſima ſunt catholicis regibus.

Jurabant inſuper, ſe minime laturos, ut quiſpiam infidelium degeret in ſuo regno, quod cap. 3. conc. 6. teſtatur his verbis:

Quiſquis ſuccedentium temporum regni ſortitus fuerit apicem, non ante conſcendat regiam ſedem, quam inter reliqua conditionum ſacramenta pollicitus fuerit, nullum non catholicum permittere in ſuo regno degere.

Jurabant etiam legem latam ad calcem conc. 8. Tolet. de bonis, quæ ſine ordine reliquit rex mortuus: ut, inquam, cedant ejus hæredibus; neque poſſit ſucceſſor ea occupare: ſic enim legimus loco citato: *Non ante quiſpiam ſolium regale conſcendat, quam juramenti fœdere, hanc legem ſe implere promittat.*

Quemadmodum autem futurus rex ea, quæ retulimus, cum juramento pollicebatur populo, ita quoque populus regi pleraque jurabat: ſed illud maxime, quod in præfat. conc. 8. in hunc modum rex teſtatur:

Revolutis retro temporibus, ita vos, loquitur ad epiſcopos rex, *atque illuſtres palatinos, omnemque populum juraſſe recolimus, ut cujuſcunque ordinis, vel honoris perſona, quæ in necem regum, excidiumque Gothorum gentis, ac patriæ detecta fuiſſet vel cogitaſſe noxia, vel egiſſe, irrevocabilis ſententiæ mulctatus atrocitate nuſquam mereretur veniæ remedium.* etc.

XXXIV.

XXXIV. ANNOTATION.

What the real Subject was of the Treaty between Gregory III. *and* Charles Martell? ad XVI. 19. 20.

THE Negotiations between *Gregory*, III. and *Charles Martel*, are remarkable, becauſe they contain the Grounds on which afterwards the Treaties with *Pipin* and *Charlemaign* were built. The latter enjoyed the real Fruits of them, when he took upon him the Title of *Roman* Emperor.

I.

An Account thereof from the Chronicon FREDEGARII.

IT will be firſt of all neceſſary to ſet the Accounts themſelves, which we have of this Treaty, in their proper Light. What we can take from *Anaſtaſius* and the Letters of *Gregory*, III. himſelf, I have already produced in their proper Place. A *Franconian* Hiſtorian, the *Continuator Fredegarii*, gives us, c. 110. another particular Circumſtance: *Eo tempore bis a Roma B. Papa Gregorius claves venerandi ſepulcri, cum vinculis S. Petri, et muneribus magnis et infinitis, legationem, (quod antea nullis auditis aut viſis * temporibus fuit) memorato Principi deſtinavit: eo pacto patrato, ut ad partes Imperatoris recederet, et Romanum Conſulatum præfato Principi Carolo ſanciret.* *F. Pagius* obſerves, *ad A.* 704. *n.* 4. that the laſt Words are not printed every where alike, and imagines, that they ſhould be read: *Eo pacto patrato*, ut a parte Imperatoris recederet, *et Romanum Conſulatum præfato Principi Carolo ſanciret* †. The *Annales Metenſes* ſeem to confirm his Opinion, and likewiſe relate the Matter, in ſuch Manner, as if the *Ro-*

† IN *F. Ruynart*'s Edition it is, ut a partibus Imperatoris recederet. For which he refers to ſeveral *Codices. M. S.*

mans were inclined to abandon the Emperor, and to put themſelves under the Protection of *Charles:* ad An. DCCXLI. *Carolus Princeps domitis circumquaque poſitis gentibus, dum ea quæ pacis erant, infra ſui regiminis terminos diſponeret, bis eodem anno legationem Beatiſſimi Gregorii Papæ, ab Apoſtolica ſede directam ſuſcepit. Qui ſibi claves venerandi ſepulcri Principis Apoſtolorum, Petri, ejuſdemque pretioſa vincula, cum muneribus magnis delatis obtulerunt: quod antea nulli Francorum Principi, a quolibet Præſule Romanæ urbis, directum fuit. Epiſtolam quoque,* DECRETO ROMANORUM PRINCIPUM, *ſibi prædictus Præſul Gregorius miſerat, quod ſeſe populus Romanus, relicta Imperatoris dominatione, ad ſuam defenſionem, et invictam clementiam convertere voluiſſet.* We may, moreover, conclude, with *Pagius*, that, in the above Paſſage of the *Continuator Fredegarii*, *Conſulatus* ſignifies ſo much as *Patriciatus.*

II.

Several Opinions of the Contents of this Treaty. Whether it was level'd againſt the Emperor?

1. SOME, and eſpecially *Nicolaus Alemannus, in Diſſ. de Lateranenſibus pariotinis, cap.* 11. takes it for granted, that *Gregory*, II. withdrew the City of *Rome*, and a Part of *Italy*, from their Obedience to the Emperor, in the Reign of *Leo Iſaurus*, and brought them under the Subjection of the *Roman* Church; and that *Gregory*, III. ſought the Friendſhip of *Charles Martell*, in order to maintain this Temporal Power. But I have already ſhewn, in the Courſe of this Hiſtory, (XVI. 11.) that this Pretence of the Defection of the City of *Rome*, and the Reſt of *Italy*, is groundleſs. *Anaſtaſius*, on the contrary, ſays, in Praiſe of *Gregory*, II. that he prevented it. And beſides, *F. le Cointe ad Ann.* 796. *n.* 10. *et ſeq.* has amply refuted *Alemannus.*

Or rather for the Benefit of the Empire?

2. HE himſelf imagines, that *Gregory*, III. had no Views againſt the Emperor, but againſt the *Longobards*, and rather endeavoured to prevail on *Charles* to undertake ſomething, for the Benefit of the Empire, againſt *Luitprand* *. He will, therefore, give no Credit to the *Annales Metenſes*, and n. 12. amends the Paſſage in the *Chronicon Fredegarii*, in the follow-

* His Words are: n. 11. *Gregorius non auxilium pro ſe contra Imperatorem, ſed pro ipſo Imperatore contra Longobardos a Carolo poſtulat.*

ing

ing Manner: *Eo pacto patrato, ut* AD PARTES IMPERATORIS ACCEDERET, *et Romanum Conſulatum* PRÆFATUS PRINCEPS CAROLUS *ſanciret.* Where he ſuppoſes the Word *Conſulatus* to be underſtood of the Empire itſelf.

F. PAGIUS's *Opinion.*

3. F. PAGIUS is not wholly ſatisfied with this Conjecture. He agrees ſo far with *F. le Cointe*, againſt *Alemannus*, that the City of *Rome* had not yet withdrawn from its Allegiance to the Emperor, in the Time of *Gregory*, II. but believes, on the other Hand, that *Gregory*, III. had abſolutely this Intention, tho' the Matter was not brought to bear. He is likewiſe of Opinion, that *Charles Martell* actually accepted of the *Patriciat* *; and, at the ſame Time, examines wherein it properly conſiſted †.

III.

The Deſign of the Romans *was not to ſeparate themſelves from the Empire.*

1. As therefore the Paſſage quoted above, from the *Chronicon Fredegarii* is diſputable, we cannot have much Dependance on it. We might likewiſe eaſily diſpenſe with not knowing the private Views of a Treaty, which never came to a total Concluſion: But as ſo many learned Men have endeavoured to raiſe different Conjectures from this Paſſage, it is neceſſary, to enquire into the Circumſtances of the Empire, the *Longobards*, and the City of *Rome*. When we compare theſe together, it does not ſeem, that the *Romans* had any Intention to free themſelves from their Allegiance to the Empire.

Of the then State of the Empire, *in* Italy.

2. THE Power and Credit of the Emperors, in what remained of *Italy*, was indeed very much fallen, and the great Cities had taken the Oppor-

* His Words, loc. cit. are: *Quare falſi ſunt Ducangius, in Gloſſar.* verb Patricius, *et paſſim ante eum alii, qui ſcripſere, Romanos, poſtquam ſeſe a Græcanici Imperii jugo ſubduxere, Longobardis etiam devictis et ſuperatis, Pippino primum, deinde Carolo Magno, et Carolomanno Patriciatum adſcripſiſſe. Nam non Pippinus, ſed Carolus Martellus primus hanc autoritatem a Romanis accepit, idque antequam il aperte ab Imperatore deficerent, quod nonniſi poſt Pippinum, in Regem Francorum unctum, contigit.*

† Ad an. 740. n. 8. He there gives *Peter de Marca*'s Opinion of this *Patriciat*, and concludes: *Patriciatus igitur Romanorum, præter imperium in urbem et Ducatum Romanum, defenſionem Romanæ Eccleſiæ complectebatur.*

tunity of the Troubles under *Leo Iſaurus*, to exert themſelves: *(XVI.* 11. *n.* 2.*)* Nevertheleſs, it was not their Intention to withdraw themſelves from the *Roman* Empire. Thoſe who were the moſt diſaffected to *Leo Iſaurus*, threatened to elect another Emperor, and to march with him towards the *Eaſt*. *Anaſtaſius* ſays: *Cognita vero Imperatoris nequitia, omnis Italia conſilium iniit, ut ſibi eligerent Imperatorem, et Conſtantinopolin ducerent. Sed compeſcuit tale conſilium Pontifex, ſperans converſionem Principis.* XVI. 11. n. 2.

Occaſion of the War, which Luitprand *waged with the* Romans.

3. THE Arms of the *Longobards* were not level'd in particular againſt the *Roman* Church. *Luitprand* himſelf was of their Communion, and diſputed neither their Faith nor Diſcipline. His Quarrel was with the *Romans* in general. *Stephen*, Duke of *Rome*, and the Chiefs of the *Roman Militia*, had given him as great Provocation to it as *Gregory*, III *. The four Cities, which he had taken, belonged to the Duchy of *Rome*. When afterwards Pope *Zacchary* appeaſed the King, the Truce was likewiſe concluded with this Duchy. *(XVI.* 21.*)*

State of the City of ROME, *in particular.*

4. THE Pope treated indeed with *Charles* chiefly in his own Name; but yet with the previous Knowledge of the Chiefs of the *Roman* People, and the *Roman Militia*. Theſe Troops, at that Time, aſſumed ſo much Authority, that they, not long before, threatened to elect another Emperor, and to march with him againſt *Leo*, to the *Eaſt*. In the City of *Rome*, the Senat had likewiſe yet ſome Eminence; *Juſtinian* allows it them, in the *Sanctio Pragmatica*, which he iſſued after the Deſtruction of the *Gothick* Empire. *(XIII.* 27. *n.* 4 †.*)* But ſuch were the Circumſtances of the Times now, that all Ranks of Men were allowed to do what they could to oppoſe the *Longobards*. That the Senat, in particular, exerted their Authority, we may conclude, becauſe, ſoon afterwards, King *Pipin* addreſſed his Letter to the Senat and People of *Rome* ‡.

* So ANASTASIUS ſays of the Motives to the War; in Vit. Zachariæ, (XVI. 19. n. 1) *Et dum a prædeceſſore ejus, beatæ memoriæ, Gregorio Papa, atque a Stephano,* QUONDAM PATRICIO *et* DUCE, *vel* OMNI EXERCITU ROMANO, *prædictus Thraſimundus redditus non fuiſſet, obſeſſione facta pro eo, ab eodem Rege ablatæ ſunt* A ROMANO DUCATU *civitates quatuor etc.*

† Conf Nov 20. ‡ Vid. Cod. Carol. ep. 36.

5. IF

5. If we will likewiſe follow the common Tradition, that the *Romans* then offered *Charles Martell* the *Patriciat*, this Title itſelf is an Evidence, that they had no Intention to withdraw their Allegiance from the Empire; but rather reſolved, with Regard thereto, to proceed with Caution. The *Patriciat* was a Dignity of the *Roman* Empire, which the Emperors uſed to beſtow, and which till then the *Exarchs* and *Duces* were generally inveſted with. The *Romans* ſought a Protection, to ſecure them, under the Sovereignty of the Emperor, againſt the *Longobards*; and that they of themſelves ſought him, might be excuſable from the Circumſtances of the Times.

IV.

The City of Rome, *and the Reſt of* Italy, *remain alſo afterwards under the* Græcian *Emperors.*

And whatever *Gregory*, III. may have had in View, certain it is, that *Rome* did not then withdraw their Allegiance from the Empire. His Succeſſor, *Zacchary*, joined with the *Exarch*, at *Ravenna*, to reſtore the State of *Italy*, and mediated a Peace between the Emperor and King *Luitprand*. *(XVI.* 28.*)* He kept his *Apocriſiarius* at *Conſtantinople*, and the Emperor *Conſtantine* made him a Preſent of certain Eſtates in *Italy*, which yet belonged to the Imperial Chamber. *(Ibid.* 29.*)* He dated his *Briefs* according to the Years of the Emperour's Reign; and tho' the Court differ'd in Opinion, from the *Roman* Church, with Regard to the Adoration of Images, the Pope was contented with making reiterated Remonſtrances againſt it *, without coming to a Rupture.

V.

Of the Nature of the Patriciat, *in the* Roman *Empire.*

And as the Title of *Patricius* is ſo eminent in the Hiſtories of *Pipin* and *Charlemaign*, it may be worthy our Enquiry, what was the real Signification of it. The *Patriciat*, in itſelf, was not ſo much an Office, or Kind of Public Employ †, as the *Exarchatus*, *Ducatus*, and other Offi-

* Vid. ep. HADRIANI, Papæ, ad Conſtantin. et Iren.

† It almoſt ſeems as if *F. Pagius* looked upon the *Patriciat* as a particular Office. He ſays, ad an. 740. n. 5. *Erant enim Patricii, qui et Conſules dicti, Eccleſiarum ac pauperum defenſores:* And n. 6. *Ea dignitas conferebatur illis, qui ad defenſionem Eccleſiarum, et inopum, adverſus vim potentiorum, eligebantur.*

ces

ces of the Empire were, as rather a peculiar Dignity in the Empire, which had likewiſe its proper *Inſignia* *. *Conſtantine*, the *Great*, in particular, placed it in high Eſteem: And, after this, Perſons of the greateſt Diſtinction, when they had enjoyed the Offices of *Conſuls* and *Præfecti Prætorii*, or other the principal Poſts of the Empire, were honoured with it †. Even ſeveral Kings of Foreign Nations have accepted of it. *Odoacer* ſued for this Title from the Emperor *Zeno*, *(X. 37.)* that he might rule, with the better Face, in *Rome* and *Italy*. When this Emperor afterwards encouraged *Theoderic*, King of the *Oſtro-Goths*, to march into *Italy*, he nominated him *Patricius*. (XI. 3.) Even *Clovis* accepted of this Dignity from *Anaſtaſius*. *(XI.* 14.) But after the Popes conferred the Title of *Patricius* on King *Pipin* and his Sons, it may have received a new and particular Signification. From this Time, we might agree with *Peter de Marca*, and *Pagius*, that the *Patricii* were the Protectors of the *Roman* Church, and, at the ſame Time, had the Temporal Juriſdiction in *Rome*.

VI.

Whether Charles Martell *actually accepted of the* Patriciat?

PAGIUS affirms, *ad An.* 740. *n.* 8. that *Charles Martell* is actually to be looked upon as a *Patricius Romanus*. He appeals even to the Teſtimonies of *Charlemaign*, and *Ludovicus Pius*. The firſt ſays; in the Partition of the Empire among his Sons, which was made Ann. 806. *Super omnia autem jubemus, ut ipſi tres fratres curam et defenſionem Eccleſiæ S. Petri ſimul ſuſcipiant*, SICUT QUONDAM AB AVO NOSTRO CAROLO, *et beatæ memoriæ genitore Pipino Rege, et a nobis poſtea ſuſcepta eſt, et ut eam cum Dei adjutorio ab hoſtibus defendere nitantur, et juſtitiam ſuam, quantum ad ipſos pertinet, et ratio poſtulaverit, habere faciant*. *Lewis* lays his Sons almoſt under the ſame Obligation, loc. cit. num. 9. *Super omnia jubemus,*

* WE have a formula dandi Patriciatus, in CASSIODOR VAR. III. 5. in which are the following Words: *Tot parentum laude decoratus, tot etiam morum luce conſpicuus, ſume poſt Conſulares faſces emeritos Patriciatus inſignia, tuarum munus plenarium dignitatum: et cani honoris inſulis adultum cinge cæſariem, qui meritorum laude ætatis judicia ſuperaſti.* F. Pagius, *ad An.* 740. *n.* 6. gives us the Form, which the Emperors obſerved, when they conferred the *Patriciat* on any one, from a *Mſt.* Copy. *Hunc honorem tibi concedimus, ut Eccleſiis Dei et pauperibus legem facias, et inde apud altiſſimum judicem rationem reddas. Tunc induat eum Imperator mantum, et ponat ei in dextro indice annulum, et det ei bombacinum propria manuſcriptum: Eſto Patricius miſericors et juſtus. Tunc ponat ei in caput aureum circulum, et dimittat.*

† CONF. L. 1. et 3. C. de Conſulibus et Patriciis.

ut

ut ipſi tres fratres curam et defenſionem Eccleſiæ S. Petri ſimul ſuſcipiant, SICUT QUONDAM A PRO AVO NOSTRO, CAROLO, *et avo noſtro Pipino, et beatæ memoriæ Carolo, genitore noſtro, Imperatore, et a nobis poſtea ſuſcepta eſt.* But tho' *Charles Martell* may have taken upon him the Protection of the *Roman* Church, at leaſt by Ambaſſies, it does not follow, that he was actually proclaimed *Patricius* at *Rome*, and likewiſe bore the Title and *Inſignia* of the *Patriciat*; eſpecially as Death cut him ſhort, before the Treaty with *Gregory* was fully concluded.

XXXV.

XXXV. ANNOTATION.

Of the Duchy of Bavaria, *under the Kings of the* Franks, *of the firſt Race.*

THE Hiſtory of the Kingdom of the *Franks* leads us, at the ſame Time, to the particular Hiſtories of the other *German* Nations, which belonged to the Kingdom of the *Franks*, *viz.* the *Bavarians* and *Swabians*, *Friſians* and *Thuringians*. Theſe Nations were under the Dominion of the *Franks*; but, in ſuch Manner, that they always preſerved their own Conſtitution. As a *Specimen*, I ſhall juſt mention the Duchies of *Bavaria* and *Swabia*.

Whether the Bavarians *are deſcended from the* Boji?

1. THE firſt Mention we find of the Name of *Bojoarii* * is in *Jornandes*.

2. BUT whether theſe *Bojoarii* were the Deſcendants of the *Boji*, is not here a proper Place to enquire. As we have no evident Teſtimony, it reſts on Conjectures. Some learned Men have attempted to prove it; however *Valeſius*, *T. III. p.* 459. *ſeq.* pretends to aver the contrary.

When they come under the Dominion of the FRANKS?

3. IT is, likewiſe, juſt as uncertain, when they came under the Dominion of the *Franks*. It is, however, moſt probable, that it was in the Time of *Theodoric*, I. King of *Auſtraſia*. (*XII.* 42.) *Pagius* fixes the Beginning of this Duchy, in the Year 556.

*. IT is hardly poſſible to enumerate how ſtrangely this Name is written; Bajoarius, Bojoarius, Bajuarius, Bodoarii, Bavocarii. Conf. ECKARD. Hiſt. Franc. Orient. p. 193.

† IN ſome of the Scriptores medii ævi, the Names Boji and Bojoarii are uſed as Synonyma. Vid. ECKARD. Hiſt. Franc. Orient. p. 193.

4. THE

4. THE Dukes of *Bavaria* were powerful Princes, and ruled over the Nation in almoſt an abſolute Manner. They acknowledged the Supremacy of the Kings of the *Franks*, and were choſen by the Nation; but were ſometimes alſo put in by the Kings of the *Franks* *; tho' always of the Family of the *Agilonſingi* †. Next to the Dukes were the Counts, whoſe Function was particularly over the Courts of Judicature ‡, under the Superiority of the Dukes §. The *Bavarians* had likewiſe their own Laws. (*XII.* 42.)

5. As to the Confines of their Territories, *Paulus* ſuppoſes *Noricum* to have belonged to them; Lib. III. cap. 29. *Noricorum provincia, quam Bajoariorum populus inhabitabat, habet ab Oriente Pannoniam, ab Occidente Suaviam, a Meridie Italiam, ab Aquilonis vero parte Danubii fluenta.* But they alſo poſſeſſed a good Tract of Land on this Side the *Danube*, as, among others, we may conclude, by the Diſpoſition of the Biſhopricks in *Bavaria*, as ſettled by *St. Boniface*, at the Deſire of Duke *Odilo* (*XVI.* 18.)

6. BUT as the Hiſtory of the *Franks* itſelf is very obſcure, in this Period, it reflects but a very weak Light on that of the *Bavarians*. *Valeſius*, *T. III. p.* 465. was the firſt who placed the Succeſſion of the Dukes of *Bavaria*, on a certain Foundation; and *Pagius*, *ad An.* 696. *n.* 6 *and ſeq.* has farther confirmed his Computation. I ſhall here only name theſe Dukes in the ſame Order, as they follow one another in the Courſe of the Hiſtory itſelf.

* * *

Dukes of BAVARIA *in this Period.*

I.

GARIBALD.

1. THIS is the firſt Duke of the *Bavarians*, who is mentioned in the Hiſtory of the *Franks*. His Conſort was *Waldrada*, a Daughter of *Wac-*

* Tit. II. 1. n. 1. *Si quis contra ducem, quem Rex ordinavit in provincia illa, aut populus ſibi elegerit ducem etc.*

† Tit. II. 20. n. 3. *Dux vero, qui præeſt in populo, ille ſemper de genere Agilolfingorum fuit, et debet eſſe*

‡ Tit. II. 5. 7. *Comes tamen non negligat cuſtodire exercitum ſuum. Ut placita fiant per Kalendas, aut XV. dies, ſi neceſſe eſt ad cauſas inquirendas, ut ſi pax in provincia, et omnes liberi conveniant conſtitutis diebus, ubi judex ordinaverit, et nemo ſit auſus contemnere venire ad placitum: qui infra illum comitatum manent: ſive* REGIS VASSI, *ſive* DUCIS, *omnes ad placita veniant, et qui neglexerit venire damnetur.* Ib. n. 21. *Comes vero ſecum habeat judicem etc.*

§ Tit. II. 5. 4. *Et ſi talis homo hoc fecerit. quem ille Comes diſtringere non poteſt, tunc dicat duci ſuo.*

cho, King of the *Longobards*; and Widow of *Theodebald*, King of *Auſtraſia*. (*XIII.* 33. *n.* 1.) He is the moſt known on Account of his Children.

2. His Daughter, *Theodelinda*, was married, *A.* 589. to *Antharis*, King of the *Longobards* *, (*XIV.* 24.) and is very famous in the Hiſtory of that Kingdom, (*Ibid.* 28.)

3. His Son, *Gundoald*, accompanied *Theodelinda* into *Italy*, and became himſelf Duke of *Aſti*. His Son, *Aribert*, was afterwards King of the *Longobards*. (*XV.* 14.)

4. Garibald was thereupon involved in a War with the *Franks*; but we are not informed what Oppoſition he made to them; nor do we find any thing of *Bavaria*, till we meet with Mention of *Thaſſilo*, who ſucceeded him. (*XIV.* 24. *n.* 8 *and* 9.)

II.

THASSILO, I.

Paulus Diaconus informs us, that *Thaſſilo* was ordained Duke, or, as *Paulus* calls him, King of *Bavaria*, by *Childebert*, King of *Auſtraſia*, and that he was ſucceſsful in his Wars againſt the neighbouring *Sclavi*. (*XIV.* 24. *n.* 9.)

III.

GARIBALD, II.

Thassilo died about the Year 609. and his Son, *Garibald*, II. ſucceeded him. Of him *Paulus Diaconus* ſays, L. IV. c. 41. *Mortuo Thaſſilone, Bajoariorum duce, filius ejus Garibaldus Agunti a Sclavis devictus eſt, et Bajoariorum termini a prædantibus invaduntur. Bajoarii tamen viribus reſumtis et prædas ab hoſtibus excuſſerunt, et hoſtes de finibus ſuis repulerunt*, Pag. ad an. 509. n. 5. It is not known when *Garibald*, II. died: But it muſt have been before the Year 649. *Pag.* 637. 8.

* Paul. III. 29. *Flavius Rex Authari legatos poſt hæc* (id eſt, poſt ingreſſum Francorum in Italiam adverſus Longobardos) *ad Bajoariam miſit, qui Garibaldi eorum Regis filiam, ſibi in matrimonium peterent. Quos ille benigne ſuſcipiens Theudelindam ſuam filiam Authari ſe daturum promiſit. Denique poſt aliquod tempus, cum propter Francorum adventum perturbatio Garibaldo Regi adveniſſet, Theudelinda, ejus filia cum ſuo germano, nomine Gundoald, ad Italiam confugit, ſeque adventare Authari ſponſo nuntiavit* etc. *Qui eandem cunctis lætantibus in conjugium Idus Majas accepit.*

IV.

THEODO, I.

'Till about the YEAR 680.

UNDER him *St Emmeranus* preached, and in 652. obtained the Crown of Martyrdom. (*XV.* 23.) *Pagius, ad A.* 696. *n.* 6. computes that he reigned till about the Year, 680.

V.

THEODO II.

Duke of BAVARIA, *from* A. 680. *to* 722. *and with him his Sons,* THEODEBERT, THEODEBALD *and* GRIMOALD.

1. UNDER him, *St. Rupert*, was aſſiduous to re-eſtabliſh the Church in *Noricum*, and, in particular, at *Juvavia*, or *Saltzburg*, (*XV.* 23.) whence they reverence him as their Founder.

2. ABOUT the Year, 702. this *Theodo* gave up, to each of his three Sons, a Part of *Bavaria*. (*XVI.* 7.) So that there were, at the ſame Time, four Princes, Rulers of *Bavaria*, a Circumſtance particularly remarkable in that Hiſtory.

3. IN 716. he went a Pilgrimage to *Rome*. (*XVI.* 7.)

4. HE kept up a good Intelligence with the *Longobards*: For *Anſprand*, with the Aſſiſtance of the *Bavarians*, conquered the Kingdom, and his Son *Luitprand*, took to Wife a Princeſs of the Houſe of *Bavaria*. (*Ibid.*)

5. HE died about the Year 722. *Pag. ad an.* 723. *n.* 9. His Family, as far as it is known, the Reader will beſt ſee in the following Table.

THEODO, II.

THEODEBERT*,	THEODEBALD, Cons. BILITRUD. who afterwards married GRIMOALD.	GRIMOALD, Cons. BILITRUD. His Brother's Widow. S. n. VI.

HUCBERT, is again Duke of all *Bavaria*. S. n. VI.	GUNTRUDIS, Cons. LUITPRAND, King of the *Longobards*.	SUNECHILD, Her Conſort, *Charles Martell*. S. n. VI.

* THEODEBERT is particularly mention'd by PAULUS DIACONUS. XVI. 7. not. 7.

VI.
HUCBERT.

1. He was a Son of *Theodebert* *, and, about the Year, 725. after *Grimoald*'s Death, brought the whole Nation again under one Government. *Charles Martell* made, about this Time, an Expedition into *Bavaria*; and perhaps this very Revolution gave Occaſion to it. The *Franconian* Annals, which give as little Account of the Motives to, as they do of the particular Circumſtances of this Expedition, only ſay, that *Charles* conquered the Country, and carried away with him *Bilitrud*, *Grimoald*'s Widow, together with her Niece, *Sunechild*, whom he choſe for his ſecond Conſort. (*XVI.* 7.) But that *Sunechild* was a Daughter of *Theodebert*, has no other Foundation but Conjecture. *Eckh. T. I. p.* 351.

2. He is likewiſe mentioned to Advantage in the Hiſtory of *St Corbinian.* This Saint underwent great Perſecution, in the Time of *Grimoald*, becauſe he zealouſly cenſured his Marriage with his Brother's Widow. On the other Hand, *Hucbert* ſhewed him the greater Affection. *Pag. ad A.* 725. *n.* 7. *Eckh. l. c. p.* 452.

VII.
ODILO.

1 His Conſort was *Chiltrud*, the Daughter of *Charles Martell. XVI.* 22.

2. After the Death of *Charles Martell*, he attempted to free himſelf from the *Franconian* Yoke: But the two Brothers, *Carolomannus* and *Pipin*, went, in the Year 743. with an Army into *Bavaria*, and obliged him to ſubmit to the Sovereignty of the *Franks*, as before. (*XVI.* 24.)

3. In his Reign, *St. Boniface* eſtabliſhed the *Bavarian* Church, and divided it into the four Biſhopricks of *Saltzburg*, *Paſſaw*, *Ratiſbon* and *Freyſingen.* (*XVI.* 18.)

4. I have placed his Death in the Year 748. (*XVI.* 33.) and in that I follow the *Annales Metenſes*, which Computation is confirmed by *F. Pagius.*

VIII.
THASSILO II.

The Son of *Odilo*, ſucceeded to the Duchy of *Bavaria*, *Ann.* 748. (*XVI.* 33.) but was afterwards deprived of the Duchy, by *Charlemaign.*

* Conf. PAG. ad An. 725. n. 7.

XXXVI. ANNOTATION.

Of the Duchy of Alemannia, *or* Swabia, *under the Kings of the* Franks, *of the firſt Race.*

I.

THE *Alemanni* were one of the moſt famous Nations in ancient *Germany*, as the Courſe of their Hiſtory, in the firſt Volume, ſufficiently ſhews.

Original and State of the Duchy of ALEMANNIA.

2. BUT after *Clovis* had conquered it, *A.* 496. a memorable Revolution thence enſued. (*XI.* 8.) One Part of the vanquiſhed Nation then took Refuge to *Theoderic*, King of the *Oſtro-Goths*, who gave them *Rætia* for an Habitation. *Vitiges* afterwards reſigned this Diſtrict, together with the Inhabitants of it, to the Sons of *Clovis*, and they fell to the Portion of *Theodebert*, King of *Auſtraſia*. (*XII.* 9.)

3. AFTER they came, in this Manner, under the Sovereignty of the *Franks*, they were governed by Dukes. Theſe had almoſt the ſame Power, as the Kings had, in former Times, excepting that they acknowledged the Sovereignty of the *Franks*, in the ſame Manner, as the Dukes of *Bavaria* did. This conſiſted chiefly in their being faithful and loyal to them, and ſerving them in their Wars. The *Alemanni* themſelves preſerved their ancient Cuſtoms, whence aroſe their particular Laws, which King *Clotarius* brought, in ſome Meaſure, into Order. (*XV.* 2, *n.* 2.) The moſt happy Fruits of their Union with the *Franks* was, that, by Degrees, they were converted to the *Chriſtian* Faith.

II

Dukes of ALEMANNIA *and* SWABIA.

IT is impoſſible to give a compleat Succeſſion of the Dukes of *Alemannia*. In Want of which I ſhall here only take Notice of thoſe Paſſages, which we met with concerning them, in the Courſe of their Hiſtory itſelf.

1. BU-

1. BUCELINUS and *Leutharius* * are mentioned as Dukes, ſo early as the Reign of *Theodebert*, King of *Auſtraſia*. (*XII.* 9. *n.* 5.) They are both very noted, on Account of the Expedition into *Italy*, which they undertook in the Time of K. *Theodebald*. (*XIII.* 21. *ſeq.*)

2. WE meet with *Leudefredus* Duke of *Alemannia*, in the Hiſtory of *Childebert*, King of *Auſtraſia*. He was one of thoſe *Grandees* of the Kingdom, who rebelled againſt that King, and thereby loſt his Duchy. He was ſucceeded by *Uncelenus*, of whom likewiſe no farther Mention is made. (*XIV.* 22.)

3. ROTBERTUS aſſiſted *Dagobert*, I. againſt the *Sclavi*. (*XV.* 5.)

4. LEUTHARIUS, II. is mentioned immediately after the Death of *Dagobert*, under the Minority of King *Sigebert*. (*XV.* 7.) He was particularly remarkable in Genealogy, as I have ſhewn, in the ſame Place, *not.* 10.

5. WHEN, after the Death of *Clovis*, II. the *Franconian* Monarchy fell to Decay, and *Pipin* of *Herſtall* took upon him the Adminiſtration of the Government, as *Major-Domus*, the other *German* Nations, and in particular thoſe under *Gotfrid*, Duke of *Alemannia*, endeavour'd to free themſelves wholly from the *Franconian* Dominion. An ancient Author † ſays, the latter likewiſe found Means to maintain himſelf in this unlimited Freedom.

6. THEODEBALD, the Son of *Gotfrid*, endeavoured likewiſe to ſupport the ſame Independency: But *Charles Martell* made War againſt him: (*XVI.* 7.) And *Pipin*, III. did not deſiſt, till he again ſubmitted to the Sovereignty of the *Franks*.

7. In the Time of *Theodebald*, we find Mention of more Dukes of *Alemannia*; particularly *Bertholdus* ‡, and *Houchingus*, the Brother of *Theodebald*, and his Son *Nebus*: As likewiſe *Adalbert* §. Whence we may conclude, that, at leaſt then, there were more than one Duke of the *Alemanni*, as in former Times they had likewiſe more than one King: About the very ſame Time, *St. Gallus* propagated *Chriſtianity* among the *Alemanni*, (*XV.* 23.) as did likewiſe *St. Pirminus*. (*XVI.* 6.)

8. LANTFRID, or rather *Luitfrid*, is the laſt in this Succeſſion of the Dukes of *Swabia*. He took Part with *Grippo*, when he aſſumed the Title of Duke, in *Bavaria*; but, as well as *Grippo*, was obliged to ſubmit to *Pipin*. (*XVI.* 33.) The latter put an End to the Duchy, and incorparated *Swabia* with the *Franconian* Monarchy; and ſo it remained under the *Carolingian* Race. XXXVI.

* MONS. *von Eckhard.* makes this *Leutharius* the great Anceſtor of the ſucceeding Dukes of *Alemannia*, from whom the ancient Counts of *Alſace* deſcended, *in Orig. Auſtriæ, Lib. I. cap.* 2. and *Hiſt. Franc. Orient. T. I. p.* 68. But it is a mere Conjecture, that the ſucceeding *Leutharius*, II. was his Grandſon. † FRAGMENT. ERCHAMBERTI. See the Paſſage, XV. 21. n. 2. et 9.

‡ VID. ECKHARD. Hiſt. Franc. Orient. T. I. p. 348. § ECKH. l. c. p. 359.

XXXVII. ANNOTATION.

Family of the PIPINS.

Ad XV. 1.

CAROLOMANNUS,

A FRANK *of Diſtinction, in* HASPENGOW *or* HASBANIA. (XV. 1.)

* * *

ARNULPH, Biſhop of *Metz.* (XVI. 1.)

PIPIN, Major-domus under Clotarius (XV. 1.) † 639. (XV. 6.)

CHLODULPHUS, is afterwards Biſhop of *Metz.*

ANSEGISILUS, domeſticus (XV. 1)

BEGGA,

GRIMOALD, maintains himſelf, after his Father's Death, in the Office of Major-domus. (XV. 7.)

MARTIN. (XV. 20.)

PIPIN of *Herſtall*, is *Major-Domus*, in all the 3 Kingdoms, in 687. under King Theoderic. (XV. 20) Cons. 1. Plectrudis, (XV. 25.) 2. Alpais. (Ibid.)

CHILDEBERT, His Father, cauſes him, after the Death of *Sigebert*, Anno. 650. to be proclaimed King. (XV. 15.)

1.	1.	2.	
DROGO, (XV. 25)	GRIMOALD, Major-domus to Childebert III. murd. 714. (XV. 25) Cons. Teutſinda, Daugh. of Ratbod, K. of the *Friſii*. (XV. 21)	CHARLES MARTELL, (XV. 25.) Major domus, 714. † 741. (XVI. 22) Cons. 1. Rotrudis, 2. Sunehild, a *Bavarian* Princeſs. (XVI. 7.)	CHIDEBRAND, is reckoned the great Anceſtor of the *Capetingian* Race *. (XV. 25)

	1.	1.	1.	2.
THEUDEBALD, endeavours in vain to be *Major-Domus* (XV. 25.)	CAROLOMANNUS, (XVI. 22.) goes into a Monaſt. 747. (*Ib.* 31.)	PIPIN, (XVI. 22) is made K. of the *Fr.*	CHILTRUDIS, Cons. Odilo, Duke of *Bavaria.*	GRIFO, rebels againſt *Pipin.* (XVI. 22.)

* SEE XV. 25. not. 1. *Monſ. von.* ECKHARD doubts of it. Hiſt. Franc. Or. T. I. p. 321.

XXXVIII. ADDENDA.

1. Ad A. XXVII. 3. FRANCISCUS FABER appeals to the Epitaphium Cindonactis. JOHANNES GUENEBAUD, a Phyſician of *Dijon*, in whoſe Vineyard this Sepulcher was found, has written a particular Book of it; entitled: Le Reveil de Chyndonax, Princes des Vacies etc.

2. Ad. XXXI. 5. 2. *n.**. I ſhall here add the Paſſage to which *Lucius* and *F. Banduri* refer, as they may ſerve to illuſtrate the *Sclavonian* Hiſtory. p. 441. An. III. *Juſtinianus expeditionem in Sclavinos et Bulgaros ſuſcepit, atque hos quidem obviam ſibi factos cum pepuliſſet, excurſione ad Theſſalonicam uſque facta, multas Sclavinorum multitudines, partim ad ſe deficientes, partim bello ſuperatas, ſubegit, inque* OPSICIANAM *regionem* * *deportavit. In reditu autem a Bulgaris, intra fauces anguſtiarum interceptus, multis ſuorum amiſſis ægre evaſit.* And farther An. VII. *Ex Sclavinis, quos ab eo deportatos fuiſſe diximus, novum exercitum XXX millium conſcripſit, quem nomine* POPULI PECULIARIS † *affecit.* ZONARAS p. 92. *Idem etiam ictum cum Bulgaris fœdus rupit, neque eis tributa pendere ſuſtinuit, ſed expeditione in plagas occidentales ſuſcepta, multas Sclavicas gentes partim in deditionem accepit, partim bello domuit. Unde novas legiones conſcripſit, delectis juvenum fortiſſimorum circiter XXX millibus: quos populum acquiſitum appellavit.*

3. Ad A. XXXII. 3. 8. *Suidas* has a Paſſage from *Menander*, of the Preparation to a Battle, between the Imperial Army and the *Abari*: *Abari tem ſub initium prælii diſſonum et horridum clamorem tollere, et cum fremitu bellico* TYMPANA *quoque* PULSARE *ſtatuerant, ut inopinato illo, et vehementi ſtrepitu Romanos percellerent, et terrerent. Bonus igitur rem iſtam ante cognitam militibus indicavit, ne ſubito ſtrepitu conſternarentur, ſed animis ante repræſentantes, et opinione præcipientes id, quod futurum erat, aſſueſcerent ei, quod nondum aderat: et ubi ſtrepitum tympanorum audiviſſent, ipſos quoque ſcuta concrepantes bellicum clamorem tollere, et pæana canere, et ſitulas ligneas collidere juſſit.* The *Romans* had neither Drums nor Kettle-Drums, in their *Militia*. Add DANIEL Hiſt. de la Milice Françoiſe T. I. p. 537.

* I do not find this Diſtrict mentioned any where elſe. Perhaps it has the Name from *Opiſana*, a City on Mount *Hæmus*.

† λαὸν περίουσιον.

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